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CARLYLE

TACITUS: HISTORICAL WORKS: VOL·I THE ANNALS TRANSLATED BY ARTHUR MURPHY

LONDON & TORONTO
PUBLISHED BY J·M·DENT
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INTRODUCTION

THE main facts in the life of Publius Cornelius Tacitus are as follows :—

He was born—probably at Rome—during the reign of the Emperor Claudius (*circ.* 53 A.D.); was educated for the bar, where he rose to some eminence; became successively quæstor (under Vespasian), prætor, and Member of the Sacred College.

In A.D. 89 he went, possibly in a high official capacity, to Germany; and there, in addition to his ordinary routine duties, he took pains to acquaint himself with the customs and manners of the country. He has left us a valuable memorial of his researches in his "Germania."

Somewhat earlier in his career Tacitus married the daughter of Agricola, governor of Britain. His admiration for the simple directness of his father-in-law's character and administration is shown in the admirable little biography which he subsequently published.

During Domitian's reign Tacitus must have experienced to the full the horror and shame of the times; and the gloom cast over his mind by what he must have witnessed left an ineffaceable mark upon his character.

Better days, however, were at hand; and the writer of the "Annals" was not slow to hail the change from the despotic cruelty of Domitian to the mild and equable government of Nerva and Trajan.

In the year A.D. 99 he received the thanks of the Senate for the part he had taken in the prosecution of Marius Priscus; and that extortionate proconsul was, largely owing to the pleading of Tacitus, sentenced to fine and banishment.

It is probable that the historian lived on into Hadrian's reign; but we have no means of determining this question, and we lose sight of him about A.D. 100. That he enjoyed a considerable reputation during his lifetime, both as a man of letters and of affairs, is evident from the younger Pliny's frequent references to him in the "Letters"; and it is significant that this reputation had not declined in the third century; for we read that the historian's namesake, the Emperor Tacitus, built a tomb in his honour. This tomb was standing until the sixteenth century, when it was destroyed.

The following passage from Dean Merivale's "History of the

Romans under the Empire"[1] will be found useful as giving, in briefest outline, the plan pursued by Tacitus in writing his two great works, the "History" and the "Annals":—

"The historian commences his review of Roman affairs with the period which succeeds the Revolution. . . . The Cæsarian usurpation had run a course of sixty years—years of unexampled prosperity, as Tacitus must himself have acknowledged, had he set them fairly before his eyes—when he takes up the thread of events, and devotes the labour of his life to blazoning the disasters which have never ceased, as he pretends, to flow from it. He confines himself to the decline and fall of the system which had now indeed passed its brief and fallacious prime. He traces the failing fortunes of the Republic from the defeat of Varus, and the gloom diffused over the city in the last days of Augustus by the anticipation of a younger tyranny; and closes his gloomy review with the fall of the last of the despots—the mean, the cruel, the jealous Domitian. Thus he embraces precisely the whole period of disgrace and disaster by which the crimes of the Cæsars were chastised; nor will he mar the completeness of this picture by introducing into it the figures of those regenerators of the Empire whom he himself lived afterwards to see, the record of whose virtue and fortune he reserved for the solace of his old age. His record of the civil wars which followed the death of Nero, and of the three Flavian administrations, was the first written, under the title of 'Histories'; while the account of the earlier period, known by the title of the 'Annals,' was produced subsequently. The work which treats of contemporary affairs is more full in detail than the other, but we may believe that the author regarded the two as a single whole; and it is possible that he may have contemplated them himself under a single title. The unity of their common design, as a lasting record of the Cæsarian revolution traced to its distant consequences, would have been marred by a glowing peroration on the fame and prosperity of Trajan; nor do we know that Tacitus ever actually accomplished the labour of love which he anticipated as his crowning work."

As an historian, Tacitus is wanting in what we moderns—more or less trained in the school of Stubbs, of Ranke, and of Seeley—should regard as the main qualification for the writing of all serious history. He was at once illiberal in theory, and partisan in execution. To heighten an effect; to paint the lurid events of a lurid epoch in still more lurid colours; to pursue with innuendo, with scorn, or with fierce invective the memories of men known imperfectly and hated intensely—to this end Tacitus unhesitatingly sacri-

[1] Vol. iii. chap. lxiv.

ficed the simpler word of truth. Not, perhaps, intentionally, nor altogether wittingly ; but because his embittered mind was unable to look upon events from the secure vantage ground of impartiality. Add to that, his power of condensing some distorted conception into a single unforgettable phrase—a temptation so brilliant a man of letters could not successfully resist. As an artist in words, he is, at his best, beyond the reach either of translation or of praise ; but we do well to read him with an eye to his special idiosyncrasies. One thing, however, we can never deny him : as a writer and thinker he was a powerful moral force. Indeed it is rather as a moralist than an historian (in the stricter sense) that we value him most.

"The surviving fragments of the 'Annals' and 'Histories,'" says Professor Mackail,[1] "leave three great pictures impressed on the reader's mind—the personality of Tiberius, the court of Nero, and the whole fabric and machinery of empire in the years of the four emperors. . . . This great pageant of history is presented in a style which, in its sombre and gorgeous colouring, is unique in literature. . . . But the deep gloom of his history, though adorned with the utmost brilliance of rhetoric, is not lightened by any belief in Providence or any distinct hope for the future. The artificial optimism of the Stoics is alien from his whole temper; and his practical acquiescence in the existing system under Domitian only added bitterness to his inward revolt from it. The phrases of religion are merely used by him to darken the shades of the narrative. *Deum ira in rem Romanam* . . . might be almost taken as the second title of his history."

As an example of his inability, when his prejudices were deeply stirred, to write history in the spirit of judicial impartiality, one may refer to the fifth book of his "Histories," where he so curiously and perversely misrepresents both the origin of the Jews and the character of their religion. As examples of his moving pathos, the great scene in the first book of the "Annals," where the Roman soldiery revisit what was once the camp of the beaten Varus; or the story of Clemens in the second book; may be cited. Examples of mordant irony, brilliant characterisation, or sombre cynicism are too numerous to need citation ; they meet one almost on every page. The English reader needs to be warned, however, that Tacitus' bold, compressed style, and the inimitable *flair* of his sentences, to say nothing of his inversions and other literary devices, are not to be rendered out of the Latin by however skilful a translator. Tacitus (like his model, Virgil) is, at his most inspired moments, utterly beyond the reach of exact construe ; while to have recourse to paraphrase would be but to perpetrate a clumsy indignity.

[1] "History of Latin Literature," pp. 214-220.

As a translator, Murphy leaves much to be desired. He lacks the conciseness, and grip of idiom, displayed by Church and Brodribb in their really classical rendering. But, alone of the oldest translators, Murphy has achieved some sort of permanence; and for that reason his rendering finds a place in "Every Man's Library." It was the work of an accomplished scholar; and the reader who is familiar with Murphy's rendering need not fear that, in any essentials, he has misread his Tacitus, or misjudged the "philosophy of history" as conceived by the most eminent of all the writers of the Roman Empire.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

Dec. 18, 1907.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE TRANSLATOR

ARTHUR MURPHY, the translator of Tacitus, was born at Clomquin, Roscommon, 27th Dec. 1727. He was educated at St. Omer, France, and early showed a singular aptitude for the Greek and Latin classics.

Later on he went on to the stage; then turned his attention to legal studies; and finally turned dramatic writer. In this rôle he is said to have produced more "stock pieces" than any man of his time; but it should be noted that none of his plays were original. All were more or less in the nature of adaptations. His collected "dramatic works," with the "Gray's Inn Journal" which he edited, fill seven volumes; but no one troubles to read them, nor his Lives of Johnson and Garrick, nowadays.

Murphy's claim on the attention of posterity rests solely on his translation of Tacitus, which was published first in 1793. More than one edition was printed in his lifetime. Murphy died at Knightsbridge in 1805.

In the present reprint of the historical works, Murphy's text (from the latest edition published during the translator's life) is given in almost exactly the form in which it finally appeared; but the voluminous notes—many of them unilluminating and unnecessary—have been reduced to very small proportions. Very few liberties have been taken with the wording of these notes; it seemed better to let them stand as originally written, rather than attempt any serious revision. Readers who require further information are referred to the excellent edition of Furneaux, for the "Annals"; of Church and Brodribb for the "Agricola" and the "Germany"; and of Simcox or Godley for the "Histories."

E. H. B.

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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

BOOK I

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policy of Tiberius: his reluctance to remove men from their employments; with the reasons for that conduct.—LXXXI. *His policy in the management of consular elections. A show of liberty remains: Rome the more deeply enslaved.*

These transactions include almost two years.

Years of Rome	of Christ	Consuls.
767	14	Sextus Pompeius, Sextus Apuleius.
768	15	Drusus Cæsar, C. Norbanus Flaccus.

I. THE first form of government that prevailed at Rome was monarchy.[1] Liberty and the consulship were established by Lucius Junius Brutus. Dictators were created in sudden emergencies only. The jurisdiction of the decemvirs did not extend beyond two years; and the consular authority of the military tribunes soon expired. The domination of Cinna ended in a short time; and that of Sylla was not of long duration. From Pompey and Crassus, the whole power of the state devolved to Julius Cæsar, and, after the struggle with Lepidus and Antony, centred in Augustus; who, under the mild and well-known title of PRINCE OF THE SENATE,[2]

[1] In this introduction, Tacitus gives us a compendious view of the Roman government in all its various forms, and every deviation from its first principles, from the foundation of the city to the establishment of the Cæsars. The several forms were as follows:

I. The regal government, which lasted, under seven successive kings, above two hundred and forty years, and ended at last by the expulsion of Tarquin.

II. The consulship, and the republican government established by Brutus, B.C. 509.

III. The supreme authority of the dictator, created in pressing exigencies, and for a limited time.

IV. The decemvirs appointed to frame a body of laws. They were the only magistrates. The government, which was transferred from kings to consuls, was now vested in the decemvirs. Their code of laws was finished within two years. It was called the TWELVE TABLES. The well-known tyranny of Appius brought upon them the name of the TEN TARQUINS.

V. The military tribunes, in a violent contention between the patricians and commonalty, invested with the authority of the consuls, and exercising all the functions of those two magistrates.

VI. The usurpation of Cinna, B.C. 86.

VII. The domination of Sylla; who assumed the power of dictator, B.C. 81, and continued in that station till the year 78, when he made a voluntary abdication, and retired to lead the life of a private citizen.

VIII. The triumvirate of Pompey, Crassus, and Julius Cæsar, B.C. 54. This was a faction, not a legal institution.

IX. Cæsar perpetual dictator, B.C. 48–44.

X. The triumvirate of Antony, Lepidus, and Augustus, B.C. 43.

XI. the supreme power vested in Augustus, B.C. 27. Such were the various changes of government which Tacitus has enumerated with his usual comprehensive brevity. Each of them forms an important æra, and all, well developed, would furnish a complete political history of Rome.

[2] The original says simply, under the name of "prince," meaning *prince of the senate;* a title well known in the time of the old republic, and always given to the senator whose name stood first on the censor's roll. When the consul

took upon him the management of the commonwealth, enfeebled as it was by an exhausting series of civil wars. But the memorable transactions of the old republic, as well in her day of adversity, as in the tide of success, have been recorded by writers of splendid genius. Even in the time of Augustus there flourished a race of authors, from whose abilities that period might have received ample justice; but the spirit of adulation growing epidemic, the dignity of the historic character was lost. What has been transmitted to us concerning Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, cannot be received without great mistrust. During the lives of those emperors, fear suppressed or disfigured the truth; and after their deaths, recent feelings gave an edge to resentment. For this reason, it is my intention shortly to state some particulars relating to Augustus, chiefly towards the close of his life; and thence to follow downward the thread of my narration through the reigns of Tiberius and his three immediate successors, free from animosity and partial affection, with the candour of a man who has no motives, either of love or hatred, to warp his integrity.

II. The fate of Brutus and Cassius being decided, the commonwealth had no longer an army engaged in the cause of public liberty. The younger Pompey received a total overthrow on the coast of Sicily; Lepidus was deprived of his legions; and Mark Antony fell on his own sword. In that situation the partisans of Julius Cæsar had no leader but Octavius, who laid aside the invidious title of Triumvir, content with the more popular name of Consul, and with the tribunitian power, which he professed to assume for the protection of the people. In a little time, when he had allured to his interest the soldiery by a profusion of largesses, the people by distributions of corn, and the minds of men in general by the sweets of peace, his views grew more aspiring. By degrees, and almost imperceptibly, he drew into his own hands the authority of the senate, the functions of the magistrates, and the administration of the laws. To these encroachments no opposition was made. The true republican

called upon the fathers for their opinions, he began with the PRINCEPS SENATUS. Under that constitutional name, Augustus seemed rather to accept than to arrogate to himself the management of the state. Tacitus says afterwards that the government was neither settled under a monarch nor a dictator, but under the title of prince. *Non regno, neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rempublicam.* Augustus understood the policy of not assuming invidious titles in the outset of his reign; but it was owing to him that, in process of time, the word *princeps* no longer signified *prince of the senate*, but, in the modern acceptation, the supreme ruler of the state.

had perished, either in the field of battle, or by the rigour of proscriptions: of the remaining nobility, the leading men were raised to wealth and honours, in proportion to the alacrity with which they courted the yoke; and all who in the distraction of the times had risen to affluence, preferred immediate ease and safety to the danger of contending for ancient freedom. The provinces acquiesced under the new establishment, weary of the mixed authority of the senate and people; a mode of government long distracted by contentions among the great, and in the end rendered intolerable by the avarice of public magistrates; while the laws afforded a feeble remedy, disturbed by violence, defeated by intrigue, and undermined by bribery and corruption.

III. In this state of affairs, Augustus selected Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Agrippa, to prop and strengthen his administration. The former, who was his sister's son,[1] and still a youth, he raised to the dignity of pontiff and ædile: on the latter, by his birth obscure, but eminent for military talents, and the companion of all his victories, he conferred the honour of two successive consulships; and in a short time after, upon the untimely death of Marcellus,[2] chose him for his son-in-law. Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, the sons of his wife Livia, were adorned with the title of IMPERATOR,[3] though the succession in the house of Augustus was at the time well secured by other branches of the house of Cæsar. He had already adopted into the imperial family Caius and Lucius, the two sons of Agrippa; and to see them, even before they had put on the manly gown, considered as princes of the Roman youth, and marked out as future consuls, was his ardent desire; though, for political reasons, he chose to disguise his sentiments. To obtain those honours for his family was the wish of his heart: while, under a show of coy reluctance, he seemed to reject them. Agrippa departed this life; and in a short time after his two sons were cut off; Lucius Cæsar[4] on his road to join the army in Spain; and

[1] Octavia was the sister of Augustus.

[2] Julia, the daughter of Augustus, married first to Marcellus and afterwards to Agrippa.

[3] The title of *imperator* implied no more than the commander of an army. It was usually given by the soldiers in their camp, or in the field after a victory, to the general whom they approved. Augustus, and the following emperors, granted the name to their favourites as an honourable distinction. Tiberius reserved it for the emperor only. Being always, with other titles, annexed to the imperial dignity, it served, at length, to convey the idea now understood by the word EMPEROR.

[4] Caius and Lucius were the sons of Agrippa by Julia, the daughter of

Caius on his return from Armenia, where he had received a wound that impaired his health. Whether they died by their own premature fate, or the machinations of their step-mother Livia, is to this day problematical. Drusus had paid his debt to nature, leaving Tiberius the only surviving son-in-law of the emperor. The current of court favour was now directed that way. He was adopted by Augustus, declared his colleague in the government, his associate in the tribunitian power, and shown as the rising sun to the army; not, as before, by the secret arts of Livia, but with her open and avowed direction. Augustus was now in the decline of life, and Livia had gained unbounded influence over his affections. By her contrivance Agrippa Posthumus, the only surviving grandson of the emperor, was banished to the isle of Planasia. In praise of this young man much cannot be said: he was a stranger to the liberal arts, uncouth, unformed, and stupidly valuing himself on his bodily strength; yet free from vice, or the imputation of a crime.

At this time Germanicus, the immediate descendant of Drusus, was appointed to the command of eight legions on the Rhine. By the emperor's direction Tiberius adopted him as his son, though he had then issue of his own growing up to manhood. The policy, no doubt, was to guard the succession with additional securities. Augustus, in that juncture, had no war upon his hands, that in Germany excepted; which was carried on, not with a view to extension of empire, or any solid advantage, but solely to expiate the disgrace incurred by the loss of Varus[1] and his legions. A perfect calm prevailed at Rome: the magistrates retained their ancient names; the younger part of the community were born since the battle of Actium,[2] and the old during the civil wars: how many were then living, who had seen the constitution of their country?

IV. The government thus overthrown, nothing remained of ancient manners, or ancient spirit. Of independence, or the equal condition of Roman citizens, no trace was left. All ranks submitted to the will of the prince, little solicitous about the present hour; while Augustus, in the vigour of health, maintained at once his own dignity, the honour of his house, and the public tranquillity. In process of time, when, worn

Augustus. The Roman law made no difference between adoption and natural filiation; consequently the two sons of Agrippa, being adopted by Augustus, became part of the Cæsarean family.

[1] The slaughter of Varus, and his three legions, was A.D. 9.

[2] The battle of Actium was B.C. 31.

with age, and failing under bodily infirmities, he seemed to approach the last act, a new scene presented itself to the hopes of men. Some amused themselves with ideas of ancient liberty, many dreaded the horrors of a civil war, and others wished for public commotion; the greater part discussed, with a variety of opinions, the character of the new masters at that moment impending over the state. "Agrippa was rude and savage; disgrace added to his natural ferocity; and, in point of age and experience, he was by no means equal to the weight of empire. Tiberius was matured by years; he had gained reputation in war; but the pride of the Claudian family was inveterate in his nature, and his inbred cruelty, however suppressed with art, announced itself in various shapes. Trained up in the imperial house, in the very bosom of despotism, he had been inured from his youth to the pomp and pride of consulships and triumphs. During the years which he passed in a seeming retreat, but real exile, in the isle of Rhodes, he meditated nothing so much as plans of future vengeance, clandestine pleasures, and the arts of dissimulation." To these reflections the public added their dread of a mother raging with all the impotence of female ambition: a whole people, they said, were to be enslaved by a woman, and two young men,[1] who in the beginning would hang heavy on the state, and in the end distract and rend it to pieces by their own dissensions.

V. While these and other observations of a similar nature employed the public mind, the health of Augustus declined apace. The wickedness of his wife was not supposed to remain inactive. A rumour prevailed, that Augustus had gone a few months before, in a private manner, with a select party, and Fabius Maximus, his confidential friend, to the island of Planasia, on a visit to Agrippa. The meeting was said to be of the tenderest nature; tears were shed by both, and a scene of mutual affection followed. From that interview hopes were conceived, that the young prince would be once more restored to the favour and protection of his grandfather. The secret soon transpired: Fabius communicated the whole to his wife Marcia, and by her it was conveyed to Livia. Augustus knew that he had been betrayed. Maximus died soon after, perhaps by his own hand: but of that nothing can be said with certainty. At his funeral Marcia was heard, in the vehemence of distress and sorrow, to accuse herself of being accessory

[1] Drusus (the son of Tiberius) and Germanicus, who, at that time, commanded the legions on the Rhine.

to the death of her husband. However that may be, Tiberius had scarcely set foot in Illyricum, when he received despatches from his mother, requiring his immediate presence. He arrived at Nola: but whether Augustus was still living, or had breathed his last, must be left in doubt. By Livia's order the avenues were closely guarded: favourable accounts were issued from time to time; and with that artifice mankind was amused, till all proper measures were concerted. At length the same report that announced the death of Augustus, proclaimed Tiberius in possession of the supreme power.

VI. The first exploit of the new reign [A.U.C. 767, A.D. 14] was the murder of Agrippa Posthumus. A centurion of undaunted resolution attacked him by surprise. Though unprovided with arms, the young man did not easily yield: he fell after a stout resistance. Of this event Tiberius made no report to the senate, content with hinting a pretended order of his deceased father, by which the centurion, charged with the custody of Agrippa's person, was commanded to despatch him, as soon as the emperor breathed his last. Augustus, it is true, had arraigned the character and conduct of the young man in terms of asperity; he had even banished him by a decree of the senate: but it is equally true, that he never imbrued his hands in the blood of his kindred; nor is it probable that, for the security of a step-son, he would have doomed to death a descendant from himself. The stronger presumption is, that Tiberius and Livia, the former impelled by his dread of a rival, and the latter by the malice of a step-mother, were accomplices in the murder. When the assassin, in the military phrase, reported to Tiberius, that what he had given in orders was duly executed, the reply of the new emperor was, that he had given no such orders, and for what was done the centurion must answer before the senate.

A disavowal so very extraordinary gave the alarm to Sallustius Crispus,[1] a minister then in favour, and trusted with the secrets of the court. The warrant for the execution had passed through his hands. He dreaded a public examination; well aware that whether he disclosed the truth, or attempted to disguise it, his own danger would, in either case, be precisely the same. To ward off the blow, he remonstrated to Livia, that the secret counsels of the imperial family, the conduct of ministers, and the actions of the centurions, ought to be veiled from the public eye. By referring too much to the

[1] He was grand-nephew to Sallust, the great historian. See *Annals*, book iii. s. 30.

senate, the prince would weaken his own authority: that men should be accountable to the sovereign only, was a branch of the imperial prerogative; and if Tiberius departed from it, he ceased to reign.

VII. At Rome, in the meantime, all things tended to a state of abject servitude. Consuls, senators, and Roman knights, contended with emulation, who should be the most willing slaves. The higher each person's rank, the more he struggled for the foremost place in bondage. All appeared with a studied countenance. An air of gaiety might dishonour the memory of Augustus, and sadness would ill befit the opening of a new reign. A motley farce was acted; and grief and joy, distress and flattery, succeeding by turns, were curiously mixed and blended. The oath of fidelity to Tiberius was taken first by the two consuls, Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, and by them administered to Seius Strabo and Caius Turranius; the former, præfect of the prætorian bands; the latter, controller of the corn and public stores. Their example was followed by the senate, the army, and the mass of the people.

To make everything move from the consuls, was the policy of Tiberius. He affected the appearance of republican principles, as if the constitution still subsisted, and he himself had formed no design to destroy it. The very proclamation, by which he convened the senate, professed no other authority than that of the tribunitian power conferred upon him by Augustus. The proclamation itself was short, and penned in modest terms; importing, "that the business of meeting was, to decree funeral honours to his deceased father; as to himself, he could not leave the body; that office of piety was the only function that he presumed to exercise." This was, indeed, the language of moderation; but Augustus was no sooner dead, than he assumed the supreme authority; in his character of imperator, he took upon him the whole military command; he gave the word to the prætorian guards;[1] sentinels were stationed round the palace; the soldiers appeared under arms; the magnificence of a court was seen in all its forms; guards attended him to the forum; guards conducted him to the senate-house; all things announced the sovereign. In his despatches to the army, he was already the successor of Augustus: he spoke the style and language of a

[1] In every Roman camp the general's tent, or pavilion, was called the PRÆTORIUM. The soldiers, who formed the emperor's body-guard, were called the *prætorian cohorts*.

recognised emperor, without reserve, and in the tone of power, equivocal only when he addressed the senate.

The fact was, Tiberius dreaded Germanicus. A commander-in-chief, who had so many legions under his direction, who had formed connections with the allies of Rome, and was besides the idol of the people, might choose to seize the government, rather than linger in expectation. For this reason the fathers were to be managed. There was at the bottom another motive: if, in appearance, he owed his elevation, not to the intrigues of an ambitious mother, or the adoption of a superannuated emperor, but to the voice of the people, it would redound more to his glory. The opportunity was also fair, to pry into the temper and dispositions of the leading senators. The event showed that his indecision was policy in disguise. He noted the words of men, he watched their looks; warped every circumstance into a crime; and, hoarding all in his memory, gathered rancour for a future day.

VIII. At the first meeting of the senate, the funeral of Augustus was the only subject of debate. The emperor's will was brought forward by the vestal virgins. Tiberius and Livia were declared his heirs. The latter was adopted into the Julian family, with the additional title of AUGUSTA. His grandchildren and their issue were next in succession; in the third degree he named the nobles of Rome; not indeed from motives of personal regard, for the greater part had been for a long time obnoxious; but a bequest so generous and magnificent might gain the applause of future ages. In the rest of his legacies the will was in the style of a Roman citizen: if we except the clauses, whereby he gave to the Roman people four hundred thousand great sesterces, to the inferior commonalty five and thirty thousand, to each prætorian soldier one thousand small sesterces, and to every common man belonging to the legions three hundred, he affected neither pomp nor grandeur. The will being read, the funeral honours were taken into consideration. The chief propositions were, that the *procession should pass through the triumphal gate;* this was moved by Asinius Gallus: *that the titles of all the laws of Augustus, and the names of the conquered nations, should be carried before the body*, was the motion of Lucius Arruntius. Valerius Messala was of opinion, that the *oath of fidelity to Tiberius should be renewed every year;* and being thereupon interrogated by the prince, whether that motion was made with his privity? *I made it*,

said Messala, *upon my own suggestion; in matters of public concern, however it may give umbrage, the conviction of my own heart shall be the only rule of my conduct.* The age had left no other mode of flattery. The senate with one voice insisted, that the body should be borne to the funeral pile upon their own shoulders. Tiberius assented with seeming condescension, but real arrogance. The Field of Mars was the place appointed for the ceremony. A proclamation was issued, warning the populace to restrain their zeal, and not require that the last duties should be performed in the Forum, as had been done with tumult and disorder at the funeral of Julius Cæsar.

On the day appointed for the ceremony, the soldiers were drawn up under arms; a circumstance that served only to provoke the ridicule of all who remembered the day, or heard of it from their fathers, when Cæsar the dictator was put to death. In that early period of slavery, and in the first emotions of joy for liberty in vain recovered, the blow for freedom seemed a murder to some, and to others a glorious sacrifice. But in the present juncture, when a prince worn out with age, who had grown grey in power, and left a long train of heirs, was to receive the last funeral obsequies, at such a time to call forth the military, in order to secure a quiet interment, was a vain parade, as ridiculous as it was unnecessary.

IX. Augustus now became the subject of public discussion. Frivolous circumstances engaged the attention of the greater number. They observed that the anniversary of his accession to the imperial dignity, was the day of his death. He died at Nola, in the same house, and in the same chamber, where Octavius his father breathed his last. They called to mind, in wonder and amaze, the number of his consulships, equal to those of Valerius Corvinus and Caius Marius put together. The tribunitian power continued in his hands during a series of seven and thirty years; he was saluted IMPERATOR no less than one and twenty times; and other titles of distinction were either invented or revived, to adorn his name. Reflections of a different kind were made by thinking men. They rejudged the life of the emperor, and pronounced with freedom. By his apologists it was argued, "that filial piety to his adopted father, the distraction of the times, and the ruin of the laws, made the part he took in the civil wars an act of necessity; and civil war can neither be undertaken nor conducted on principles of honour and strict justice.

To revenge the death of Julius Cæsar, was the primary motive. To obtain that end, he made concessions to Antony, and he temporised with Lepidus: but when the latter grew grey in sloth, and the former fell a victim to his voluptuous passions, the commonwealth, convulsed by party divisions, had no resource but the government of one. There was, however, no monarchy, no dictator: content with the unassuming title of Prince of the Senate, he established peace, and settled the constitution. The ocean and far distant rivers[1] marked his boundaries of the empire. The legions, the provinces, and the fleets of Rome acted in concert, with all the strength of system. Justice was duly administered at home; the allies were treated with moderation; and magnificent structures rose to adorn the capital. Violent measures were rarely adopted, and never but for the good of the whole."

X. To this it was answered, "Filial piety, and the distraction of the times, were nothing but a colour to varnish over the lust of dominion. It was the ambition of Augustus that gained the veterans by a profusion of largesses; it was ambition that raised an army, when he was yet a young man, and in a private station. By bribery and corruption he seduced to himself the forces of the consuls. To the friends of Pompey's party he wore a mask, affecting republican principles: he deceived the senate; and by an extorted decree possessed himself of the fasces, and the prætorian authority. How long did the consuls Hirtius and Pansa[2] survive that event? They were both cut off. Did they fall by the hand of the enemy? Who can be certain that Pansa did not die by poison infused into his wound, and Hirtius by the treachery of his own soldiers? If that was their fate, is it clear that Augustus was not an actor in that scene of iniquity? That he put himself at the head of both their armies, is a fact well known. Having extorted the consulship from a reluctant senate, he threw off the mask, and turned against the commonwealth the arms which had been entrusted to him in the cause of liberty against Mark Antony.[3] What shall be said of the fury of proscriptions?

[1] The distant rivers were, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.

[2] Hirtius and Pansa were consuls B.C. 43. They gave battle to Mark Antony near Modena, and obliged him to abandon Italy. Hirtius fell in the engagement, and Pansa, in a short time after, died of his wounds.

[3] Augustus collected together the veteran soldiers who had fought under Julius Cæsar, and received a commission from the senate to join Hirtius and Pansa against Mark Antony.

He seized the lands of Roman citizens, and divided them among his creatures. These were acts of violence, to this hour unjustified even by those who advised the measure.

"To atone for the death of a father, Brutus and Cassius fell a sacrifice: so far, perhaps, may be allowed; but whether that deadly feud, when the good of the commonwealth required it, might not have been, to his immortal honour, appeased in silence, may still be made a question. Be it as it may, the younger Pompey was ruined by an insidious peace, and Lepidus was undone by treachery. Mark Antony relied upon the treaties of Tarentum and Brundusium: he went further; he married the sister of Augustus; and in consequence of that insidious alliance, lost his life. Peace, it is true, was soon after established: but what kind of peace? The slaughter of Lollius and Varus stained it in Germany; and the massacre of the Varros, the Egnatii, and the Julii, made Rome a theatre of blood."

From the public conduct of Augustus, a transition was made to his domestic character. "Livia was taken by force from Tiberius Nero, her lawful husband; she was then advanced in her pregnancy: whether in that condition she was under a legal disability to contract a second marriage, was indeed referred to the pontifical college; but that very reference was a mockery, that turned all religion to a jest. His two favourites, Quintus Tedius and Vedius Pollio,[1] were distinguished by nothing but riot and debauchery. To crown the whole, Livia ruled him with unbounded sway; to the commonwealth a fatal empress, and to the Cæsarian family a pernicious stepmother. The honours due to the gods were no longer sacred: Augustus[2] claimed equal worship. Temples were built, and statues were erected, to him: a mortal man was adored, and priests and pontiffs were appointed to pay him impious homage. In calling Tiberius to the succession, he neither acted from motives of private affection, nor of regard for the public welfare. He knew the arrogance and innate cruelty of the man, and from the contrast hoped to derive new lustre on himself." That he knew the inward frame and cast of Tiberius, appears from a fact that happened a few years before. The business of granting to that prince a

[1] The excessive luxury of Vedius Pollio is well known. Dio Cassius says that he fattened his lampreys and other fish with human blood.

[2] Suetonius says, Augustus, though he knew that temples were often raised in the provinces in honour of the proconsuls, allowed none to be erected to himself, unless they were at the same time dedicated to the Roman people. In the city he absolutely refused all honours of that kind.

renewal of the tribunitian power, was depending in the senate. Augustus, in his speech upon that occasion, made honourable mention of him; but, at the same time, threw out oblique reflections on his conduct, his deportment, and his manners. With affected tenderness he seemed willing to palliate all defects; but the malice of the apology wounded the deeper.

XI. The rites of sepulture being performed, a temple and religious worship were decreed to the memory of Augustus. The senate now turned their supplications to Tiberius. A direct answer could not be drawn from him. "He talked of the magnitude and the weight of empire; he mistrusted his own abilities: the comprehensive mind of Augustus was, indeed, equal to the charge; but for himself, called as he had been by that emperor to a share in the administration, he knew by experience, that to direct the affairs of a great nation, was to be in a state of painful pre-eminence, exposed to danger, and subject to the vicissitudes of fortune. In a city so well provided with men of illustrious character, was it advisable to confide the whole to a single ruler? The several departments of public business would be better filled by coalition of the best and ablest citizens." In this strain Tiberius delivered himself, with dignity of sentiment, it is true, but nothing from the heart. A profound master of dissimulation, he had from nature, or the force of habit, the art of being dark and unintelligible. Even upon occasions when duplicity was useless, he spoke in short and broken hints, the sense suspended, mysterious, and indecisive. Intending at present to conceal his sentiments,[1] he was of course more involved than ever. The senators, dreading nothing so much as the crime of knowing his character, broke out in a strain of supplication; they melted into tears; they poured forth entreaties; with uplifted hands they looked to the gods; they turned to the statue of Augustus, and at times fell prostrate at the knees of Tiberius. Thus surrounded he called for a state-paper, and ordered it to be read. It set forth an estimate of the empire and its resources, the number of citizens, the allies of Rome, an account of the naval strength, the names of the conquered kingdoms and provinces; the subsidies, and tributes, and the amount of the revenue, with the necessary disbursements of government, and the demands for secret service. The whole was in the handwriting of Augustus. It

[1] Tacitus says, in another place, that Tiberius valued himself more for his art of dissimulation than for all his other talents. He placed it in the rank of virtues, and hated the man who attempted to discover the secrets of his heart.

concluded with his advice, never to aim at an extension of empire: an important rule of policy; but was it the result of wisdom? or did he view with a malignant eye the fame that might accrue to his successor?

XII. The senate still continuing, with prostrate servility, to press their suit, Tiberius let fall an expression, intimating that, though unequal to the whole, he was willing to undertake any part that might be committed to his care. Inform us, Cæsar, said Asinius Gallus,[1] what part do you choose? Disconcerted by so unexpected a question, Tiberius paused for a moment; but soon collecting himself, "To choose," he said, "or to decline any part, would ill become the man who wished to be dispensed with altogether." Gallus saw displeasure working in his countenance. With quickness and presence of mind he made answer, "The question was not put with intent to divide what in its nature is united and indivisible. I appealed to your own feelings. I wished to draw from you a confession, that the commonwealth, being one body politic, requires one mind to direct it." To this he added a panegyric on the character of Augustus; he expatiated on the victories obtained by Tiberius, and the civil employments which he had filled, with honour to himself, during a series of years. But this soothing strain had no effect. The resentment of Tiberius was not to be pacified. Asinius Gallus had married Vipsania,[2] the daughter of Marcus Agrippa, after her divorce from Tiberius. By that connection he seemed to aspire above the rank of a citizen; and the spirit of his father, Asinius Pollio, was still living in the son.

XIII. Lucius Arruntius delivered his sentiments, nearly the same as Gallus had offered, and in like manner gave offence. Tiberius harboured in his breast no lurking resentment to Arruntius; but he was jealous of a man, whom he saw flourishing in opulence, an ardent spirit, possessed of talents, and high in the esteem of the public. Augustus, moreover, in a conversation not long before his death, talking of the succession to the imperial dignity, distinguished three several classes; in the first, he placed such as were worthy, but would decline the honour; in the second, men of ambition, but of inferior talents; in the last, such as had genius to

[1] Asinius Gallus was son to Asinius Pollio, the famous orator, and confidential friend of Augustus.

[2] Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, was married to Tiberius, who was divorced from her at the desire of Augustus, that he might be at liberty to marry the emperor's daughter Julia, at that time the widow of Agrippa.

plan, and courage to undertake. Marcus Lepidus,[1] he said, was every way qualified, but unwilling; Asinius Gallus had more ambition than merit; Lucius Arruntius was not only equal to the task, but, if occasion offered, would show a spirit of enterprise. Of this anecdote, with regard to the two first, no doubt remains; but instead of Arruntius, Cneius Piso by some writers is said to have been named. Except Lepidus, they were afterwards all cut off for constructive crimes, artfully laid to their charge by Tiberius. In the course of the debate, Quintus Haterius and Mamercus Scaurus had the misfortune to alarm that gloomy and suspicous temper: the first, by asking, "How long is it your pleasure, Cæsar, that the commonwealth shall want a head to direct it?" Scaurus, by saying, "Since the prince has not interposed the tribunitian authority to prevent the report of the consuls, there is room to hope that he will yield to the entreaties of the senate." Tiberius took fire at what was said by Haterius, and broke out with sudden vehemence: to Scaurus he made no reply; resentment had taken root in his heart, and for that reason was smothered in silence.

Fatigued at length by the clamours of the senate, and the solicitation of individuals, he gave way by degrees: not expressly declaring his consent; but, as he said, to end the mutual trouble of repeated refusals and unwearied importunity. It may be related as a fact, that Haterius, on the following day, attending at the palace, to mitigate resentment by an apology, narrowly escaped being put to death by the guards. In a suppliant posture he clasped the emperor's knees; and in that moment Tiberius, entangled perhaps by the petitioner, or making a false step, fell to the ground. This provoked the soldiers upon duty. Haterius was saved from their fury: but the danger that threatened a man of his illustrious character made no impression on the prince; nor did he relent till Livia exerted all her power and influence. Tiberius yielded at length to the solicitations of his mother.

XIV. The senate, at their next meeting, began to offer the incense of adulation to Livia. It was proposed to confer upon her the title of PARENT; that name was thought too general: the more distinctive appellation of MOTHER OF HER COUNTRY was moved as an amendment. It was fur-

[1] The character of Marcus Lepidus is drawn by Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 20. He is there celebrated for his political wisdom, and the virtues of moderation

ther proposed, with the general concurrence, that to the name of the Emperor should be added, THE SON OF JULIA. Tiberius opposed these several motions: honours, he said, ought not to be lavished on women; in what regarded his own rank, he was determined to act with the strictest self-denial. This had the appearance of moderation, but envy was the source. By the honours intended to his mother,[1] he thought his own glory might be eclipsed, and, in that spirit, prevented a decree, by which a lictor was ordered to attend her; nor would he suffer an altar[2] to be raised on account of her adoption into the Julian family. Other marks of distinction were proposed, and rejected. Germanicus was more favourably treated; for him Tiberius desired the rank of proconsul.[3] Special messengers were sent to invest him with his honours, and at the same time to condole with him on the loss of Augustus. Drusus[4] was then at Rome; and, being consul designed, in his favour nothing new was demanded. By virtue of the imperial prerogative, twelve candidates were named for the prætorship. That number had been settled by Augustus; and though the senate entreated Tiberius to enlarge the list, he bound himself by an oath never to exceed the line already drawn.

XV. The right of electing magistrates, by public suffrage, in the Field of Mars,[5] was now, for the first time, taken from the people at large, and vested in the senate. The will of the prince had, before that time, great influence in all elections; but parties were formed among the tribes, and sometimes with success. To this encroachment the people made no opposition: they saw their rights taken from them;

[1] Livia took the name of *Julia*, in consequence of her adoption into the *Julian* family.

[2] When the Romans wished to perpetuate the memory of a singular event, they raised an altar, and engraved the particulars of the transaction. Augustus, after living above seven and thirty years with Livia as his acknowledged wife, chose, in the end, to make her his daughter by adoption.

[3] The proconsular authority was often granted to generals at the head of distant armies, but never exercised within the city.

[4] Drusus was the son of Tiberius.

[5] Tiberius had all the arts of a subtle and disguised politician. He knew that by depriving the people of the last remnant of liberty, their right to a voice in the election of magistrates, and vesting it in the senate, he should establish his own absolute power. The senate, at all times adverse to the claims of the people, saw with pleasure the annihilation of a restless, factious, and turbulent democracy; never once reflecting that their order, unsupported by the people, could but make a feeble resistance to the will of a despotic prince. The people, on their part, complained of the alteration; but they complained without principle, or a sense of public interest, merely because they lost the opportunity of selling their votes.

they grumbled, and submitted. The senators were pleased with the change. They were now delivered from the necessity of humiliating condescensions in the course of their canvass, and from the heavy expense of bribery and corruption. The moderation of Tiberius was a further circumstance in favour of the measure: four candidates of his nomination were implicitly to be chosen, without intrigue or contention; and the prince, content with that number, promised not to stretch his prerogative. The tribunes of the people applied for leave to celebrate, at their own expense, the games newly instituted in honour of Augustus, and ordered to be added to the calendar, under the title of Augustan games. A decree passed; but the expense was to issue out of the treasury. The tribunes were allowed to preside in the Circus, dressed in triumphal robes,[1] but the pomp of splendid chariots was expressly denied. The annual celebration of those games was afterwards transferred, from the tribunes, to that particular prætor[2] who has jurisdiction in all causes between strangers and the citizens of Rome.

XVI. Such was the situation of affairs at Rome when a fierce and violent mutiny broke out among the legions in Pannonia. For this insurrection there was no other motive than the licentious spirit, which is apt to show itself in the beginning of a new reign, and the hope of private advantage in the distractions of a civil war. A summer camp had been formed for three legions under the command of Junius Blæsus. The death of Augustus, and the accession of Tiberius, being known to the army, the general granted a suspension of military duty,[3] as an interval of grief or joy. The soldiers grew wanton in idleness: dissensions spread amongst them; the vile and profligate had their circular audiences; sloth and pleasure prevailed; and all were willing to exchange a life of toil and discipline for repose and luxury. There happened to be in the camp a busy incendiary, by name Percennius, formerly a leader of theatrical factions, and now a common soldier; a man fluent in words, and by his early habits versed in the arts of exciting tumult and sedition. Over the weak and ignorant, and such as felt their minds alarmed with doubts and fears about the future condition of the service, this pragmatical fellow began

[1] The triumphal robe was a rich purple, intermixed with gold.

[2] There were eight prætors, but two only had jurisdiction; one in all causes between citizen and citizen; the other between citizens and strangers.

[3] A suspension of all business whatever, occasioned by some melancholy event, was called *justitium*.

to exert his influence. In the dead of night he mixed in cabals; and never failed at the close of day, when the sober and well-disposed retired to their tents, to draw together the idle and most abandoned. Having gained a number of proselytes, he stood forth the orator of sedition, and harangued his confederates in the following manner:

XVII. "How long, my fellow-soldiers, must we obey a small and despicable set of centurions? how long continue slaves to a wretched band of military tribunes? If we mean to redress our grievances, what time so fit as the present, when the new emperor is not yet settled on the throne? Relief may now be obtained either by remonstrances, or sword in hand. By our passive spirit we have suffered enough; we have been slaves in thirty or forty campaigns; we are grown grey in the service, worn out with infirmities, and covered with wounds. In that condition we are still condemned to the toils of war. Even the men who have obtained their discharge, still follow the standard under the name of veterans;[1] another word for protracted misery. A few, indeed, by their bodily vigour have surmounted all their labours; but what is their reward? they are sent to distant regions; and, under colour of an allotment of lands, they are settled on a barren mountain, or a swampy fen. War of itself is a state of the vilest drudgery, without an adequate compensation. The life and limb of a soldier are valued at ten pence a day: out of that wretched pittance he must find his clothing, his tent-equipage, and his arms; with that fund, he must bribe the centurion; with that must purchase occasional exemptions from service; and, with that, must pay for a remission of punishment. But blows and stripes from our officers, wounds from the enemy, intense cold in winter, and the fatigue of summer campaigns; destructive war, in which everything is hazarded, and peace, by which nothing is gained, are all the soldier's portion.

"For these evils there is but one remedy left. Let us fix the conditions of our service; let every soldier receive a denarius a day, and at the end of sixteen years let him be entitled to his dismission: beyond that term no further service. Without detaining any man whatever, and without forcing him to follow the colours as a veteran, let every

[1] The soldiers who had served their full time, were not discharged, but still continued to enter into action when occasion required. They encamped apart from the legions, under a banner called *vexillum*, and thence the name of *vexillarii*. They were also called *veterans*.

soldier receive the arrears that may be due to him; let him be paid in ready money on the spot, and in the very camp where he signalised his valour. The prætorian cohorts receive two denarii for their daily pay; at the end of sixteen years they return to their families: and is superior merit the ground of this distinction? do they encounter greater dangers? It is theirs to mount guard within the city, and the service may be honourable; but it is our lot to serve amidst savage nations, in a state of perpetual warfare. If we look out of our tents, the barbarians are in view."

XVIII. This speech was received with acclamations. Various passions heaved in every breast. Some presented their bodies seamed with stripes; others pointed to their heads grown grey in the service; numbers showed their tattered clothing, and their persons almost naked. At length the frenzy of the malcontents knew no bounds. Their first design was to incorporate the three legions into one; but which should give its name to the united body, was the question: mutual jealousy put an end to the project. Another scheme took place: the eagles of the three legions, with the colours of the cohorts, were crowded together without preference or distinction. They threw up sods of earth, and began to raise a tribunal. Amidst the tumult Blæsus arrived: he called aloud to all; he laid hold of individuals; he offered himself to their swords; and "Here," he said, "behold your victim: imbrue your hands in the blood of your general. Murder is a crime less horrible, than treason to your prince. I will either live to command the legions entrusted to me: or, if you are determined to revolt, despatch me first; that, when this frenzy is over, you may wake to shame, to horror, and remorse."

XIX. The work of raising a tribunal, in spite of all his efforts, still went on. Heaps of turf were thrown up, and rose breast-high. Conquered at length by the perseverance of their general, the mutineers desisted. Blæsus exerted all his eloquence: "Sedition and revolt," he said, "could not serve their cause; the remonstrances of the army ought to be conveyed to the ear of the prince with respect and deference. The demands which they now made were of the first impression, unknown to former armies, and with the deified Augustus never attempted. In the present juncture, when the prince was new to the cares of government, was that a time to add to his solicitude by tumult and insurrection? If they would still persist, in the season

of profound peace, to urge a claim never demanded even by the conquerors in a civil war, why incur the guilt of rebellion? why, in violation of all military discipline, urge their pretensions sword in hand? They might depute their agents to treat with the prince; and, in the presence of their general, they might give their instructions on the spot." This proposal was accepted: with one voice they called out for the son of Blæsus, then a military tribune. The young officer undertook the charge. His directions were to insist that, at the expiration of sixteen years, the soldier should be discharged from the service. That point settled, it would then be time to enumerate other grievances. With this commission the general's son went forward on his journey. A calm succeeded, and lasted for some days. But the minds of the soldiers were still in agitation: their pride was roused; the general's son was now the orator of the army; and force, it was manifest, had at length extorted, what by gentle measures could never be obtained.

XX. Meanwhile, the detached companies[1] which before the disturbance had been sent to Nauportum, to repair the roads, the bridges, and other military works, having heard of the commotions in the camp, seized the colours; and, after ravaging the adjacent villages, plundered Nauportum, a place little inferior to a municipal town. They treated the centurions with derision; from derision they proceeded to opprobrious language; and, in the end, to blows and open violence. Aufidienus Rufus, the præfect of the camp, was the chief object of their fury: they dragged him out of his carriage; and, laying a heavy load on his back, obliged him to march in the foremost ranks, asking him, with contemptuous insolence, how he liked his burden, and the length of his journey? Rufus had risen from a common man to the rank of centurion, and was afterwards made præfect of the camp. In that station he endeavoured to recall the rigour of ancient discipline. A veteran in the service, and long inured to fatigue, he was strict and rigorous in his duty, expecting from others what he had practised himself.

XXI. The return of this tumultuous body renewed the troubles of the camp. The soldiers, without control, issued out of the lines, and pillaged the country round. Some, more heavily laden than their comrades, were apprehended

[1] The companies of foot were called *manipuli*. They consisted, in the time of Romulus, of 100 men, and thence the principal officer was called *centurio*. They increased afterwards to 200, but the name of centurion still remained. A common soldier was called *manipularis*.

by the orders of Blæsus; and, after receiving due correction, thrown into prison, as an example to the rest. The authority of the general was still in force with the centurions, and such of the common men as retained a sense of their duty. The delinquents, however, refused to submit; they were dragged along, resisting with all their strength; they clasped the knees of the multitude round them; they called upon their fellow-soldiers by name; they implored the protection of the company to which they belonged; they invoked the cohorts and the legions, crying out to all, that the same lot would shortly be their portion. Against their general they omitted nothing that calumny could suggest; they appealed to heaven; they implored the gods; they tried, by every topic, to excite compassion, to inflame resentment, to awaken terror, and rouse the men to acts of violence. A general insurrection followed: the soldiers in a body rushed to the prison, burst the gates, unchained the prisoners, and associated with themselves the vilest of the army, a band of deserters, and a desperate crew of malefactors, then under condemnation for the enormity of their crimes.

XXII. The flame of discord raged with redoubled fury. New leaders joined the mutiny. Amidst the crowd, one of the common soldiers, a fellow known by the name of Vibulenus, mounted on the shoulders of his comrades before the tribunal of Blæsus, and addressed the multitude, all wild with fury, and eager to hear the language of sedition. "My friends," he said, "you have bravely interposed to save the lives of these innocent, these much injured men. You have restored them to new life. But who will restore my brother? who will give him to my arms? Sent hither from the German army, in concert with you to settle measures for our common safety, he was last night basely murdered by the hand of gladiators, whom Blæsus arms for your destruction. Answer me, Blæsus, where have you bestowed the body? The very enemy allows the rites of sepulture. When I have washed my brother with my tears, and printed kisses on his mangled body, then plunge your poniard in this wretched bosom. I shall die content, if these my fellow-soldiers perform the last funeral office, and bury in one grave two wretched victims, who knew no crime but that of serving the common interest of the legions."

XXIII. This speech Vibulenus rendered still more inflammatory by the vehemence of his manner, by beating his breast, by striking his forehead, and pouring a flood of

tears. A way being opened through the crowd, he leaped from the man's shoulders, and grovelling at the feet of individuals, excited the passions of the multitude to the highest pitch of frenzy. In their fury, some fell upon the gladiators retained by Blæsus, and loaded them with irons; others seized the general's domestic train; while numbers dispersed themselves on every side in quest of the body: and, if it had not been speedily known that no corpse could be found; that the slaves of Blæsus averred under the torture, that no murder had been committed; and, in fact, that the incendiary never had a brother, Blæsus must have fallen a sacrifice. The tribunes and the præfect of the camp were obliged to save themselves by flight. Their baggage was seized and plundered. Lucilius, the centurion, was put to death. This man, by the sarcastic pleasantry of the soldiers, had been nicknamed GIVE ME ANOTHER; because, in chastising the soldiers, when one rod was broke, he was used to call for ANOTHER, and then ANOTHER. The rest of the centurions lay concealed in lurking-places. Out of the whole number, Julius Clemens, a man of prompt and busy talents, was the favourite of the insurgents. He was spared as a fit person to negotiate the claims of the army. Two of the legions, the eighth and fifteenth, were upon the point of coming to the decision of the sword: the former bent on the destruction of Sirpicus, a centurion; and the latter determined to protect him. The quarrel would have laid a scene of blood, if the soldiers of the ninth legion had not, by entreaty, or by menacing the obstinate, appeased the fury of both parties.

XXIV. When the account of these transactions reached Tiberius, that abtruse and gloomy temper, which loved to brood in secret over all untoward events, was so deeply affected, that he resolved, without delay, to despatch his son Drusus, with others of high rank, and two prætorian cohorts, to quell the insurrection. In their instructions no decisive orders were given: they were left to act as emergencies might require. To the cohorts were added a select detachment, with a party of the prætorian horse, and the flower of the Germans, at that time the body-guard of the emperor. In the train which accompanied Drusus, Ælius Sejanus[1] was appointed, by his counsels, to guide the inexperience of the prince. Sejanus, at that time in a joint commission with his father Strabo, had the command of

[1] For the character of Ælius Sejanus, see *Annals*, iv. 1.

the prætorian bands, and stood high in favour with Tiberius; the army would of course consider him as the fountain of rewards and punishments. As soon as they approached the camp, the discontented legions, by way of doing honour to Drusus, advanced to meet him; not, indeed, with colours displayed, as is usual on such occasions; but with a deep and solemn silence, their dress neglected, and their whole appearance uncouth and sordid. In their looks was seen an air of dejection, and at the same time a sullen gloom, that plainly showed a spirit of mutiny still working in their hearts.

XXV. Drusus was no sooner within the intrenchments, than the malcontents secured the gates. Sentinels were posted at different stations, while the rest in a body gathered round the tribunal. Drusus stood in act to speak, with his hand commanding silence. The soldiers felt a variety of contending passions: they looked around, and viewing their numbers, grew fierce at the sight: they rent the air with shouts and acclamations: they turned to Drusus, and were covered with confusion. An indistinct and hollow murmur was heard; a general uproar followed; and soon afterwards a deep and awful silence. The behaviour of the men varied with their passions; by turns inflamed with rage, or depressed with fear. Drusus seized his moment, and read his father's letter, in substance stating, that Tiberius had nothing so much at heart, as the interests of the gallant legions with whom he had served in so many wars. As soon as his grief for the loss of Augustus allowed him leisure, it was his intention to refer the case of the army to the wisdom of the senate. In the meantime, he sent his son to grant all the relief that could then be applied. Ulterior demands he reserved for the deliberation of the fathers; to enforce authority or to relax it, was the lawful right of that assembly; and the senate, beyond all doubt, would distribute rewards and punishments with equal justice.

XXVI. The soldiers made answer, that they had appointed Julius Clemens to speak in their behalf. That officer claimed a right of dismission from the service, at the end of sixteen years; all arrears then to be discharged: in the meantime a denarius to be the soldiers' daily pay; and the practice of detaining the men beyond the period of their service, under the name of veterans, to be abolished for ever. In a business of so much moment, Drusus observed, that the senate and the emperor must be consulted; a general clamour followed.

"Why did he come so far, since he had no authority to augment their pay, or to mitigate their sufferings? The power of doing good was not confided to him; while every petty officer inflicted blows, and stripes, and even death. It had been formerly the policy of Tiberius to elude the claims of the army, by taking shelter under the name of Augustus; and now Drusus comes to play the same farce. How long were they to be amused by the visits of the emperor's son? Could that be deemed an equitable government, that kept nothing in suspense but the good of the army? When the soldier is to be punished, or a battle to be fought, why not consult the senate? According to the present system, reward is to be always a subject of reference, while punishment is instant and without appeal."

XXVII. The soldiers, in a tumultuous body, rushed from the tribunal, breathing vengeance, and, wherever they met either the men belonging to the prætorian bands, or the friends of Drusus, threatening violence, in hopes of ending the dispute by a sudden conflict. Cneius Lentulus, whose age and military character gave him considerable weight, was particularly obnoxious; he was supposed to be the chief adviser of Drusus, and an enemy to the proceedings of the army. For the security of his person, he went aside with Drusus, intending to repair to the winter camp. The mutineers gathered round him, demanding with insolence "Which way was he going? to the senate? perhaps to the emperor? Was he there to show himself an enemy to the demands of the legions?" Nothing could restrain their fury: they discharged a volley of stones; and one of them taking place, Lentulus, wounded and covered with blood, had nothing to expect but instant death, when the guards that attended Drusus came up in time, and rescued him from destruction.

XXVIII. The night that followed seemed big with some fatal disaster, when an unexpected phenomenon put an end to the commotion. In a clear and serene sky the moon was suddenly eclipsed. This appearance, in its natural cause not understood by the soldiers, was deemed a prognostic denouncing the fate of the army. The planet, in its languishing state, represented the condition of the legions: if it recovered its former lustre, the efforts of the men would be crowned with success. To assist the moon in her labours, the air resounded with the clangour of brazen instruments, with the sound of trumpets, and other warlike music. The crowd, in the meantime, stood at gaze: every gleam of light

inspired the men with joy; and the sudden gloom depressed their hearts with grief. The clouds condensed, and the moon was supposed to be lost in utter darkness. A melancholy horror seized the multitude; and melancholy is sure to engender superstition. A religious panic spread through the army. The appearance in the heavens foretold eternal labour to the legions; and all lamented that by their crimes they had called down upon themselves the indignation of the gods. Drusus took advantage of the moment. The opportunity was the effect of chance; but, rightly managed, might conduce to the wisest purpose.

He gave orders that the men who by honest means were most in credit with the malcontents, should go round from tent to tent. Among these was Clemens, the centurion. They visited every part of the camp; they applied to the guards on duty; they conversed with the patrol, and mixed with the sentinels at the gates. They allured some by promises, and by terror subdued the spirit of others. "How long shall we besiege the son of the emperor? Where will this confusion end? Must we follow Percennius and Vibulenus? And shall we swear fidelity to those new commanders? Will their funds supply the pay of the legions? Have they lands to assign to the veteran soldier? For them shall the Neros and the Drusi be deposed? Are they to mount the vacant throne, the future sovereigns of Rome? Let us, since we were the last to enter into rebellion, be the first to expiate our guilt by well-timed repentance. Demands in favour of all, proceed but slowly; to individuals, indulgence is more easily granted; deserve it separately, and the reward will follow." This reasoning had its effect: suspicion and mutual distrust began to take place; the new-raised soldiers went apart from the veterans; the legions separated; a sense of duty revived in the breast of all; the gates were no longer guarded; and the colours, at first promiscuously crowded together, were restored to their proper station.

XXIX. At the return of day, Drusus called an assembly of the soldiers. Though unused to public speaking, he delivered himself with the eloquence of a man who felt his own importance, and the dignity of his rank. He condemned the past, and applauded the present. It was not, he said, a part of his character to yield to menaces, or to shrink from danger. If he saw them penitent, if he heard the language of remorse, he would make a report in their

favour, and dispose his father to listen to their petition. The soldiers answered in humble terms: at their request, the younger Blæsus mentioned above, with Lucius Apronius, a Roman knight in the train of Drusus, and Justus Catonius, a centurion[1] of the first rank, were despatched as the delegates of the army. In the councils afterwards held by Drusus, various opinions were entertained, and different measures proposed. To wait the return of deputies, and meanwhile to win the affections of the men by moderation, was the advice of many. Others were for immediate coercion: "Lenity," they said, "makes no impression on the vulgar mind. The common men, when not kept in subjection, are fierce and turbulent; yet ever ready to bend and crouch under proper authority. It was now the time, while they were overwhelmed with superstition, to infuse another fear, and teach them to respect their general. The authors of the late sedition ought to be made a public example." Drusus, by the bent of his nature prone to vindictive measures, desired that Percennius and Vibulenus might be brought before him. By his orders they were put to death; according to some writers, in his own tent, and there buried; according to others, their bodies were thrown over the intrenchments, a spectacle for public view.

XXX. Diligent search was made for the most active incendiaries. Some were found roving on the outside of the lines, and instantly cut off by the centurions, or the prætorian soldiers. Others were delivered up to justice by their respective companies, as an earnest of their own conversion. The rigour of the winter, which set in earlier than usual, added to the afflictions of the army. Heavy rains ensued; and fell with such violence, that the men could not venture from their tents. To meet in parties, and converse with their comrades, was impossible. The colours, borne down by torrents that rushed through the camp, were with difficulty secured. Superstition still continued to fill the mind with terror. In everything that happened, imagination saw the anger of the gods: it was not without reason that the planets suffered an eclipse, and storms and tempests burst from the angry elements. The guilt of the army was the cause of all. To avert impending vengeance, the only expedient was to depart at once from a vile inauspicious camp, the scene of

[1] Every legion was divided into thirty companies, 200 men in each. Every company had two centurions; the first in command was called PRIMIPILUS or PRIMIPILARIS.

so many crimes, and, by due atonement, expiate their past offences in their winter quarters. In this persuasion the eighth legion departed: the fifteenth followed; while the ninth remained behind, declaring aloud that they would wait for orders from Tiberius: but they soon saw themselves deserted, and therefore struck their tents, willing to do by choice what in a little time would be an act of necessity. Peace and good order being thus restored, Drusus judged it unnecessary to wait till the return of the deputies, and immediately set off for Rome.

XXXI. About the same time, and from the same causes, another sedition broke out among the legions in Germany, supported by greater numbers, and every way more alarming. The leaders of the mutiny flattered themselves that Germanicus, impatient of a new master, would resign himself to the will of the legions, and in that case they had no doubt, but that everything would fall before him. Two armies in that juncture were formed on the banks of the Rhine;[1] one in Upper Germany, commanded by Caius Silius; the other in the Lower Germany, under Aulus Cæcina. Both were subordinate to Germanicus, the commander-in-chief, who was then in Gaul, holding the assembly of the states, and collecting the revenues of that nation. The forces under Silius had not as yet revolted: undecided, wavering, and cautious, they judged it prudent to wait the issue of the mutiny begun by others. In Cæcina's camp on the Lower Rhine, the flame of discord was kindled to the utmost fury. The one-and-twentieth and fifth legions began the insurrection; the first and the twentieth followed their example: they were all stationed together in a summer camp, on the confines of the Ubians. The campaign was inactive; and, as the calls of duty were slight, the time of course was passed in repose and indolence.

New levies from Rome, the refuse of that city, had lately joined the army. Upon the first intelligence of the death of Augustus, these men, long addicted to licentiousness, and averse from labour, began to practise upon the ruder minds of their fellow-soldiers. The time, they said, was come, when the veterans might claim their dismission from the service; when the young soldier might augment his pay; when the army in general might redress their grievances, and retaliate the cruelty of the centurions. It was not, as in Pannonia, a single

[1] The whole track of Gaul, on the borders of the Rhine, was reduced to subjection, and divided by Augustus into Upper and Lower Germany.

Percennius that inflamed the mutiny; nor were these arguments urged to men who saw on every side of them superior armies, and of course trembled while they meditated a revolt. There were numbers of busy incendiaries, and many mouths to bawl sedition. Their doctrine was, that the fate of Rome was in their hands; by their victories the empire flourished; by their valour Germany was subdued; and from the country which they had conquered, the emperors of Rome were proud to derive a title [1] to adorn their names.

XXXII. Cæcina saw the danger, but made no effort to suppress it. The malcontents were numerous, and their frenzy above all control; insomuch, that the general no longer retained his usual firmness. The tumult broke out at once: the soldiers fell upon the centurions, the old and lasting cause of military discontent, and in every insurrection the first to fall a sacrifice. They seized their victims, and, without mercy, dashed them on the ground: in every legion the centurions amounted to sixty; an equal number fell on each of them. The soldiers laid on with their cudgels; they wounded, maimed, and mangled their devoted officers; and, to complete their vengeance, cast them dead, or ready to expire, over the intrenchments. Numbers were thrown into the Rhine. One, in particular, by name Septimius, fled to the tribunal: and, clasping the knees of his general, hoped there to find a sanctuary. The soldiers demanded him with contumacy, and Cæcina was obliged to give him to their fury. Cassius Chærea,[2] the same who afterwards immortalised his name by the death of Caligula, was then a centurion, in the vigour of youth, and of a spirit to face every danger. He made head against all assailants, and, sword in hand, cut his way through their thickest ranks. From this time all was uproar and wild commotion. No tribune gave orders, no præfect of the camp was heard. The leaders of the mutiny appointed sentinels; they stationed the night watch, and gave directions as emergencies required. One mind inspired the whole body; and this circumstance, in the judgment of those who best knew the temper of the army, was the sure sign of a faction not easy to be quelled. In separate bodies nothing was done; no single incendiary took upon him to direct: together they set up a general shout, and together all were silent. Everything

[1] The Roman generals, and the emperors after them, took an honorary title from the conquered country. Scipio was styled AFRICANUS; Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, was called GERMANICUS.

[2] Chærea was the chief of the conspirators against Caligula.

moved in concert, and even anarchy had the appearance of regular discipline.

XXXIII. Meanwhile Germanicus, engaged, as has been mentioned, with the states of Gaul, received advice that Augustus was no more. He had married Agrippina, the granddaughter of that emperor, and by her had several children. Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, was his father, and of course Livia was his grandmother. Thus descended, and thus allied, he lived in perpetual anxiety. The sudden aversion of his uncle, and the secret malice of Livia, embittered his days. The hatred with which they pursued him was unjust; and, for that reason, unrelenting. The fact is, Drusus was the delight of the Roman people: they cherished his memory; persuaded that, if the sovereign power had devolved on him, the old republic would have been restored. At his death, the affections of mankind were transferred to his son. From similar virtues the same conduct was expected. Possessed of popular talents, affable, and obliging to all, Germanicus presented a strong contrast to the harsh temper and clouded aspect of Tiberius. The jealousies that subsisted between the women, added fuel to the flame; Livia beheld the wife of Germanicus with the malice of a stepmother; and, in return, Agrippina resented everything with sensibility, perhaps with indignation. But the tenderness of her affection for her husband softened her fiercer passions, and gave a tincture of delicacy to that haughty spirit which nothing could subdue.

XXXIV. Germanicus was now advanced nearer to the imperial dignity; but his zeal for Tiberius rose in proportion. He required from the Sequanians and the Belgic states the oath of fidelity to the emperor; and being informed of the commotions that distracted the army, he set forward, without delay, to appease the tumult. The legions met him on the outside of the intrenchments, with downcast eyes, and all the external symptoms of repentance. He was, however, no sooner within the lines, than the camp resounded with groans and bitter lamentations. Some laid hold of the prince's hand, as if going to kiss it; but inserting his fingers in their mouths, made him feel their boneless gums, complaining that they had lost their teeth in the service; others showed their bodies bent with age, and drooping under a load of infirmities. A tumultuous crowd gathered round the tribunal: Germanicus ordered them to form in their respective companies, that the men might more distinctly hear his answer; and to distinguish the cohorts, he directed the standards to be ranged in proper

order. The soldiers obeyed, but with reluctance. Germanicus opened with the panegyric of Augustus; he proceeded to the victories and triumphs obtained by Tiberius, insisting chiefly on his exploits in Germany, at the head of those very legions. The succession, he observed, was quietly settled: Italy consented, both the Gauls remained in their duty, and peace prevailed in every part of the empire.

XXXV. Thus far Germanicus was heard with silence, or at worst with a low and hollow murmur. He made a transition to the present disturbances: "Where is now the sense of military duty? Where that ancient discipline, the boast and honour of the Roman armies? Whither have you driven the tribunes? Where are the centurions?" At these words, the whole multitude, as if with one instinct, threw off their clothes, exposing their bodies seamed with wounds from the enemy, and with lashes from the centurion. A general outcry followed. They complained of the price exacted for relaxations of duty; they mentioned the miserable pittance which they received for their daily pay; they set forth their various hardships, and in particular their unremitting labour at the intrenchments, the fatigue of carrying provisions, wood, and forage, with a detail of other employments, sometimes imposed by necessity, and frequently to prevent idleness in the camp. The clamour of the veterans was outrageous: they had served thirty years and more, and when were they to expect a cessation of misery? They desired to retreat for old age, that they might not languish in despair and wait till the hand of death released them from their troubles. Some demanded immediate payment of the legacies bequeathed by Augustus. They offered up ardent vows for the success of Germanicus; assuring him, if he wished to seize the sovereign power, that they were to a man devoted to his service.

Struck with horror, and dreading the contagion of so foul a crime, Germanicus leaped from the tribunal. The soldiers, sword in hand, opposed his passage, and even threatened violence if he did not return. The prince was resolved to perish, rather than forfeit his honour. He drew his sword, and pointed it to his breast, ready to plunge it to his heart. The people near him stopped his hand; but the crowd at a distance, and even some who dared to advance, had the insolence to bid him strike: one in particular, by name Calusidius, presented a naked sword; adding at the same time, *Take this; it is sharper than your own.* This behaviour, even in the moment of frenzy, appeared to the soldiers an atrocious

act. A pause ensued. The friends of Germanicus seized the opportunity, and conveyed him to his tent.

XXXVI. A council was immediately called. It was well known that the insurgents were preparing a deputation to the army on the Upper Rhine, in order to engage them in the revolt, and make it a common cause. The city of the Ubians was devoted to destruction. From the pillage of that place, the plan of the mutineers was to proceed to greater lengths, and carry desolation into the provinces of Gaul. The Germans, at the same time, knew the dissensions of the Roman army; and, if the Rhine were once abandoned, stood in readiness to seize so advantageous a post. The moment was full of perplexity. To employ the auxiliary forces and the states in alliance with Rome against the revolted legions, were to engage in a civil war. To proceed with rigour might be dangerous; and to pacify the men by largesses, were an expedient altogether dishonourable. Grant all or nothing, the dilemma was either way big with mischief. After mature deliberation, letters were framed in the name of Tiberius, importing that at the end of twenty years the soldier should be entitled to his dismission; that, after sixteen, he should be deemed a veteran, still retained in the service, but exempt from all duty, except that of repelling the incursions of the enemy. A promise was added, that the legacies given by Augustus should not only be paid, but increased to double the amount.

XXXVII. The forgery was suspected by the soldiers. They saw that the letter was an expedient to gain time. They demanded immediate compliance, and accordingly dismissions from the service were made out by the tribunes. The payment of the money was deferred till the legions arrived in their winter quarters. The fifth and one-and-twentieth refused to stir from the camp, till Germanicus, with his own finances and the assistance of his friends, made up the sum required. The first and twentieth legions, under the command of Cæcina, proceeded towards the city of the Ubians; exhibiting, as they marched, a shameful spectacle, while they carried, amidst the colours and the Roman eagles, the treasure extorted from their general. Germanicus proceeded with expedition to the army on the Upper Rhine, and there required the oath of fidelity to the emperor. The second, the thirteenth, and sixteenth legions, complied without hesitation. The fourteenth stood for some time in suspense. They made no demand; but Germanicus ordered dismissions from the service to be made

out for the veterans, and their money to be forthwith discharged.

XXXVIII. Meanwhile a party of veterans belonging to the legions lately in commotion, but at that time stationed in the territory of the Chaucians,[1] discovered the same spirit of disaffection; but the firmness of Mennius, the præfect of the camp, suppressed the mischief in its birth. He ordered two of the ringleaders to be seized, and put to death; an act of severity not strictly legal, but in some degree justified by necessity. He was obliged, however, to seek his safety by flight. The soldiers pursued him. Being detected in his lurking-place, he resolved to face his enemies, and depend upon his own bravery. "It is not," he said, "against me, the præfect of the camp, that this outrage is committed; it is treachery to Germanicus; it is treason to the emperor." The leaders of the mutiny were struck with terror. In that moment he seized the standard; and turning towards the river, declared, in a peremptory tone, that whoever quitted his rank, should suffer as a deserter. The whole body marched into winter quarters, murmuring discontent, but not daring to disobey.

XXXIX. During these transactions, the deputies of the senate met Germanicus at the Ubian altar,[2] on his return from the Upper Rhine. Two legions, the first and twentieth, were stationed at that place in winter quarters; and, with them, the veterans lately appointed to follow the colours. To minds in their condition, fluctuating between fear and conscious guilt, every circumstance was a new alarm. The deputies, they were sure, came with instructions to revoke and cancel the terms which violence had extorted. The credulity of the common people never works by halves; they believe without proof, and soon find the author of what never happened. Munatius Plancus, a senator of consular rank, and a principal person in the embassy, was named as the framer of a decree, that never existed but in the imagination of the soldiers. In the dead of the night they rushed in a body to the headquarters of Germanicus, demanding, with rage and violence, the purple standard which was there deposited. They broke open the doors; they forced their way into the house; and, dragging their general out of his bed, with menaces of instant death, compelled him to sur-

[1] The territory of the Chaucians lay between the rivers Amisia (the *Ems*) and Albis (the *Elbe*).

[2] The Ubian altar, now *Bonn*.

render the standard. Flushed with this exploit, they ran wild through the streets; and meeting the deputies, then on their way to join the prince, they poured forth a torrent of opprobrious language, and threatened a general massacre.

Plancus was the first object of their fury. That illustrious citizen could not, without dishonour to his character, shrink back from a tumultuous rabble; he was, however, compelled to take refuge in the camp of the first legion. He there embraced the colours; and, laying hold of the eagle, thought himself protected by the gods of the army. But even that sanctuary was no longer a place of shelter; the soldiers forgot the religion of the camp; and if Calpurnius, the eagle-bearer, had not made a stout resistance, a deed of horror, unheard of even among barbarians, had been impiously perpetrated; and the blood of a Roman ambassador, in a Roman camp, had stained the altar of the gods.[1] At the return of day, when the general, the men, and the actions of all might be clearly distinguished, Germanicus entered the camp. He ordered Plancus to be conducted to his presence, and seated him near himself on the tribunal. He complained of the distractions of the time; but imputed what had happened, not so much to the madness of the soldiers, as to the vengeance of the gods. He explained the nature of the deputation from the senate; he stated the rights of ambassadors; he pointed forth, in pathetic terms, the indignity offered to a man of such high consideration as Plancus: and lamented the disgrace that befell the legion. The soldiers heard him like men astonished, but not convinced. Germanicus thought proper to dismiss the deputies; but, to guard their persons, ordered a detachment of the auxiliary horse to escort them.

XL. The conduct of Germanicus was censured by many of his friends. "Why did he not withdraw to the army on the Upper Rhine? Discipline was there in force, and with proper assistance the mutiny might have been crushed at once. By dismissions from the service, by largesses, and other feeble measures, the disturbances were too much encouraged. If the general set no value on his own life, why neglect the safety of his infant son?[2] Why hazard among lawless men, who had violated every sacred right, an affectionate wife, at that time far advanced in her pregnancy? Those tender pledges were the property of the state, and

[1] The ensigns and the eagles were the gods of a Roman army. Tacitus calls them *propria legionum numina.* Tertullian says, *Religio Romanorum tota castrensis; signa veneratur, signa jurat, et omnibus diis præponit.*

[2] This was Caligula, afterwards emperor.

should be restored to the emperor and the commonwealth." Germanicus yielded to these remonstrances; but the consent of Agrippina was still to be obtained. Descended from Augustus, she insisted that the granddaughter of that emperor had not so far degenerated, as to shrink from danger. Germanicus continued to urge his request; he melted into tears; he clasped her in his arms; he embraced her infant son, and at length prevailed. A procession of disconsolate women moved slowly on; and with them the wife of the commander-in-chief, compelled to be a wanderer, with her infant son in her arms. A band of wretched women, driven forth from their husbands, attended in her train. Amongst those whom they left behind, the scene of distress was not less affecting.

XLI. The camp presented a mournful spectacle. Instead of a Roman general at the head of his legions; instead of Germanicus in all the pomp and pride of authority. the face of things resembled a city taken by storm. Nothing was heard but shrieks and lamentations. The soldiers listened; they came forth from their tents; they stood astonished at the sight: and, "Why," they said, "wherefore those notes of sorrow? What means that mournful spectacle? A train of noble matrons deserted, left to themselves, abandoned by all! no centurion, not so much as a soldier, to accompany them! The wife of the general, undistinguished in the crowd, without a guard, and without the train of attendants suited to her rank, proceeding on her way towards the people of Treves, to seek in a foreign state, that protection which was denied her in a Roman camp!" To these reflections shame and remorse succeeded, and every breast was touched with sympathy. All lamented the condition of Agrippina. They called to mind the splendour of her father Agrippa; they recollected the majesty of Augustus, her grandfather; they remembered Drusus, her father-in-law: her own personal accomplishments, her numerous issue, and her virtue, endeared her to the army. Her son, they said, was a native of the camp;[1] he was educated in the tents of the legions; and surnamed CALIGULA, from the boots so called, which, to win the affections of the soldiers, he wore in common with the meanest of the army. Amidst these reflections, the honour intended for the people of Treves made the deepest impression. Stung by that idea, they pressed forward to Agrippina; they entreated her to stay; they opposed

[1] Caligula was born in Germany.

her passage; they ran in crowds to Germanicus, imploring him not to let her depart. The prince, still warm with mixed emotions of grief and indignation, addressed them in the following manner:

XLII. "My wife and child are ever dear to me, but no more so than my father[1] and the commonwealth. But the emperor will be safe in his own imperial dignity, and the commonwealth has other armies to fight her battles. For my wife and children, if, from their destruction, you might derive additional glory, I could yield them up a sacrifice in such a cause: at present, I remove them from the rage of frantic men. If horrors are still to multiply, let my blood glut your fury. The great-grandson of Augustus, and the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, need not be left to fill the measure of your iniquity. Without that horrible catastrophe the scene of guilt may end. But let me ask you, in these last few days what have you not attempted? What have you left unviolated? By what name shall I now address you? Shall I call you soldiers? Soldiers! who have dared to besiege the son[2] of your emperor! who have made him a prisoner in his own intrenchments! Can I call you citizens? Citizens! who have trampled under your feet the authority of the senate; who have violated the most awful sanctions, even those which hostile states have ever held in respect, the rights of ambassadors, and the law of nations?

"Julius Cæsar, by a single word, was able to quell a mutiny: he spoke to the men who resisted his authority; he called them Romans, and they became his soldiers. Augustus showed himself to the legions that fought at Actium, and the majesty of his countenance awed them into obedience. The distance between myself and these illustrious characters, I know, is great; and yet, descended from them, with their blood in my veins, I should resent with indignation a parallel outrage from the soldiers of Syria, or of Spain: and will you, ye men of the first legion, who received your colours from the hand of Tiberius; and you, ye men of the twentieth, his fellow-warriors in the field, his companions in so many victories; will you thus requite him for all the favours so graciously bestowed upon you? From every other quarter of the empire Tiberius has received nothing but joyful tidings: and must I wound his ear with the news of your

[1] Not his real father Drusus, who was long since dead. He means Tiberius, who had adopted him by order of Augustus.

[2] Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius.

revolt? Must he hear from me, that neither the soldiers raised by myself, nor the veterans who fought under him, are willing to own his authority? Must he be told, that neither dismission from the services, nor money lavishly granted, can appease the fury of ungrateful men? Must I inform him, that here centurions are murdered; that, in this camp, the tribunes are driven from their post; that here the ambassadors of Rome are detained as prisoners: that the intrenchments present a scene of slaughter; that rivers are discoloured with our blood; and that a Roman general leads a precarious life, at the mercy of men inflamed with epidemic madness?

XLIII. "Why, the other day, when I endeavoured to address you, why was the sword which I aimed at my breast, why in that moment was it wrested from me? Oh, my mistaken friends! the man who presented his sword dealt more kindly by me. I could then have closed my eyes in peace. I should not have lived to see the disgrace of the legions, and all the horrors that followed. After my death, you would have chosen another general, regardless indeed of my unhappy lot, but still of spirit to revenge the massacre of Varus and his three legions. May that revenge be still reserved for the Roman sword; and may the gods withhold from the Belgic states, though now they court the opportunity, the vast renown of vindicating the Roman name, and humbling the pride of the German nations! and may thy departed spirit, adored Augustus! who now art ranked among the gods; and may thy image,[1] Drusus, my ever-honoured father! may thy memory inspire these unhappy men, whom I now see touched with remorse! May your active energy blot out the disgrace that sits heavy upon them; and may the rage of civil discord discharge itself on the enemies of Rome! And you, my fellow-soldiers! whom I behold with altered looks, whose hearts begin to melt with sorrow and repentance, if you mean to preserve the ambassadors of the senate; if you intend to remain faithful to your prince, and to restore my wife and children; detach yourselves at once from the contagion of guilty men; withdraw from the seditious: that act will be a proof of your remorse, an earnest of returning virtue."

XLIV. The soldiers were appeased by this harangue. They acknowledged their guilt, and the justice of the reproof. In a suppliant tone they entreated Germanicus to select for

[1] The image of Drusus was displayed among the eagles and standards.

punishment the most obnoxious; to pardon the weakness of men drawn into error, and lead them against the enemy. They requested that his wife might be recalled; and that his son, the darling of the camp, might not be sent a hostage to the states of Gaul. Agrippina being then advanced in her pregnancy, and the winter season approaching, Germanicus thought it best to let her proceed on her journey. His son, he said, should once more appear amongst them. What remained to be done he left to themselves.

The soldiers were now incited by new sentiments and passions unfelt before: they seized the ringleaders of the sedition, and delivered them, loaded with irons, to Caius Cetronius, who commanded the first legion. By that officer the delinquents were brought to immediate justice. The form of proceeding was as follows: The legions under arms were ranged round the tribunal: the criminal was set up to public view; if the general voice pronounced him guilty, he was thrown headlong down, and put to instant death. In this mode of punishment the soldier concurred with ardour; by shedding the blood of others, he thought his own guilt was expiated. The measure, however violent, received no check from Germanicus. What was done had no sanction from his orders. The cruelty began with the soldiers, and by consequence could be imputed to no one else. The veterans followed the example, and in a few days afterwards were ordered to march into Rhætia, under colour of defending the province from the inroads of the Suevians; but in truth, to remove them from the camp polluted by rebellion, and in the end made savage by the horrors of military execution. A strict review of the centurions was the first care of Germanicus. They were all cited before him; each in person gave in his name, his rank, the place of his birth, the length of his service, the actions in which he had distinguished himself, and the military honours[1] which he had obtained. If the tribunes, or the legion in general, reported in his favour, he preserved his station; if taxed by the general voice with avarice or cruelty, he was discharged from the service.

XLV. Order and tranquillity were in this manner restored: but at the distance of sixty miles, at a place called *Vetera*,[2] riot and disorder still subsisted. The fifth and twenty-first

[1] The rewards of the soldiers' valour were a chain, a bracelet, a spear, a branch of oak.

[2] *Vetera* is the same as *vetera castra*, the old camp.

legions were there in winter quarters. In the late commotions these men were the first and most active incendiaries. The worst and blackest crimes were by them committed, and now, when the storm was in appearance over, they still retained their former ferocity, unreclaimed by the penitence of others, and undismayed by the fate of those who had suffered death. To meet this new alarm, Germanicus resolved to equip his fleet, and with the auxiliary forces to sail down the Rhine, in order, if the mutiny still subsisted, to crush it at once by force of arms.

XLVI. At Rome, in the meantime, where the issue of the commotions in Illyricum was yet unknown, advice was received of the disorders that broke out in Germany. The city was thrown into consternation. All exclaimed against the conduct of Tiberius. "To amuse the senate and the people, both helpless, void of spirit, and disarmed, was the sole drift of the emperor. The flame of discord was in the meantime kindled up by the distant armies; and two young men, who had neither experience nor sufficient authority, were sent in vain to quell the insurrection. Why did not Tiberius set out in person upon the first alarm? The occasion called for his presence. At the sight of him, who had gained renown in war, and was moreover the fountain of rewards and punishments, the malcontents would have laid down their arms. Augustus, though in the decline of life, could make a progress into Germany: and shall Tiberius, in the vigour of his days, content himself with the vain parade of attending the senate, there to amuse himself with petty disputes, to cavil about words, and wrangle with the fathers? Enough was done at Rome to establish his system of slavery, and despotic power. Measures should now be taken to curb the spirit of the legions, and teach them to endure the leisure of repose."

XLVII. Tiberius heard the murmurs of discontent, but remained inflexible. To keep possession of the capital, and neither hazard his own safety, nor that of the empire, was his fixed resolution. A crowd of reflections filled him with anxiety. The German army was superior in strength; that in Pannonia was the nearest: the former had great resources in Gaul, and Italy lay open to the latter. To which should he give the preference? If he visited one, the other might take umbrage. By sending his sons, he held the balance even, and neither could be jealous. It was besides his maxim, that the imperial dignity should not be suffered to tarnish

in the eye of the public. What is seen at a distance, is more respected. If Drusus and Germanicus reserved some points for the consideration of their father, the inexperience of youth would be a sufficient apology. Should the mutineers persist with obstinacy, there would still be time for the prince to interpose, and either by rigour, or conciliating measures, to restore the ancient discipline. If he went in person, and the insurgents spurned his authority, what resource was left? —These considerations had their weight; and yet, to have the appearance of being willing to face his armies was part of his policy. He played this game so well, that he seemed every day upon the point of leaving Rome.[1] He settled his train of attendants, ordered his camp equipage, equipped his fleets; still contriving, by specious pretences, to give a colour to delay. The winter season, he said, was near at hand, and the weight of affairs at Rome claimed his attention. The most discerning were for some time the dupes of his dissimulation. The people were much longer amused, and the provinces were the last to see through the delusion.

XLVIII. Germanicus in the meantime was ready, with his collected force, to act against the rebel legions. He was willing, notwithstanding, to suspend his operations, till time should show whether the late example had wrought the minds of the soldiers to submission, and a due sense of their duty. With this intent, he sent despatches to Cæcina, to inform that officer, that he was advancing at the head of a powerful army; resolved, if justice was not previously executed, to put the whole body to the sword. Cæcina communicated, in a confidential manner, his secret instructions to the standard-bearers, to the inferior officers, and such of the private men as were known to be well affected. He recommended to them to avert the danger that hung over the legions, and in good time to secure their lives. In times of peace, he said, there is always leisure to investigate the truth, and separate the man of merit from the turbulent and seditious: but war knows no distinction of cases; the innocent and the guilty fall in one promiscuous carnage.

The officers, thus instructed, sounded the common men; and, finding the greatest part well affected, agreed, at an hour approved of by Cæcina, to fall with sudden fury upon the leaders of the mutiny. Having concerted their measures, at a

[1] Tiberius, in the first two years after his accession, never once stirred out of Rome; nor did he afterwards venture farther than Antium, or the isle of Capreæ.

signal given they began the attack. They rushed sword in hand into the tents and without mercy butchered their comrades, who little thought they were so near their end. A dreadful slaughter followed; no cause assigned, and no explanation given. Except the authors of the measure, no man knew from what motive the assault proceeded, or where it would end.

XLIX. In the civil wars recorded in history, we nowhere find a scene of horror like the present. No battle was fought; there was no assault from an adverse camp: in the same tents, where the day saw them eat their meal in peace, and the night laid them down to rest, comrades divide against their fellows; darts and javelins are thrown with sudden fury; uproar and confusion follow; shouts and dying groans resound throughout the camp; a scene of blood is laid; wretches expire, and the reason remains unknown. The event is left to chance. Men of worth and honour perished in the fray; for the guilty, finding themselves the devoted objects, snatched up their arms, and joined the better cause. Cæcina remained a tame spectator; no officer, no tribune, attempted to stop the wild commotion. The fury of the soldiers had its free career; and vengeance rioted in blood, even to satiety. Germanicus in a short time after entered the camp. He saw a tragic spectacle; and, with tears in his eyes, called it a massacre, not an act of justice. He ordered the dead bodies to be burnt. The fury of the soldiers had not yet subsided: in the agitation of their minds they desired to be led against the enemy, in order to expiate by the blood of the Barbarians the desolation they had made. The shades of their slaughtered friends could not be otherwise appeased; when their breasts were gashed with honourable wounds, atonement would then be made. Germanicus embraced the opportunity; and throwing a bridge over the river,[1] advanced with an army of twelve thousand legionary soldiers, six-and-twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse; all free from disaffection, and during the late commotions strict observers of discipline.

L. The Germans, posted at a small distance, exulted in full security. They saw with pleasure the cessation of arms occasioned by the death of Augustus; and the revolt of the legions inspired them with fresh courage. The Romans, by a forced march, passed the Cæsian forest; and having levelled part of the rampart formerly begun by Tiberius, pitched their tents on the spot. In the front and rear of the camp, they

[1] The Rhine.

threw up intrenchments. The flanks were fortified with a pile of trees, hewn down for the purpose. Their way from that place lay through a gloomy forest: but of two roads, which was most eligible, was matter of doubt; whether the shortest and most frequented, or another more difficult, and seldom attempted, but for that reason unsuspected by the enemy. The longest road was preferred. The army pushed on with vigour. The scouts had brought intelligence that the approaching night was a festival, to be celebrated by the Barbarians with joy and revelry. In consequence of this information, Cæcina had orders to advance with the light cohorts, and clear a passage through the woods. The legions followed at a moderate distance. The brightness of the night favoured their design. They arrived, with rapid expedition, at the villages of the Marsians, and without delay formed a chain of posts, to enclose the enemy on every side. The Barbarians were sunk in sleep and wine, some stretched on their beds, others at full length under the tables; all in full security, without a guard, without posts, and without a sentinel on duty. No appearance of war was seen; nor could that be called a peace which was only the effect of savage riot, the languor of a debauch.

LI. Germanicus, to spread the slaughter as wide as possible, divided his men into four battalions. The country, fifty miles round, was laid waste with fire and sword; no compassion for sex or age; no distinction of places, holy or profane; nothing was sacred. In the general ruin the Temple of Tanfan,[1] which was held by the inhabitants in the highest veneration, was levelled to the ground. Dreadful as the slaughter was, it did not cost a drop of Roman blood. Not so much as a wound was received. The attack was made on the Barbarians sunk in sleep, dispersed in flight, unarmed, and incapable of resistance. An account of the massacre soon reached the Bructerians, the Tubantes, and the Usipetes. Inflamed with resentment, those nations took up arms; and posting themselves to advantage, surrounded the woods through which the Roman army was to pass. Germanicus, informed of their motions, marched in order of battle. Part of the cavalry, with the light cohorts, formed the van; the first legion followed, to support them; the baggage moved in the centre. The left wing was closed by the twenty-first legion, and the right by the fifth. The

1 Woods and forests were the sanctuaries held in veneration by the Germans. The temple of *Tanfan* was an exception to the general custom.

twentieth, with the auxiliaries, brought up the rear. The Germans, in close ambush, waited till the army stretched into the woods. After skirmishing with the advanced party, and both the flanks, they fell with their whole strength upon the rear. The light cohorts, unable to sustain the shock of a close embodied enemy, were thrown into disorder; when Germanicus, riding at full speed to the twentieth legion, cried aloud, "The time is come when you may efface, by one brave exploit, the guilt of the late sedition: charge with courage, and you gain immortal honour." Roused by this animating strain, the legion rushed to the attack, and at the first onset broke the ranks of the enemy. The Barbarians fled to the open plain: the Romans pursued them with dreadful slaughter. Meanwhile the van of the army passed the limits of the forest, and began to throw up intrenchments. From that time the march was unmolested. The soldiers, flushed with success, and in the glory of this expedition losing all memory of former guilt, were sent into winter quarters.

LII. An account of these events arriving at Rome, Tiberius was variously affected. He received a degree of pleasure, but it was a pleasure mingled with anxiety. That the troubles in the camp were at an end, he heard with satisfaction: but he saw, with a jealous spirit, that by largesses and dismissions from the service, Germanicus had gained the affections of the legions. The glory of his arms was another circumstance that touched him nearly. He thought fit, notwithstanding, to lay the whole account before the senate. He expatiated at large in praise of Germanicus, but in terms of studied ostentation, too elaborate to be thought sincere. Of Drusus, and the issue of the troubles in Illyricum, he spoke with more reserve; concise, yet not without energy. The concessions made by Germanicus to the legions on the Rhine, were ratified in every article, and, at the same time, extended to the army in Pannonia.

LIII. In the course of the year died Julia, the daughter of Augustus. On account of her lascivious pleasures, she had been formerly banished by her father to the isle of Pandataria, and afterwards to Rhegium, a city on the straits of Sicily. During the life of her sons Caius and Lucius, she became the wife of Tiberius, and, by the haughtiness of her carriage, made him feel that she thought him beneath her rank. The arrogance of her behaviour was the secret, and most powerful motive, for the retreat which that prince

made to the isle of Rhodes. At his accession to the empire, when he was master of the Roman world, he saw her in a state of destitution, banished, covered with infamy, and, after the murder of Agrippa Posthumus, without a ray of hope to comfort her. Yet this could not appease the malice of Tiberius. He ordered her to be starved to death; concluding that, after a tedious exile at a place remote, a lingering death in want and misery would pass unnoticed.

From the same root of bitterness sprung the cruelty with which he persecuted Sempronius Gracchus;[1] a man descended from a noble family, possessed of talents, and adorned with eloquence, but eloquence viciously applied. By his wit and rare accomplishments he seduced the affections of Julia, even in the lifetime of her husband Agrippa. Nor did his passion stop there: when she was afterwards married to Tiberius, he was still a persevering adulterer, and, by secret artifices, poisoned the mind of the wife against her husband. The letter to Augustus, in which she treated the character of Tiberius with contempt, was generally thought to be his composition. For these offences he was banished to Cercina, an island on the coast of Africa, where he passed fourteen years in exile. Soldiers at length were sent to put an end to his days. The assassins found him on the point of a prominent neck of land, with a countenance fixed in sorrow and despair, As soon as the ruffians approached, he desired a short delay, that he might write the sentiments of a dying man to his wife Alliaria. Having despatched that business, he presented his neck to the murderer's stroke; in his last moments worthy of the Sempronian name. His life was a series of degenerate actions. The assassins, according to some historians, were not hired at Rome, but sent from Africa by the proconsul Lucius Asprenas, at the instigation of Tiberius, who hoped to throw from himself the load of guilt, and fix it on his tools of power. The artifice did not succeed.

LIV. In the course of this year was formed a new institution of religious rites. In honour of Augustus a list of priests was added to the sacerdotal college, in imitation of the order founded in ancient times by Titus Tatius, to perpetuate the religious ceremonies of the Sabines. To create this new sodality, the names of the most eminent citizens, to the number of one-and-twenty, were drawn by lot; and Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus, were added.

[1] For more of him and his son Caius Gracchus, see *Annals*, iv. 13.

It happened, however, that the games performed this year in honour of Augustus, were disturbed by violent factions among the players. In compliance with the wishes of Mæcenas, that passionate admirer of Bathyllus, the comedian, Augustus had always favoured the exhibition of pantomimes. He had himself a taste for those amusements; and, by mixing with the diversions of the multitude, he thought he showed a popular condescension. Tiberius was of a different character: but the minds of men, softened by luxury, and during a long reign dissolved in pleasure, could not easily conform to that austerity which suited the rigid temper of the prince.

LV. In the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Caius Norbanus [A.U.C. 768, A.D. 15], a triumph was decreed to Germanicus, though the war was not yet brought to a conclusion. The prince had concerted his plan of operations for the ensuing summer; but he thought proper, early in the spring, to open the campaign by a sudden irruption into the territories of the Cattians; a people distracted among themselves by the opposite factions of Arminius and Segestes; the former famous for his treachery to the Romans, and the latter for unshaken fidelity. Arminius was the common disturber of Germany; Segestes, on the other hand, had given repeated proofs of his pacific temper. When measures were taken for a general insurrection, he discovered the conspiracy; and, during the banquet which preceded the massacre of Varus, he proposed that he himself, Arminius, and other chiefs, should be seized and loaded with irons. By that vigorous measure he was sure that the minds of the common people would be depressed with fear; and, having lost their chiefs, none would dare to rise in arms. The general, of course, would have leisure to discriminate the innocent from the guilty. But Varus was fated to perish, and Arminius struck the blow. In the present juncture, Segestes was compelled, by the ardour of his countrymen, to take up arms. He still, however, retained his former sentiments. He had, besides, motives of a private nature: his daughter, whom he had promised in marriage to another chief, was ravished from him by Arminius. The father and the son-in-law were, by consequence, inveterate enemies; and that connection, which, between persons mutually well inclined, forms the tenderest friendship, served only to inflame the animosity of the two contending chiefs.

LVI. Encouraged by these dissensions, Germanicus appointed Cæcina to the command of four legions, five thousand

of the allies, and the German recruits lately raised, by hasty levies, on this side of the Rhine. He marched himself at the head of an equal legionary force, and double the number of auxiliaries. On the ruins of a fort, formerly built on Mount Taunus[1] by his father Drusus, he raised a fortification, and proceeded by rapid marches against the Cattians. To secure his retreat, he left behind him Lucius Apronius, with orders to work at the roads, and embank the rivers. The dryness of the season, uncommon in those parts, and the low bed of waters in the rivers, favoured his expedition; but before his return, the fall of heavy rains, and the overflow of torrents, might lay the country under water. His arrival was so little expected by the Cattians, that their women and children were either taken prisoners, or put to the sword. The young and able-bodied made their escape by swimming across the Adrana. From the opposite bank they attempted to hinder a bridge from being thrown over the river; but by a fierce discharge from the engines, and a volley of darts, they were driven from their post. They offered terms of peace, but without success. Numbers submitted at discretion: the rest abandoned their villages, and fled for shelter into the woods. The country round was laid waste; Mattium, the capital, was destroyed by fire; and the open plains were made a desert. Germanicus marched his army back towards the Rhine, the Barbarians never daring to harass the rear, as is their practice, when, pretending to retreat in a panic, they wheel about on a sudden, and return to the charge. The Cheruscans meditated a sudden attack in favour of the Cattians; but Cæcina, with an army of observation, spread so warm an alarm, that the enterprise was dropped. The Marsians, more bold and desperate, risked a battle, and were defeated.

LVII. Germanicus, in a short time afterwards, received a message from Segestes, imploring protection from the fury of his countrymen, who held him closely besieged. Arminius had been the adviser of the war, and was by consequence the idol of the people. In a nation of savages, the man of fierce and turbulent spirit is sure, in times of commotion, to be the leading demagogue. Among the deputies sent to Germanicus, was Segimund, the son of Segestes; a young man who, in the year famous for the revolt of Germany, was made by the Romans a priest of the Ubian altar; but soon after, fired by the zeal that roused his whole nation, he

[1] Mount Taunus, near Magontiacum (now *Mayence*).

tore off his sacred vestments, and went over to his countrymen. Conscious of this offence, he hesitated for some time, willing to decline the embassy; till at length, encouraged by the fame of Roman clemency, he obeyed his father's orders. He met with a gracious reception; and, under a proper guard, was conducted in safety to the frontiers of Gaul. Germanicus thought it of moment to change his purpose, and march back to the relief of Segestes. He no sooner appeared before the place, than the enemy was attacked, and put to the rout.

Segestes was set at liberty, and with him a numerous train of relatives and faithful followers; several women of noble birth; and, in the number, the daughter of Segestes, then married to Arminius. In her deportment no trace appeared of her father's character: she breathed the spirit of her husband. Not a tear was seen to start; no supplicating tone was heard; she stood in pensive silence; her hands strained close to her bosom, and her eyes fixed upon her womb, then pregnant with the fruit of her marriage. At the same time was brought forth a load of spoils, which, in the slaughter of Varus and his legions, fell to the share of those who now surrendered to the Roman arms. What chiefly attracted every eye, was Segestes himself; his stature of superior size, his countenance that of a man who knew neither guilt nor fear. He spoke to this effect:

LVIII. "It is not now the first time that Segestes has given proofs of his attachment to the cause of Rome. From the moment when I was enrolled a citizen by the deified Augustus, your interest has been the rule of my conduct. Your friends I embraced; your enemies were mine. In acting thus, I have not been guilty of treason to my country. A traitor I know is odious even to those who profit by the treason. I have been your friend, because I thought the interests of Germany and Rome were interwoven with each other; I have been your friend, because I preferred peace to war. Governed by these principles, I addressed myself to Varus, who commanded your armies; before his tribunal, I exhibited an accusation against Arminius, the ravisher of my daughter, and the violator of public treaties. But sloth and irresolution were the bane of that unfortunate general. From laws enfeebled and relaxed I expected no relief. I therefore desired, earnestly desired, that Arminius, and the other chiefs of the conspiracy, might be thrown into irons. I did not except myself. With what zeal I pressed the

measure, witness that fatal night which I wish had been my last. The horrors that followed, demand our tears: they cannot be justified. Soon after that tragic event, I confined Arminius in chains; and from his faction I have suffered, in my turn, the same indignity. Admitted now to an interview with Germanicus, I prefer ancient friendship to new connections; my voice is still for peace. For myself I have nothing in view; my honour is dear to me, and I desire to repel all suspicion of perfidy. I would, if possible, make terms for my countrymen, if they can be induced to prefer a well-timed repentance to calamity and ruin. For my son, and the errors of his youth, I am an humble suppliant. My daughter, indeed, appears before you by necessity, not by her own choice: I acknowledge it. It is yours to decide her fate: it is yours to judge which ought to have most influence, her husband or her father: she is with child by Arminius, and she sprung from me." Germanicus, in his usual style of moderation, assured him, that his children and relations should be protected; as to himself, he might depend upon a safe retreat in one of the old provinces. He then marched back to the Rhine; and there, by the direction of Tiberius, was honoured with the title of IMPERATOR. The wife of Arminius was delivered of a boy, who was reared and educated at Ravenna. The disasters which made him afterwards the sport of fortune, shall be related in their proper place.[1]

LIX. The surrender of Segestes, and his gracious reception from Germanicus, being, in a short time, spread throughout Germany, the feelings of men were various, as their inclinations happened to be for peace or war. Arminius, by nature fierce and enterprising, seeing, in this juncture, his wife for ever lost, and the child in her womb a slave before its birth, felt himself inflamed with tenfold fury. He flew round the country of the Cheruscans, spreading the flame of discord, and, in every quarter, rousing the people to revenge; he called aloud to arms, to arms against Segestes,—to arms against the Romans. He spared no topic that could inflame resentment. "Behold," he cried, "behold in Segestes the true character of a father! in Germanicus an accomplished general! in the exploits of the Roman army, the glory of a warlike nation! with mighty numbers they have led a woman into captivity. It was not in

[1] The account here promised, and without doubt given either in the *Annals* or the *History*, is totally lost. Strabo says that the son, who was called Thumelicus by the Romans, walked among the captives in the triumph of Germanicus.

this manner that Arminius dealt with them: three legions, and as many commanders, fell a sacrifice to my revenge. To the arts of traitors I am a stranger; I wage no war with women big with child. My enemies are worthy of a soldier; I declare open hostility, and, sword in hand, I meet them in the field of battle.

"Survey your religious groves: the Roman banners by me hung up, and dedicated to the gods of our country, are there displayed; they are the trophies of victory. Let Segestes fly for shelter to the Roman provinces; let him enjoy his bank on the side of Gaul; and let him there meanly crouch to make his son the priest of a foreign altar. Posterity will have reason to curse his memory; future ages will detest the man, whose crime it is, that we have seen, between the Rhine and the Elbe, rods and axes, the Roman habit and the Roman arms. To other nations, punishments and taxes are yet unknown; they are happy, for they are ignorant of the Romans. We have bravely thrown off the yoke; we are free from burthens: and since Augustus was obliged to retreat, that very Augustus whom his countrymen have made a god; and since Tiberius, that upstart emperor, keeps aloof from Germany, shall we, who have dared nobly for our liberties, shrink from a boy void of experience, and an army ruined by their own divisions? If your country is dear to you, if the glory of your ancestors is near your hearts, if liberty is of any value, if the enjoyment of your natural rights is preferable to new masters and foreign colonies, follow Arminius. I will marshal you the way to glory and to freedom. Segestes has nothing in store but infamy, chains, and bondage."

LX. By these incendiary speeches all Germany was roused to action. The Cheruscans took up arms, and the neighbouring states followed their example. Inguiomer, a man long known, and high in the estimation of the Romans, declared in favour of Arminius; he was uncle to that chieftain. By adopting his measures, he added strength to the confederacy. Germanicus saw the impending danger. To cause a diversion, and avoid the united strength of the enemy, he ordered Cæcina, with forty Roman cohorts, to penetrate into the territory of the Bructerians, as far as the river Amisia. Pedo, at the head of the cavalry, was directed to march along the confines of the Frisians. Germanicus, with four legions, embarked on the lakes.[1] One common place of destination was appointed: the foot, the cavalry, and the fleet, arrived in

[1] The lakes, which are now lost in the vast gulf called the Zuider-Zee.

due time. The Chaucians joined the Roman army; the Bructerians set fire to their houses, and abandoned their country. Lucius Stertinius, with a detachment of the light horse, was ordered to pursue the fugitives. That officer came up with the enemy, and put the whole body to the rout. Amidst the slaughter that followed, some of the soldiers were intent on plunder. Amongst the spoils was found the eagle of the nineteenth legion, lost in the massacre of Varus. The army pushed on with vigour to the farthest limit of the Bructerians. The whole country, between the river Amisia and the Luppia, was made a desert. The Romans were now at a small distance from the forest of Teutoburgium,[1] where the bones of Varus and his legions were said to be still unburied.

LXI. Touched by this affecting circumstance, Germanicus resolved to pay the last human office to the relics of that unfortunate commander and his slaughtered soldiers. The same tender sentiment diffused itself through the army: some felt the touch of nature for their relations, others for their friends; and all lamented the disasters of war, and the wretched lot of human kind. Cæcina was sent forward to explore the woods; where the waters were out, to throw up bridges; and, by heaping loads of earth on the swampy soil, to secure a solid footing. The army marched through a gloomy solitude. The place presented an awful spectacle, and the memory of a tragical event increased the horror of the scene. The first camp of Varus appeared in view. The extent of the ground, and the three different enclosures for the eagles, still distinctly seen, left no doubt but that the whole was the work of the three legions. Farther on were traced the ruins of a rampart, and the hollow of a ditch well nigh filled up. This was supposed to be the spot where the few, who escaped the general massacre, made their last effort, and perished in the attempt. The plains around were white with bones, in some places thinly scattered, in others lying in heaps, as the men happened to fall in flight, or in a body resisted to the last. Fragments of javelins, and the limbs of horses, lay scattered about the field. Human skulls were seen upon the trunks of trees. In the adjacent woods stood the savage altars where the tribunes and principal centurions were offered up a sacrifice with barbarous rites. Some of the soldiers who survived that dreadful day, and afterwards broke their chains,

[1] Brotier places it in the diocese of Paderborn, near the town of *Horn*, not far from *Paderborn*, where there is a forest called *Teuteberg*.

related circumstantially several particulars. "Here the commanders of the legions were put to the sword: on that spot the eagles were seized. There Varus received his first wound; and this the place where he gave himself the mortal stab, and died by his own sword. Yonder mound was the tribunal from which Arminius harangued his countrymen: here he fixed his gibbets; there he dug the funeral trenches; and in that quarter he offered every mark of scorn and insolence to the colours and the Roman eagles."

LXII. Six years had elapsed since the overthrow of Varus; and now, on the same spot, the Roman army collected the bones of their slaughtered countrymen. Whether they were burying the remains of strangers, or of their own friends, no man knew: all, however, considered themselves as performing the last obsequies to their kindred, and their brother-soldiers. While employed in this pious office, their hearts were torn with contending passions; by turns oppressed with grief, and burning for revenge. A monument to the memory of the dead was raised with turf. Germanicus with his own hand laid the first sod; discharging at once the tribute due to the legions, and sympathising with the rest of the army. The whole, though an act of piety to the slain, was condemned by Tiberius. The malignity of his nature led him to misinterpret the actions of Germanicus; perhaps he was apprehensive, that the view of a field covered with the unburied limbs of a slaughtered army, might damp the ardour of the soldier, and add to the ferocity of the enemy. There might be another reason for his displeasure. Perhaps he thought that a general, invested with the office of augur, and other religious functions, ought not to assist at the performance of funeral rites.

LXIII. Germanicus pressed forward, by rapid marches, in pursuit of Arminius, who fled before him, taking advantage of the defiles, and difficult parts of the country. Having overtaken the Barbarians, and seeing his opportunity, he ordered the cavalry to advance on the open plain, and dislodge the enemy. Arminius drew up his men in close compacted ranks, and, feigning a retreat to the forest, suddenly wheeled about; giving, at the same time, the signals to the troops that lay ambushed in the woods, to rush out, and begin the attack. The Roman cavalry, struck with surprise at the sudden appearance of a new army, were thrown into disorder. They fell back upon the cohorts sent to support them, and a general consternation followed. The Barbarians pursued their advantage;

and had well nigh driven the Romans into a morass, well known to themselves, but impracticable to strangers, when Germanicus came up with the legions in order of battle. At the sight of a regular force, the Germans were struck with terror. The broken ranks of the Romans had time to rally. Nothing decisive followed. Both armies parted upon equal terms: Germanicus marched back to the river Amisia, and with his legions sailed across the lakes. Part of the cavalry had orders to file along the sea coast, and by a winding march return to the banks of the Rhine.

Cæcina, at the head of his own division, marched through a country of which he was not ignorant. He had directions to pass *the long bridges*[1] with all possible expedition. The place so called is a narrow causeway, constructed formerly by Lucius Domitius. It stretches a great length of way between two prodigious marshes. The country round is one vast fen, in some parts covered with a deep and slimy mud, in others with a tenacious heavy clay, intersected frequently by rapid torrents. A thick forest, rising at some distance on a gradual acclivity, enclosed the whole scene, and formed a kind of amphitheatre. Arminius, who knew the course of the country, made a forced march, and took post in the woods, before the Romans, encumbered with arms and heavy baggage, arrived at the place. Cæcina found a double difficulty. The bridges, ruined by time, were to be repaired; and the enemy at the same time was to be repulsed. He judged it necessary to pitch his camp; as in that situation a sufficient number might work at the causeway, while the rest were held in readiness to engage the enemy.

LXIV. The Barbarians made a vigorous effort to force the outposts, and penetrate to the men working at the intrenchments. They rushed forward with impetuous fury, they wheeled about to the flanks, they returned to charge in front. A mingled shout arose from the labourers and the combatants. All things seemed to conspire against the Romans: the slimy soil, if the men stood still, sunk under them; if they advanced, it was too slippery for their feet. The weight of the soldiers' armour, and the depth of water, made the management of the javelins almost impracticable. The Cheruscans, on the contrary, were fighting in their own element; they were used to fens and marshes; their stature was large, and their spears of a length to wound at a distance. The

[1] The causeway, called the long bridge, was constructed by Lucius Domitius, the grandfather of the emperor Nero.

legions began to give way, when night came on and put an end to the unequal conflict. The Barbarians were too much flushed with success to complain of fatigue, or to think of rest. During the night they cut a channel for the waters, and from the neighbouring hills let down a deluge into the valley. The plains were laid under water; and the half-finished works being carried away by the flood, the soldier saw that his labour was to begin again.

Cæcina had been forty years in the service. A man of his experience, who had known the vicissitudes of war, was not to be disconcerted. He saw, between the morass and the hills, a plain of solid ground, large enough for a small army. To that spot, having weighed all circumstances, he judged it his best expedient to send the wounded with the heavy baggage, and in the meantime to confine the Germans in their woods. For this purpose he stationed the fifth legion in the right wing, and the one-and-twentieth in the left; the first legion led the van, and the twentieth brought up the rear.

LXV. The night in both camps was busy and unquiet, but from different causes. The Barbarians passed their time in jollity and carousing; warlike songs and savage howlings kept a constant uproar, while the woods and valleys rung with the hideous sound. In the Roman camp the scene was different: pale gleaming fires were seen; no sound, save that of low and hollow murmurs; the soldiers lay extended at length under the palisades, or wandered from tent to tent, fatigued and weary, yet scarce awake. Cæcina was disturbed by a terrible dream: he thought that Quintilius Varus emerged from the fens; and, calling upon him to follow, waved his hand to point the way. Unwilling to obey the summons, Cæcina pushed the phantom from him. At break of day, the legions which had been stationed in the wings, through fear, or a spirit of mutiny, abandoned their post, and seized a piece of solid ground beyond the morass. Arminius, though the opportunity was fair, did not embrace it: but soon after, seeing the baggage fast in the mud, or in the ditches, the soldiers gathering round in tumult and disorder; the eagles in confusion; and, as in such cases always happens, each man acting for himself, and deaf to the command of his officers; he ordered his men to make a vigorous onset, exclaiming, as he advanced, "Behold Varus and his legions! their fate once more has given them to our swords."

He charged at the head of a chosen band; and, by gashing and mangling the horses, made a dreadful havoc. Goaded

by wounds, and not able to keep their legs on a slimy soil, which was made still more slippery by the effusion of their own blood, those animals in their fury threw their riders, overturned all in their way, and trampled under their feet the wretches that lay on the ground. The chief distress was round the eagles; to support them under a heavy volley of darts was difficult, and to fix them in the swampy ground impossible. Cæcina, exerting himself with undaunted vigour to sustain the ranks, had his horse killed under him. The Barbarians were ready to surround him, if the first legion had not come up to his assistance. At length the rage for plunder, natural to savages, turned the fortune of the day. Intent on booty, the Germans desisted from the fight. The Romans seized their advantage, and, towards the close of day, gained a station on the solid ground. Their distress, however, was not at an end: intrenchments were to be raised; earth to be brought; their tools for digging and cutting the soil were lost; no tents for the soldiers; no medicine for the wounded; their provisions in a vile condition, deformed with filth and blood; a night big with horror hung over their heads; and the ensuing day, to a number of brave and gallant men, might prove the last. The spirit of the legions sunk, and all lamented their condition.

LXVI. It happened, in the course of the night, that a horse broke loose; and, scared by the noise of the soldiers, ran wild through the camp, trampling down all that came in his way. This accident spread a general panic. In the first hurry of surprise, it was generally believed that the Germans had stormed the intrenchments. The soldiers rushed to the gates, chiefly to that called the *Decuman*,[1] at the back of the camp, remote from the enemy, and the most likely to favour their escape. Cæcina knew that it was a false alarm; he tried to recall the men from their error; he commanded, he implored, he laid hold of numbers: but finding all without effect, he threw himself on the ground, and lay stretched at length across the passage. At the sight of their general in that condition, the men recoiled with horror from the outrage of trampling on his body. In that interval, the tribunes and centurions convinced the men that their fears were without foundation.

LXVII. Cæcina assembled his men in the part of the camp assigned for the eagles. Having commanded silence, he explained their situation, and the necessity that called upon

[1] There were four gates to a Roman camp. Livy says so in express terms.

them to act like men. "They had nothing to depend upon except their valour; but their valour must be cool, deliberate, guided by prudence. Let all remain within the lines, till the Barbarians, in hopes of carrying the works, advance to the assault. Then will be the time to sally out. By one brave effort they might open a passage to the Rhine. If they fled, other woods and deeper fens remain behind; perhaps more savage enemies. By one glorious victory they were sure of gaining every advantage; honoured by their country, loved by their families, and applauded by the whole army." The bright side of the military life being thus held forth, he said nothing of the reverse. His next care was to select a body of his bravest soldiers. These he provided with horses, as well from his own retinue, as from those of the tribunes and centurions, without favour or partiality, distinguishing merit only. The men thus mounted were to make the first impression on the enemy, and the infantry had orders to support the rear.

LXVIII. The Germans, in the meantime, were no less in agitation; their hopes of conquest, the love of plunder, and the jarring counsels of their chiefs, distracted every mind. The measure proposed by Arminius was, to let the Romans break up their camp, and surround them again in the narrow defiles, and in the bogs and marshes. Inguiomer, more fierce and violent, and for that reason, more acceptable to the genius of Barbarians, was for storming the camp: it would be carried by a general assault; the number of prisoners would be greater, and the booty in better condition. His advice prevailed. At the point of day the attack began: at the first onset the Germans levelled the fosse, threw in heaps of hurdles, and attempted a scalade. The ramparts were thinly manned; the soldiers who showed themselves, put on the appearance of a panic. The Barbarians climbed to the top of the works. In that moment the signal was given to the cohorts; clarions and trumpets sounded through the camp: the Romans, in a body, and with one general shout, rushed on to the attack. They fell upon the enemy in the rear crying aloud, as they advanced, "Here are no woods, no treacherous fens; we are here on equal ground, and the gods will decide between us." The Barbarians had promised themselves an easy conquest. The affair, they imagined would be with a handful of men; but their surprise rose in proportion, when they heard the clangour of trumpets, and saw the field glittering with arms. The sudden terror magni

fied their danger. To be elated with success, and to droop in adversity, is the genius of savage nations. A dreadful slaughter followed. The two chiefs betook themselves to flight; Arminius unhurt, and Inguiomer dangerously wounded. No quarter was given to the common men. The pursuit continued as long as daylight and resentment lasted. Night coming on, the legions returned to the camp, covered with new wounds, and their provisions no better than the day before: but health, and food, and vigour, all things were found in victory.

LXIX. Meanwhile a report was spread round the country, that the Roman army was cut to pieces, and the Germans, flushed with conquest, were pouring down to the invasion of Gaul. The consternation was such, that numbers proposed to demolish the bridge over the Rhine. Vile as the project was, there were men who, through fear, would have been hardy enough to carry it into execution, if Agrippina had not prevented so foul a disgrace. Superior to the weakness of her sex, she took upon her, with an heroic spirit, the functions of a general officer. She attended to the wants of the men; she distributed clothes to the indigent, and medicines to the sick. Pliny[1] has left, in his history of the wars in Germany, a description of Agrippina, at the head of the bridge, reviewing the soldiers as they returned, and with thanks and congratulations applauding their valour. This conduct alarmed the jealous temper of Tiberius: "Such active zeal," he said, "sprung from sinister motives: those popular virtues had not for their object the enemies of Rome. The soldiers were caressed for other purposes. What remained for the commander-in-chief, if a woman can thus unsex herself at the head of the eagles? She reviews the legions, and by largesses draws to herself the affections of the men. Was it not enough for her ambition, that she showed her son to the army, and carried him from tent to tent, in the uniform of the common soldier, with the title of Cæsar Caligula? This woman towers above the commanders of the legions, and even above their general officer. She can suppress an insurrection, though the name and majesty of the prince makes no impression." These were the reflections that planted thorns in the breast of Tiberius. By the arts of Sejanus, the malice of his heart was still more envenomed. That minister studied the character of his master. He practised on his passions, and had the skill to sow in time the seeds of hatred, which he knew would

[1] Pliny, the author of the *Natural History*.

work in secret, and at a distant day break out with collected force.

LXX. Germanicus, who had sailed with the legions, thought proper to lighten his ships, in order to render them more fit for the navigation of the northern seas, full of sandbanks, and often dangerous both at the flood and the tide of ebb. With this view, he disembarked the second and the fourteenth legions, and put them under the command of Publius Vitellius,[1] with directions to pursue their way over land. Vitellius had at first a dry shore; but the wind blowing hard from the north, and the waves, as usual at the equinox, rolling with a prodigious swell, the soldiers were carried away by the torrent. The country was laid under water. The sea, the shore, and the fields, presented one vast expanse. The depths, the shallows, the quicksands, and the solid ground, were no more distinguished. The men were overwhelmed by the waves, and absorbed by the eddies. Horses, baggage, and dead bodies, were seen floating together. The companies of the legions were mixed in wild confusion, sometimes breast-high in water, and often deeper. Numbers were carried off by the flood, and lost for ever. Exhortations and mutual encouragement were of no avail. Valour and cowardice, prudence and temerity, wisdom and folly, perished without distinction. Vitellius at length gained an eminence, and drew the legions after him. The night was passed in the utmost distress; without fire, without utensils; many of the soldiers naked; the greatest part wounded, and all in a condition worse than the horrors of a siege. When the enemy is at the gates, an honourable death still remains; but here, their fate was wretched and inglorious. The return of day presented a new face of things: the waters subsided, and the land appeared. The general pursued his march to the river Unsingis, where Germanicus was arrived with his fleet. The two legions were taken on board. A report of their total loss was spread far and wide, and every day gained credit, till their safe return with Germanicus proved the whole to be a false alarm.

LXXI. Meanwhile Stertinius, who had been despatched to receive the surrender of Segimer, the brother of Segestes, conducted that chief, together with his son, to the city of the Ubians. A free pardon was granted to both; to Segimer, without hesitation; to the son, who was known to have offered indignities to the body of Varus, not without some delay

[1] He was uncle to Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

Gaul, Spain, and Italy, seemed to vie with each other in exertions to repair the losses of the army; each nation offering, according to their respective abilities, a supply of arms, of horses, and money. Germanicus thanked them for their zeal, but received arms and horses only. With his own funds he relieved the wants of the soldiers; and to obliterate, or at least soften, the recollection of past misfortunes, he united with generosity the most conciliating manners. He visited the sick; he applauded their bravery; he examined their wounds; he encouraged some by promises; he roused others to a sense of glory; and, in general, filled all hearts with zeal for his person and the success of his arms.

LXXII. Triumphal ornaments[1] were this year decreed to Aulus Cæcina, Lucius Apronius, and Caius Silius, for their conduct under Germanicus. The title of *Father of his Country*, so often pressed upon him by the people, Tiberius once more declined; nor would he consent that men should be sworn on his acts, though a vote for that purpose had passed the senate. For this self-denial, he alleged the instability of human affairs, and the danger of the sovereign, always growing in proportion to the eminence on which he stands. Popular as this sentiment was, no man thought it sincere. He who had lately revived, in all its rigour, the law of violated majesty, could not be considered as the friend of civil liberty. The title, indeed, of that law was known in ancient times, but the spirit of it differed from the modern practice. During the old republic, the treachery that betrayed an army, the seditious spirit that threw the state into convulsions, the corrupt administration that impaired the majesty of the Roman people, were the objects of the law. Men were arraigned for their actions, but words were free.[2] Augustus was the first who warped the law to new devices. The licentious spirit of Cassius Severus, whose satirical pen had ridiculed the most eminent of both sexes, excited the indignation of the prince; and the pains and penalties of violated majesty were, by an enforced construction, extended to defamatory libels. After his example, Tiberius, being asked by the prætor, Pompeius Macer, whether in such prosecutions judgment should be pronounced, returned for answer, that the law must take its course. The fact was, Tiberius in his turn had felt the edge of satire in certain anonymous verses,

[1] The triumphal *insignia* were, a golden crown, an ivory chair (*sella curulis*), an ivory sceptre (called *scipio*), and a painted robe.

[2] By a law of the Twelve Tables, defamatory libels were strictly prohibited.

circulated at that time, and keenly pointed at his pride, his cruelty, and his dissensions with his mother.

LXXIII. It will not be deemed an improper digression, if we state in this place the cases of two Roman knights, Falanius and Rubrius, both of narrow fortunes, and both attacked under the new mode of prosecution. A review of these proceedings will show the grievance in its origin, and its process;[1] how it gathered strength from the wily arts of Tiberius; from what causes it was for a time suppressed, and afterwards revived in all its force, till it proved, in the end, to be the most detestable invention that ever harassed mankind. The charge against Falanius was, that he had admitted into one of the fraternities, then established in honour of Augustus, one Cassius, a comedian of profligate manners; and further, that, in the sale of his gardens, he had suffered a statue of Augustus to be put up to auction with the rest of his goods. The crime alleged against Rubrius was, that, being sworn on the name of Augustus, he was guilty of perjury. Tiberius, as soon as he was apprised of these proceedings, wrote to the consuls — "that divine honours were not decreed to the memory of his father, in order to lay snares for the people. Cassius, the player, as well as others of his profession, had often assisted in the games, dedicated by Livia, to the memory of the deceased emperor; and if his statue, in common with those of the gods in general, was put up to sale with the house and gardens, the interests of religion would not be hurt. A false oath on the name of Augustus was the same as a perjury in an appeal to Jupiter, but the gods must be their own avengers."

LXXIV. In a short time after this transaction, Granius Marcellus, prætor of Bithynia, was accused of violated majesty by his own quæstor, Cæpio Crispinus. The charge was supported by Romanus Hispo,[2] a mercenary advocate, who had then lately set up the trade of an informer: that detestable trade, which, by the iniquity of the times, and the daring wickedness of the wild and profligate, became afterwards the source of wealth and splendour. Obscure and indigent, but bold and pragmatical, this man, by secret informations, pampered the cruelty of Tiberius, and wriggled himself into favour. By his detestable practices, he became formidable

[1] To preserve the majesty of the Roman people was the scope and spirit of the *Lex Majestatis*. Under the emperors the majesty of the people was annihilated. Whoever was noxious to the prince or his favourites, was brought within the law of majesty. Everything was a state crime.

[2] The advocates subscribed their names to the accusation drawn up in form.

to the first characters in Rome. He gained the ear of the prince, and the hatred of mankind; leaving an example, by which the whole race of his followers rose from beggary and contempt to wealth and power; till, having wrought the destruction of the most eminent citizens, they fell at last by their own pernicious arts. The accusation brought by Cæpio Crispinus charged Marcellus with having spoken defamatory words against Tiberius. The charge was big with danger, while the accuser had the art to bring forward, from the life of the emperor, the worst of his vices; ascribing all to the malignity of Marcellus. The words were believed to be spoken, because the facts were true.

Hispo the pleader added, that the accused had placed his own statue higher than the Cæsars; and to a bust, from which he had struck off the head of Augustus, united that of Tiberius. The prince, who had hitherto remained silent, rose abruptly; declaring, in a tone of vehemence, that in a cause of that importance he would give his vote openly,[1] and under the sanction of an oath. By this expedient the same obligation was to be imposed upon the whole assembly. But even then, in that black period, expiring liberty showed some signs of life. Cneius Piso had the spirit to ask, "In what rank, Cæsar, do you choose to give your voice? If first, your opinion must be mine; if last, I may have the misfortune to differ from you." Tiberius felt that his warmth had transported him too far. He checked his ardour, and had the moderation to consent that Marcellus should be acquitted on the law of violated majesty. There remained behind a charge of peculation,[2] and that was referred to the proper jurisdiction.

LXXV. The criminal proceedings before the senate were not enough to glut the malice of Tiberius: he attended the ordinary courts of justice; taking his seat near the corner of the tribunal, that he might not displace the prætor from his curule chair. In his presence, which had the effect of controlling the intrigues of the great, several just decisions were pronounced: but even this was big with mischief; truth was served and liberty went to ruin. Pius Aurelius, a member of the senate, complained to that assembly that, by the making of a public road, and laying an aqueduct, the foundation of his house was ruined; he therefore prayed to

[1] The emperor frequently gave his opinion and his vote in the senate. Tiberius, in the sequel, will be frequently found taking a part in the debates.

[2] For the recovery of money obtained by peculation, or other improper means, there was an established jurisdiction.

be indemnified. The prætors of the treasury opposed his petition. Tiberius, however, struck with the justice of the case, paid the value of the house. The littleness of avarice was no part of his character. When fair occasions called for liberality, he was ready to open his purse; and this munificent spirit he retained for a long time, when every other virtue was extinguished. Propertius Celer, a man of prætorian family, but distressed in his circumstances, desired to abdicate his rank of senator. The state of indigence in which he lived being found to be the consequence of hereditary poverty, he received a donation of a thousand great sesterces. A number of applications of the same nature followed soon after; but Tiberius required that the allegations of each petition should be proved. The austerity of his nature mixed with his best actions a leaven of harshness that embittered his favours. By the rigour of the prince distress was silenced: ingenuous minds chose to languish in obscurity, rather than seek, by humiliating confessions, a precarious, and, at best, a painful relief.

LXXVI. In the course of this year, the Tiber, swelled by continual rains, laid the level parts of the city under water. When the flood subsided, men and houses were washed away by the torrent. Asinius Gallus proposed to consult the books of the Sibyls; but Tiberius, dark and abstruse in matters of religion as well as civil business, overruled the motion. The care of preventing inundations for the future, was committed to Atteius Capito and Lucius Arruntius. The provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, being found unequal to the taxes imposed upon them, were relieved from the expense of supporting a proconsular government,[1] and, for the present, transferred to the superintendence of the emperor. Drusus, in his own name, and that of his brother Germanicus, exhibited a spectacle of gladiators, and presided in person; delighted, more than became his rank, with the effusion of blood, and, by consequence, giving to the populace no favourable impression of his character. Tiberius, it is said, reproved him for his indiscretion. Why he himself did not attend the public games, various reasons were assigned. According to some, "numerous assemblies were not to his taste, and crowds fatigued him." Others ascribed it to the phlegmatic genius of the man, fond of solitude, and willing to avoid a

[1] Augustus divided the Roman provinces between himself and the senate. Those which he retained in his own hands, were administered by governors of his own choice, called *imperial procurators*. The senatorian provinces were governed by proconsuls, appointed for a year only.

comparison with the gracious manners of Augustus, who was always a cheerful spectator on such occasions. That he intended, with covered malice, to afford Drusus an opportunity of laying open the ferocity of his nature, and thereby giving umbrage to the people, seemed rather a strained construction, yet even this was said at the time.

LXXVII. The disorders, occasioned by theatrical factions in the preceding year, broke out again with increasing fury. Numbers of the common people, and even many of the soldiers with their centurion, exerting themselves to quell the tumult, and defend the magistrate, were killed in the fray. A tribune of the prætorian guard was wounded on the occasion. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate. The fathers were on the point of passing a vote, investing the prætor with authority to order the players to be publicly whipped. This was opposed by Haterius Agrippa, a tribune of the people, who by his speech drew upon himself a sharp reply from Asinius Gallus. Tiberius with deep reserve listened to the debate. To see the senators amusing themselves with a show of liberty, filled him with secret satisfaction. The motion, however, passed in the negative. The authority of Augustus, who had formerly decided that players were not liable to that mode of punishment, had great weight with the fathers; and what was established by that prince, Tiberius would not presume to alter. To fix the salary of the players at a certain sum, and to repress the zeal of their partisans, several decrees were passed: the most material were, "that no senator should enter the house of a pantomime-performer; that the Roman knights should not attend the players in the street; no exhibition to be presented in any place except the theatre; and all who engaged in riots were liable to be banished by the sentence of the prætor."

LXXVIII. In consequence of a petition from Spain, leave was given to erect a temple to Augustus in the colony of Terragon. By this decree a precedent was held forth to all the provinces. The people of Rome presented a petition, praying that the payment of the hundredth part,[1] which was a tax on all vendible commodities imposed since the close of the civil wars, might be remitted for the future. Tiberius declared, by public edict, "that the support of the army depended upon that fund; and even with those resources

[1] Augustus fixed the rate of the soldiers' pay throughout all the armies of the empire; and, that a fund might be always ready for that purpose, he established a military exchequer, and certain taxes, which were to be paid into that office.

the commonwealth was unequal to the charge, unless the veterans were retained in the service for the full term of twenty years." By this artful stroke, the regulations limiting the time to sixteen years, which had been extorted during the sedition in Germany, were in effect repealed, and rendered void for the future.

LXXIX. A project to prevent inundations, by giving a new course to the lakes and rivers that empty themselves into the Tiber, was proposed to the senate by Lucius Arruntius and Atteius Capito. The municipal towns and colonies were heard in opposition to the measure. The Florentines stated, "that if the Clanis were diverted from its channel, and made to flow by a new course into the Arno, their whole country would be ruined." The inhabitants of Interamna made the like objection; contending that "if the Nar, according to the plan proposed, were divided into various rivulets, the most fertile plains in Italy would be no better than a barren waste." Nor did the people of Reaté remain silent; they remonstrated that "if the communication, by which the lake Velinus fell into the Nar, were obstructed, the adjacent country would be laid under water. Nature had wisely provided for the interest of man; it was she that assigned to rivers their fountain head, their proper channel, and their influx into the sea. Besides this, the religion of the allies of Rome claimed respect. Considering the rivers of their country as under the patronage of tutelary gods, they had in various places established forms of worship, and dedicated their priests, their altars, and their sacred groves. The Tiber too, deprived of its tributary waters, would be reduced, not without indignation, to an inglorious stream." Convinced by this reasoning, or deterred by the difficulty of the undertaking, perhaps influenced by superstitious motives, the senate went over to the opinion of Piso, who declared against all innovation.

LXXX. The government of Mæsia was continued to Poppæus Sabinus, with the superadded provinces of Achaia and Macedonia. In the character of Tiberius it was a peculiar feature, that he was ever unwilling to remove men from their employments. Hence the same person remained for life at the head of the same army, or in the government of the same province. For this conduct different reasons have been assigned. By some we are told that he hated the pain of thinking; and, to avoid further solicitude, the choice, which he once made, was decided for life. Others will have

it that the malignity of his nature was the secret motive of a man, who did not wish to see too many made happy by his favours. The problem was solved by others in a different way. His discernment, they observed, was quick and penetrating; but his judgment slow and anxious. He thought with subtlety, and refined till he embarrassed himself; and, though he never was the patron of virtue, he detested vice. Superior merit made him tremble for himself, and he thought bad men a disgrace to the age. In this manner divided between opposite extremes, thinking without decision, and reasoning but to hesitate, he has been known to appoint to the government of provinces, men whom he never suffered to depart from Rome.

LXXXI. Of the consular elections, either in this year or during the rest of his reign, nothing can be said with precision. His own speeches, as well as the historians of the time, are so much at variance, that nothing like system can be traced. We see the emperor, in some instances, holding the name of the candidate in reserve, yet by an account of his birth, his public conduct, and his military services, pointing directly to the man. At other times he refuses even that satisfaction, content with general directions to the candidates, not to embroil the election by intrigue or bribery, but to leave the whole to his management. His custom in general was to profess, that he knew no candidates but those whose names he had transmitted to the consuls; others, he said, were free to offer themselves, if, from their merit or their interest, they conceived hopes of success. With speeches of this nature, plausible indeed, but unsubstantial, the people were amused. A show of liberty was held forth, fair in appearance, but deceitful, and, for that reason, tending to plunge mankind in deeper servitude.

BOOK II

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These transactions include four years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
769	16	Statilius Sisenna Taurus, L. Scribonius Libo.
770	17	C. Cæcilius Rufus, L. Pomponius Flaccus Græcinus.
771	18	Tiberius Cæsar, 3rd time; Germanicus, 2nd.
772	19	M. Junius Silaunus, L. Norbanus Flaccus.

I. During the consulship of Sisenna Statilius Taurus and Lucius Libo [A.U.C. 769, A.D. 16] the oriental kingdoms, and, by consequence, the Roman provinces, were thrown into commotion. The flame of discord was lighted up among the Parthians. That restless people had sued for a king at the hands of Rome; and, after acknowledging his title, as a descendant from the line of the Arsacides,[1] began with their natural levity to despise him, as an alien to the crown. Vonones was the name of this unpopular prince: he had been formerly sent by his father Phraates[2] as an hostage to Augustus. The Eastern monarch made head against the armies of Rome, and had driven her generals out of his dominions; but he endeavoured, notwithstanding, by every mark of respect, to conciliate the friendship of Augustus. As

1 The Parthian kings were called Arsacidæ, from Arsaces, the founder of the monarchy.

2 Phraates IV. was the son of Orodes. He defeated Mark Antony and sixteen legions under his command.

a pledge of sincerity, he went the length of delivering up to the custody of the Romans even his own children, not so much with a design to avert the terror of their arms, as from want of confidence in the fidelity of his own subjects.

II. After the death of Phraates, and the kings who succeeded him, the leading men of the nation, tired of civil slaughter, sent ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to invite Vonones, the eldest son of Phraates, to the throne of his ancestors. A nation ready to receive a sovereign from the will of Augustus, presented to that emperor a scene truly magnificent. He despatched Vonones, richly loaded with presents. The Barbarians, pleased, as is their custom, with the opening of a new reign, received the prince with all demonstrations of joy. But disaffection soon took place; they repented of their choice, and saw, with regret, the disgrace which their tame submission had brought upon their country. "The Parthians," they said, "were a degenerate race, who meanly stooped to sue in another world, and invited to reign over them an exotic king, trained up by the Romans, fraught with their maxims, and tainted by their manners. The kingdom of the Arsacides was at length reduced to a Roman province, to be dealt out at the pleasure of the emperor. Where now the glory of those gallant heroes who put Crassus to death, and made Mark Antony fly before them? The slave of Cæsar, who crouched so many years in bondage, gives the law to the Parthians." Such were the prejudices of the people. The conduct of Vonones inflamed their indignation. He renounced the manners of his country; was rarely seen in the sports of the chase; he took no delight in horsemanship, and, in his progress through the kingdom, lolled at ease in a litter. He disdained, with fastidious pride, to have his table served agreeably to the national taste; his train of Greek attendants gave disgust; and the paltry attention, that secured the most trifling articles under a seal, excited the contempt and ridicule of the people. To be easy of access, was want of dignity; and courteous manners degraded the prince. Virtues new to the Parthians were new vices. Between his good and evil qualities no distinction was made: they were foreign manners, and, for that reason, detested.

III. In this disposition of the public mind, the crown was offered to Artabanus, a descendant of Arsaces, educated among the Dahi. This prince, after a defeat in his first engagement, reinforced his army, and gained possession of

the crown. Vonones fled to Armenia,[1] where, in that juncture, the throne was vacant; but an irresolute and wavering people could form no settled plan. They turned their thoughts first to Rome, and next to the Parthians, acting with alternate treachery to both. The insidious conduct of Mark Antony, who allured their king Artavasdes to his friendship, then loaded him with chains, and basely murdered him, was fresh in their minds. Artaxias, the son of that unfortunate prince, conceived from that tragic event a rooted aversion to the Roman name. He ascended the throne of his father, and with the assistance of the Parthians stood at bay with Rome, till he fell at last by the perfidy of his own relations. After his death, Tigranes, by the appointment of Augustus, was raised to the throne. Tiberius Nero, at the head of a powerful army, conducted him to the capital of his dominions. The reign of this prince was short. His issue succeeded; but the line became extinct, notwithstanding the intermarriages of brother and sister,[2] allowed by the policy of eastern nations, to strengthen the royal line. By order of Augustus, Artavasdes[3] succeeded. To support his cause, Rome exerted her strength, and spilt the blood of her armies, but without success. The new king was driven from the throne.

IV. In that juncture, Caius Cæsar was sent to compose the troubles in Armenia. With the consent of the people that young commander placed the crown on the head of Ariobarzanes, by birth a Mede, distinguished by his rare accomplishments, and his graceful figure. After the death of this prince, who lost his life by an accident, the people refused obedience to his descendants. A woman of the name of Erato succeeded: but a female reign did not last long. From that time the nation continued in a state of anarchy, without a master, yet not in possession of liberty. It was in this posture of affairs that Vonones entered Armenia. The people received him with open arms. Artabanus, in the meantime, threatened to invade the kingdom. The Armenians were not in force; and Rome, without undertaking an expensive war against the Parthians, could not espouse their cause.

[1] Vonones, the son of Phraates, was invited by the Parthians to the throne of his ancestors. He was afterwards obliged to fly to Armenia.

[2] Intermarriages between brothers and sisters were allowed by the custom of Egypt, and the eastern nations. Cleopatra married her brother Ptolemy.

[3] Artavasdes was raised by Augustus to the throne of Armenia, and shortly after deposed by the people.

Vonones fled for shelter to Creticus Silanus,[1] the governor of Syria. That officer promised his protection; but afterwards thought proper to secure the person of the prince, leaving him, under a strong guard, to enjoy the title of king, and the parade of royalty. The efforts which Vonones made to escape from this mock dignity, shall be related in due time.

V. Tiberius, with his usual phlegm, saw the storm gathering in the East. Commotions in that part of the world might furnish an opportunity to remove Germanicus from an army devoted to his person, and to employ him in new scenes of action, and in distant provinces, where he would be exposed to the chance of war, and more within the reach of treachery. Germanicus, meanwhile, finding the legions zealous in his service, and the malice of Tiberius still implacable, began to consider how he might strike a decisive blow, and by one signal victory conclude the war. For this purpose he reviewed his operations in the three last campaigns, with the various turns of good and evil fortune which he had experienced. He observed that "the Germans, in a pitched battle, or on equal ground, were always defeated; woods and fens protected them; and the shortness of the summer, with the quick return of winter, favoured their cause. It was not so much the sword of the enemy, as the fatigue of long and difficult marches, that thinned the Roman army. The loss of military weapons was an additional evil. Horses were not to be procured in Gaul, that country being well nigh exhausted. The baggage of the army, liable to ambuscades, was always defended at great disadvantage. An expedition by sea promised better success. The army might penetrate at once into the heart of the country; and the Germans, unapprised of that mode of attack, would be taken by surprise. The campaign would be sooner opened; the legions and their provisions might advance together; men and horses would arrive in good condition; and, with the advantage of harbours for the fleet, and navigable rivers up the country, the war might be pushed to the very heart of Germany."

VI. This plan of operations being judged the best, he sent Publius Vitellius and Caius Cantius to convene the states of Gaul; and, in the meantime, committed the care of building a fleet to Silius, Anteius, and Cæcina. A thousand vessels (that number being deemed sufficient) were soon in readiness, but not all constructed on one uniform principle.

[1] Vonones, son of Phraates IV., succeeded Queen Erato, who reigned a short time.

Some were of a shorter size, sharpened to a point at the stern and prow, and broad in the middle, the better to endure the fury of the waves; others were flat-bottomed, that they might without difficulty run in upon the shore. A great number had rudders at each end, that, by a sudden turn of the oars, they might work with facility either way. In many of the ships, formed as well to carry sail as to advance with the stroke of the oar, arches were raised on the decks of strength to bear the engines of war, and at the same time afford room for horses and provisions. The fleet, thus equipped, displayed a magnificent spectacle; while the swell of the sails, the alacrity of the oars, and the bustle of the soldiers, struck a general terror. The isle of Batavia[1] was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. The shore in those parts being easy of approach, the troops might be speedily landed, and again embarked with expedition, so as to spread an alarm through the country. The Rhine, embracing in its course a few small islands, flows in one united stream, till it reaches the point of Batavia; where it branches off in two different channels; one running with rapid force along the confines of Germany, and, till it falls into the ocean, still retaining its original name; the other, with a wider but less violent current, washes the side of Gaul, and by the inhabitants is called the Wahal, till at last, losing itself in the Meuse, it takes the name of that river, and through an immense opening discharges itself into the German Ocean.

VII. While the fleet was preparing for the expedition, Germanicus ordered Silius, with a light detachment, to make an irruption into the territory of the Cattians. Meanwhile, having intelligence that the fort upon the river Luppia was invested, he marched himself, at the head of six legions, to relieve the garrison. A sudden fall of heavy rains obliged Silius to desist from his enterprise. He returned with a moderate booty, and two prisoners; one the wife, the other the daughter, of Arpus, prince of the Cattians. Germanicus was not able to bring the Germans to an engagement. He no sooner appeared before the place, than the enemy raised the siege, and consulted their safety by flight. It was found, however, that they had levelled to the ground the monument erected the year before to Varus and his legions, and likewise

[1] The isle of Batavia is rendered for ever famous by the enterprising spirit of Civilis, the warlike chief, whose brave exploits against the Romans are related in the fourth book of the *History*.

an ancient altar dedicated to Drusus. The prince rebuilt the altar; and joining with the legions in equestrian games, performed a funeral ceremony[1] in honour of his father. He did not judge it advisable to restore the tomb, which had been erected to Varus and the legions; but with a chain of fortified posts, he secured the whole country between Fort Aliso and the Rhine.

VIII. The fleet assembled at the place appointed. Germanicus ordered the military stores to be sent on board; and, having completed the embarkation of the legions and the allies, sailed through the canal, called the canal of Drusus, invoking his father to assist the enterprise, and by the memory of his example, to guide and animate his son, now pursuing the same track of glory. The fleet proceeded over the lakes;[2] and, entering the German Ocean, stretched away as far as the river Amisia. There, at a place of the same name on the left-hand shore, he landed his men, leaving his ships safe at their moorings. This measure was ill concerted. The debarkation should have been made higher up the country, and on the opposite bank, where the enemy had taken post. The mistake made it necessary to throw bridges over the river, and, in that business, several days were consumed. At low water the cavalry and the legions forded over the estuary without difficulty; but the rear, consisting of the auxiliary forces, were overtaken by the return of the tide, and thrown into disorder. The Batavians, in particular, eager to show their dexterity in swimming, continued sporting in the waves, till the rapidity of the current overwhelmed them. Some lost their lives. Germanicus pitched his camp. While he was employed in marking out the lines, he received advice that the Angrivarians, whom he had left behind him, were in motion. To check their progress, he sent a detachment of light infantry, under the command of Stertinius, who chastised the treachery of the Barbarians, and laid the country waste with fire and sword.

IX. The Visurgis flowed between the Romans and Cheruscans. On the opposite bank Arminius presented himself,

[1] The equestrian games, in honour of the dead, are described by Virgil:

> Ter circum accensos, cincti fulgentibus armis,
> Decurrere rogos; ter mœstum funeris ignem
> Lustravere in equis, ululatusque ore dedere.
>
> *Æneid*, lib. xi. 188.

[2] This canal, according to Grotius, formed a third branch of the Rhine.

He was attended by the principal German chiefs. His business was to know whether Germanicus was with the army; being answered in the affirmative, he desired an interview with his brother, known to the Romans by the name of Flavius; a man of strict fidelity, who, some years before, under the conduct of Tiberius, lost an eye in battle. The meeting was permitted. Flavius advanced to the margin of the river. Arminius, from the opposite side, saluted him; and, having ordered his guards to fall back, required that the Roman archers should withdraw in like manner. The two brothers being left to themselves, Arminius fixed his eyes on Flavius; and, "Whence," he said, "that deformity of feature?" He was told the battle and the place where it happened. "And what," continued Arminius, "has been your recompense?" "I have received," said Flavius, "an augmentation of pay, a military chain, an ornamental crown, and other honours." Arminus burst into a laugh of scorn and indignation. "They are the wages," he said, "of a slave cheaply purchased."

X. A warm altercation followed. Flavius talked of the majesty of Rome, the power of the Cæsars, the weight with which their vengeance falls on the obstinate, and their clemency to the nations willing to submit. He added, "Your wife and son are in the hands of Rome, and neither of them has been treated like a captive." Arminius, on the contrary, urged the rights of men born in freedom, the laws of his country, the plan of ancient liberty, and the gods of Germany. "Your mother," he said, "joins with me in earnest supplication: we both conjure you not to desert your family; not to betray your friends, nor prefer the detested name of traitor, to the vast renown of commanding armies in defence of your country." By degrees their passions rose to a pitch of fury, insomuch, that the river could not have restrained them from deciding their quarrel by the sword, if Stertinus had not checked the impetuosity of Flavius, who stood burning with resentment, and calling aloud for his horse and his arms. Arminius behaved with equal fury, in his storm of passion denouncing vengeance, and threatening the issue of a battle. What he said was perfectly understood. He had commanded the auxiliaries of his country, acting in conjunction with the legions; and, having conversed in the Roman camp, was able to interlard his discourse with Latin expressions.

XI. On the following day, the Germans appeared on the

other side of the Visurgis, drawn up in order of battle. Germanicus, till he had thrown bridges over the river, and made each pass secure, did not think it advisable to expose his legions to the hazard of an engagement. In the meantime, to cause a diversion of the enemy, he ordered the cavalry, under the conduct of Stertinus, and Æmilius, one of the principal centurions, to ford over at two different places. Cariovalda, at the head of his Batavians, advanced where the current was most rapid. The Cheruscans feigned a flight. Cariovalda, pursuing with too much eagerness, pushed on to a place encompassed with woods, and fell into an ambuscade. The enemy rushed on to the attack with impetuous fury. They bore down all who resisted, and pressed on such as gave way. The Batavians formed a ring, and were surrounded on every side. The Germans, at a distance, discharged a volley of darts, while some of them, more eager than the rest, fought hand to hand in close engagement. Cariovalda sustained the shock with undaunted valour. Finding himself, at length, in danger of being overpowered, he exhorted his men to form in platoons, and bravely open a passage through the ranks of the enemy. He rushed forward into the heat of the action; but his horse being killed, he fell under a shower of darts, and died sword in hand. Several of the prime nobility of his country perished with him. The rest found their safety either in their own valour, or the timely succour of Stertinus and Æmilius, who came up with the cavalry.

XII. Germanicus, in the meantime, having passed the Visurgis, found, by a deserter, that Arminius had already fixed upon a spot for a general action, and being reinforced by other nations, then actually assembled in a forest sacred to Hercules, was determined, in the dead of night, to storm the Roman camp. This intelligence was thought worthy of credit. The fires of the enemy gleamed at a distance; the scouts, who advanced to reconnoitre their posts, heard the neighing of horses, and the bustle of a prodigious but undisciplined multitude. In this important moment, on the eve of a decisive battle, the Roman general thought it a point of moment to explore the sentiments and inclinations of his men. How to accomplish this, with a degree of certainty, was a difficult point. The tribunes and centurions studied more to "bring in agreeable reports, than to relate the truth. The freedmen still retained an original leaven of servility, and friends were prone to flattery.

In an assembly of the soldiers, a few forward spirits took the lead, and the whole herd was ready to follow. To sound the real sentiments of the army, the soldier must be taken in his unguarded moments, removed from the eye of his officer, at table with his comrades, when, with frank simplicity, he speaks his mind, and tells his hopes and fears without reserve."

XIII. As soon as night came on, the prince went forth, through the augural gate, covered with the skin of a wild beast. A single attendant followed him. He pursued his way through devious paths, unknown to the sentinels, stopping frequently near the tents, and listening to his own fame. The nobility of his descent was the topic with some; others praised the dignity of his person; the greater part talked of his patience, his courage, and that happy temperament, which, upon all occasions, severe or lively, still preserved the dignity of his character. To such a commander, the place to show their gratitude was the field of battle; there the Barbarians ought to suffer for their perfidy; and there the violator of public treaties should be doomed a sacrifice to the glory of Germanicus. Amidst these discourses, a soldier from the adverse camp, who could speak the Roman language, rode up to the intrenchments, and, in the name of Arminius, proclaimed aloud a promise of wives and lands to every deserter, besides a hundred sesterces for his daily pay, during the continuance of the war. This was felt as an affront: the soldiers cried out with indignation, "The dawn of day shall see us in the field: let Arminius risk a battle: the lands of his countrymen shall be ours by conquest, and their wives shall be carried off in captivity. The offer is an omen of victory. The wealth and the women of Germany shall be the reward of valour." At the third watch[1] the enemy advanced to the intrenchments; but perceiving the works properly guarded, the cohorts under arms, and all intent on duty, they retreated without so much as throwing a single dart.

XIV. Germanicus retired to rest, and in his sleep was favoured with a joyful vision. Being employed, as he imagined, at a sacrifice, and the blood of the victim happening to stain his pontifical garment, his grandmother Livia made him a present of another robe, no less beautiful than magnificent. Pleased with this prognostic, which the auspices con-

[1] The Romans divided the night into four watches. Each watch was on duty three hours, and then relieved by the next in turn. The third watch began about the modern twelve at night.

firmed, he called an assembly of the soldiers, and, in a speech, acquainted them with his plan for the ensuing battle. The open plain, he observed, was not the only spot where the Romans could engage with advantage. Woods and forests were equally favourable. The unwieldy buckler of the Germans, and that enormous length of spear, which, amidst surrounding trees and interwoven thickets, was scarcely manageable, could not be compared to the Roman sword, the javelin, and their defensive armour, so well adapted to the shape and motions of the body. "Redouble your blows," he said, "and strike at the face of the enemy. They have neither helmet nor breastplates. Their shields are neither riveted with iron, nor covered with hides; they are nothing but osier twigs intertwined, or slight boards, daubed over with glaring colours. In their foremost ranks a few are provided with pikes and javelins; in the rest of their army you see nothing but stakes hardened in the fire, or weapons too short for execution. The aspect of their men may, at first sight, be hideous; in the onset they may have bodily vigour: but let them feel the anguish of their wounds, and they betake themselves to flight, impatient of pain, void of honour, and regardless of their officers; cowards in adversity, and, in the hour of success, above all laws, both human and divine. Do you wish, my fellow-soldiers, for an end of all your toils? Are you weary of tedious voyages, and laborious marches? Now is your opportunity: one battle ends the war. The Elbe is nearer than the Rhine. Beyond this spot we have nothing to subdue. It was here that Drusus, my father, triumphed; and here Tiberius, my uncle, reaped his laurels. Exert one vigorous effort, and you make me their rival, perhaps their equal in glory." This speech was received with acclamations; and the ardour of the men blazing out at once, the signal for the charge was given.

XV. Arminius and the German chiefs omitted nothing that could rouse the courage of their men. "Behold," they said, "the refuse of the Varian army; a set of dastards in the field, and rebels in their camp. With their backs seamed with stripes, their limbs enervated, their strength exhausted by tempestuous voyages, dispirited, weak, and void of hope, they are given to our swords, a sacrifice to the gods, and the victims of German valour. To avoid a fiercer enemy they fled to the ocean, where we could neither attack, nor hang upon their rear. In the ensuing battle the winds cannot befriend them; their oars can give them no assistance. Call to mind their

pride, their avarice, and their cruelty: above all, let us remember to act like men, who have resolved to live in freedom, or to die with glory."

XVI. By these and such like incentives the Germans were inflamed with uncommon ardour. Their chiefs conducted them, burning with impatience, to an open plain, called the Idistavisian vale, situate between the Visurgis and a chain of mountains. The ground was of an irregular form, narrow in some parts, where the hills projected forward, and in others, where the windings of the river made an opening, stretching into length. In the rear of the Germans, and at a small distance, rose a thick forest;[1] the trees large and lofty, with branches expanding near the top; but the trunks bare towards the bottom, and the intermediate space clear of underwood. Of this plain, and the approaches to the wood, the Barbarians took possession. The Cheruscans, apart from the rest, took post on the hills, to watch the fortune of the day, and in good time to pour down with fury on the Roman army. Germanicus ranged his men in the following order: the Gauls and German auxiliaries formed the front of the line, followed by a body of archers on foot, and four legions, with Germanicus at the head of two prætorian cohorts, and a select body of cavalry. Four other legions, with the light infantry, the horse-archers, and the remainder of the allies, brought up the rear. The whole army proceeded in order of battle, all instructed to preserve their ranks, and to receive with firmness the first impression of the enemy.

XVII. The Cheruscans, too impatient to keep their post, rushed with impetuosity from their hills. Germanicus no sooner saw their motions, than he sent a chosen body of horse to charge them in flank, while Stertinius, with another detachment, wheeled round to fall upon the rear. The general himself was ready, if occasion required, to second the attack at the head of the legions. In that moment eight eagles were seen stretching with rapid wing towards the wood, where they entered and disappeared. This was received as an omen of victory. "Advance," said Germanicus; "the Roman birds have marshalled you the way. Pursue the tutelar deities of the legions." The infantry began the assault in front: the cavalry, at the same time, charged the flank and rear. The Barbarians, thrown into confusion, presented an uncommon spectacle; those who had been stationed in the woods were driven forward to the plain; and from the plain, the foremost

[1] The forest sacred to Hercules. See this book, chap. xii.

lines fled for shelter to the woods. Between both the Cheruscans were driven down from their heights. Arminius, their chief, performed wonders. Wounded as he was, he braved every danger; with his voice, with his hand, with every effort still sustaining the combat. He fell with fury on the archers, and would have opened his way, had not the Rhætian cohorts, with the Gauls and the Vindelici, advanced their standards to oppose him. Indebted to his own exertions, and the vigour of his horse, he escaped from the field; and to disguise his person, besmeared his face with his own blood. If report is to be credited, the Chaucians, then serving as the allies of Rome, knew his person, but connived at his escape.

By the like gallant behaviour, or a similar treachery, Inguiomer survived the havoc of the day. A general carnage followed. Numbers endeavouring to swim across the Visurgis, perished in the attempt, overwhelmed with darts, or carried away by the violence of the current. The multitude then plunged into the water obstructed one another; and, the banks giving way, were crushed under the load. Some were dastardly enough to seek their safety by climbing up the trees, where they hoped to skulk among the branches: but the Roman archers, in sport and derision, took aim at the fugitives; and in that manner, or by felling the trees, they were all destroyed. The victory was signal, and cost the Romans little or no effusion of blood.

XVIII. The slaughter lasted from the fifth hour to the close of the day. The country, ten miles round, was covered with mangled bodies, and the arms of the vanquished. Among the spoils was found a large quantity of fetters, which the Barbarians, anticipating a certain victory, had prepared for the Roman prisoners. The legions on the field of battle proclaimed Tiberius IMPERATOR; and having raised a mount, placed on the top of it a pile of German arms as the trophies of victory, with an inscription at the base, setting forth the names of the conquered nations.

XIX. To the German mind nothing could be so exasperating as this monument of Roman glory. The wounds received in battle, the desolation of their country, and the wretched condition to which they were reduced, were all as nothing compared to this insulting memorial. Preparing but a little before to abandon their habitations, and seek new settlements beyond the Elbe, they changed their minds, and once more resolved to try the hazard of a battle. The nobles and the populace, the old and young, all ranks and classes of men,

appeared in arms. They pursued the Romans on their march; they harassed the rear, and often threw them into disorder. Resolved at length to risk a battle, they chose for that purpose a narrow and swampy plain, enclosed on one side by a river, and on the other by a thick wood, at the back of which lay a deep morass. A rampart, formerly thrown up by the Angrivarians, as a barrier between themselves and the Cheruscans, enclosed one side of the fen. On this spot the Barbarians stationed their infantry. Their cavalry lay in ambush in the woods, with intent, as soon as the Romans advanced, to attack them by surprise, and cut off the rear of the army.

XX. Germanicus had intelligence of all that passed. Their stations, their councils of war, their public debates, their secret resolutions, were all discovered; and their own devices were turned against themselves. The command of the horse was given to Seius Tubero, with orders to form on the open plain. The infantry was so disposed, that by an easy pass one division might penetrate into the woods, while the other carried the rampart by assault. Whatever was difficult or arduous the general reserved for himself, leaving all slighter operations to his officers. On the level plain the cavalry bore down all before them; but the rampart was not easily taken. The soldiers who advanced to the attack were as much exposed to the darts of the enemy, as if they had been before the walls of a regular fortification. Germanicus saw the disadvantage. He drew off the legions; and ordered the engineers and slingers to play upon the works, in order to drive the Barbarians from their post. A volley of darts was discharged from the battering machines with such incessant fury, that the bravest of the Germans, who dared to face every danger, died under repeated wounds. The enemy was dislodged from the rampart. Germanicus, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, advanced into the woods: the battle there was fierce and obstinate: both sides fought hand to hand. Behind the Barbarians lay the morass; in the rear of the Romans the river and the woods; no room to retreat; valour their only hope, and victory their only safety.

XXI. The martial spirit of the Germans yielded in nothing to the Romans; but their weapons, and their manner of fighting, were a great disadvantage. Pent up in a forest too close for such a multitude, they could neither wound at a distance nor manage their weapons with their usual agility. The Romans, on the contrary, with their bucklers close to

the breast, and their hands covered with the hilt of their swords, found the large proportions of the enemy an easy mark. They gashed the Barbarians in the face, and drove them from their ranks. Arminius no longer fought with his usual ardour. Ill success, so often repeated, depressed his spirit; or perhaps the wound, which he had received in the late engagement, had exhausted his strength. Inguiomer, performing wonders, and busy in every part of the field, was abandoned by his fortune, not by his courage. Germanicus threw off his helmet, that his person might be better distinguished; and rushing among the ranks, exhorted his men to give no quarter. He cried aloud, "We have no need of prisoners: extirpate the Barbarians; nothing less will end the war." The day being far advanced, he ordered one of the legions to quit the field, in order to prepare an encampment: the rest had their measure of revenge, till the approach of night put an end to the effusion of blood. In this battle the Roman cavalry fought with undecided success.

XXII. Germanicus in a public harangue commended the valour of his army; and afterwards raised a pile of arms as a trophy of victory, with this splendid inscription: "The army of Tiberius Cæsar, having subdued the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe, dedicates this monument to Mars, to Jupiter, and Augustus." Of the commander-in-chief no mention was made. To soften envy, he assumed no part of the praise, content with deserving it. Stertinius marched into the territory of the Angrivarians, with orders, if they did not submit, to lay the country waste. The Barbarians surrendered at discretion, and received a general pardon.

XXIII. The summer being now far advanced, Germanicus ordered some of the legions to return by land to winter quarters; he himself sailed with the rest, down the river Amisia to the main ocean. The weather was favourable; and the sea presented a perfect calm, unruffled by any motion except what was occasioned by the dashing of the oars, and the rapid motion of a thousand vessels under sail. But this serenity did not last long; the sky was overcast; a storm of hail burst down with sudden fury; squalls of wind drove the billows different ways, and the pilot could no longer see what course to steer. Unused to the tempestuous element, and terrified by the novelty of the danger, the soldiers added to the alarm. They interfered with the mariners; they endeavoured to lend a helping hand; but activity, without skill, served only to

embarrass such as knew their duty. The winds at last were collected to one point, and the storm blew directly from the south.

In that climate the south wind is generally more tempestuous than in other seas. Sweeping over the bleak German mountains, it drives from the land a vast body of clouds, that form a scene of impending horror, which the vicinity of the northern regions renders still more formidable. The ships were dispersed: some were thrown upon unknown islands, surrounded with rocks, or upon banks of sand that lay concealed beneath the waves. At the turn of the tide, the wind and the current, with united force, drove one way. To lie at anchor was impossible. The billows broke over the ships with such violence, that all the pumps at work could not discharge the water. To lighten the vessels was the only expedient left: and accordingly horses, beasts of burthen, arms, and baggage, were thrown overboard.

XXIV. The storms in other seas are inconsiderable, when compared to the fury of a northern tempest. The ocean in those parts is more boisterous than in any other of the known world, and the rigour of Germany surpasses that of any other climate. The danger of the fleet was, by consequence, more alarming; the magnitude, as well as the novelty, of the mischief, exceeding any former voyage undertaken by the Romans. No friendly shore at hand; every coast in the possession of savage enemies;[1] the sea of a depth incredible; vast in circumference, and, according to the received opinion, without any nation towards the north, or any continent to fix its boundary. A number of ships went to the bottom; many were wrecked on distant islands, secluded from the commerce of man. The soldiers who were cast on shore, perished by famine, or prolonged a wretched existence by feeding on the carcasses of horses thrown up by the sea.

The vessel in which Germanicus sailed, was driven far from the fleet, to the coast[2] inhabited by the Chaucians. There the disconsolate prince passed whole days and nights among pointed rocks, wandering on the prominent beach, his eyes fixed on the brawling deep, and his heart imputing to himself the whole calamity. It was with difficulty that his friends restrained him from burying himself in the same waves that swallowed up so many gallant soldiers. At length

1 The German and the British coasts.
2 The mouth of the Visurgis, or the *Weser*.

the storm abated. The wind and the tide serving at once, some of the ships were seen making to the land, all in a shattered condition, few oars remaining, and the clothes of the men stretched out for sails. The crippled vessels were drawn in tow by such as were less disabled. Germanicus refitted the fleet with all possible expedition; and, as soon as might be, ordered some of the ships to coast along the islands, in search of the soldiers who had been cast away. By this diligence many were restored to their friends. The Angrivarians, lately reduced to subjection, returned a considerable number, whom they had ransomed from their maritime neighbours. Some were thrown on the coast of Britain, and there released by the petty princes of the country. According to the distance from which the men returned, the account of their perils was swelled with marvellous adventures; they talked of hurricanes, and birds unheard of before; of sea-monsters, and ambiguous forms, partly man, and partly fish; things either seen, or else the coinage of imaginations crazed with fear.

XXV. The news of these disasters spreading far and wide, the Germans began to think of renewing the war. Nor was Germanicus less active to counteract their designs. He despatched Caius Silius with thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, to make war on the Cattians; and in the meantime marched himself, at the head of a greater force, to invade the Marsians. Malovendus, the chief of that nation, had lately surrendered to the protection of Rome. From him intelligence was gained, that the eagle of one of the legions commanded by Varus, lay in a trench, covered with earth, in a neighbouring grove, and the guard stationed there could make but a feeble resistance. Two parties were sent forward without delay; one to attack the enemy in front, and draw them from their post; the other to enter the wood in the rear, and recover the eagle. Success attended both expeditions. Germanicus now resolved to penetrate into the heart of the country; he carried destruction wherever he marched, the enemy in every quarter flying before him, or if anywhere they made a stand, either routed or put to the sword. According to the account brought in by the prisoners, a more general panic was never known. All agreed that the Romans rose superior to adversity; a race of men not to be subdued. Their fleet destroyed, their arms lost in the deep, the coast of Germany covered with the dead bodies of men and horses; and yet, said the astonished Germans, they

return undismayed, and with their former ferocity renew the charge as if calamity increased their numbers.

XXVI. The Romans marched into winter quarters, proud of their exploits, and in their late success losing the memory of past misfortunes. The prince, with that munificence that graced his character, paid to each soldier the amount of his loss. Meanwhile the Germans, weakened and disheartened by the ill success of so many efforts, began to think of pacific measures: nor was it doubted but another summer, if they dared to take the field, would complete and end the war. But Tiberius wished for nothing so much as the return of Germanicus. His letters were all to that effect. "It was time," he said, "to visit the capital, and enjoy the honours of a triumph already decreed. Enough had been performed. The prosperous events of war were balanced by misfortunes. Important battles had been fought, and victory had often attended the Roman arms: but the winds and waves conspired; and losses at sea, not indeed imputable to the general, were very heavy disasters. Tiberius added, that he himself, under the auspices of Augustus, had been sent nine times into Germany; but it was to prudent counsels, more than to force of arms, that he owed all his success. It was by policy that the Sicambrians[1] were wrought to a submission; it was by management that the Suevians were drawn into an alliance with Rome; and it was the same conduct that made Maroboduus[2] listen to terms of peace. The honour of the Roman name was now revived in all its ancient lustre; and it was therefore time to leave the Cheruscans, and the hostile states of Germany, to their own dissensions."

Germanicus, notwithstanding these remonstrances, requested leave to continue in the command for one year more. Tiberius was not to be diverted from his purpose. He plied Germanicus with new arguments; and, as a lure to young ambition, threw out the offer of a second consulship, which required personal attendance at Rome. He urged, moreover, that if the war continued, some share of merit ought to be left to Drusus, the brother of Germanicus, for whom no other field of glory could be found. It was in Germany only that Drusus could acquire the title of IMPERATOR. Rome had no other enemies. The laurel crown must be gained in that quarter of the world. Germanicus saw through these pre-

[1] The *Sicambri* dwelt between the river Luppia (now the *Lippe*) and the Cattians, who inhabited the territory of *Hesse*.

[2] Maroboduus, at the head of the Marcomanians, and part of the Suevian nation, who dwelt between the Elbe (*Albis*) and the *Vistula*.

tences. The object, he knew, was to stop him in the full career of fame: with regret he resigned the command, and returned to Rome.

XXVII. About this time, Libo Drusus, descended from the Scribonian family, was accused of a conspiracy against the state. The history of this transaction in all its stages, its rise, its progress, and its final issue, shall be here laid open. The detail will not be uninteresting; since we are now arrived at that black period, which engendered that race of men, who, for a series of years, were the scourge and pest of society. Libo owed his ruin to his intimacy with Firmius Catus, a member of the senate. Catus saw in his friend, besides the impetuosity of youth, a cast of mind susceptible of vain illusions and superstitious credulity. He saw that the judicial astrology of the Chaldæans, the mysteries of the Magi, and the interpreters of dreams, would be sure to make their impression on a wild and distempered imagination. In such a mind the flame of ambition might be easily kindled. With that intent, he urged the dignity of Libo's ancestors: Pompey was his great-grandfather; Scribonia, once the wife of Augustus, was his aunt; the two young Cæsars[1] were his relations; and his house was crowded with images, that displayed an illustrious line of ancestors. Having thus inflamed his pride, he contrived to engage the young man in a course of luxury, and, by consequence, to involve him in a load of debt. He watched him closely in the hour of wild profusion, and in the scene of distress that followed; affected with tender regard to be his constant companion, yet lying in wait for evidence; and playing the part of a friend, to be at last a pernicious enemy.

XXVIII. Having procured a competent number of witnesses, and among them such of the slaves as knew their master's course of life, Catus demanded an audience of the emperor. By the means of Flaccus Vescularius, a Roman knight, much in the confidence of Tiberius, he had beforehand disclosed the nature of his business. The emperor refused to grant an interview, and yet encouraged the informer, willing through the same channel to receive further intelligence. Libo in the meantime was raised to the dignity of prætor. He was a frequent guest at the imperial table. In those convivial moments, Tiberius never betrayed a symptom of suspicion. With gentle expressions, and looks of kindness,

[1] Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, adopted by Augustus into the Cæsarian family.

that master of dissimulation knew how to hide the malice of his heart. The follies of Libo's conduct might have been checked in the beginning; but Tiberius chose to collect materials for a future day. It happened at last that one Junius, who pretended to raise the dead by magic incantations, was appointed, at the request of Libo, to exhibit the wonders of his art. This man hastened with the secret to Fulcinius Trio, at that time a noted informer, who possessed dangerous talents, and by any arts, however pernicious, wished to raise himself into public notice. Libo was cited to appear. Trio applied to the consuls for a solemn hearing before the senate. The fathers were convened to deliberate, as the summons informed them, on matters of moment, and a charge of the blackest nature.

XXIX. Libo changed his dress.[1] In a mourning garb he went from house to house, attended by a female train of the first distinction. He importuned his friends, and among them hoped to find some one willing to undertake his defence. His application was without effect. His friends deserted him, with different excuses; but all from the common motive of fear. On the day of trial, sinking under his distress, and faint with real or pretended illness, he was carried in a litter to the senate-house. He entered the court, supported by his brother. At the sight of the emperor, he stretched forth his hands in the manner of a supplicant, and in a pathetic tone endeavoured to conciliate favour. Tiberius viewed him with a rigid and inflexible countenance. He then proceeded to open the charge, stating the particulars, and the names of the accusers; but in a style of moderation, neither aggravating nor extenuating the offence.

XXX. Fonteius Agrippa and Caius Vibius, two new accusers, joined in support of the prosecution. Being now four in number, they could not agree among themselves which should take the lead. The point was contested with much warmth. Vibius at length observed, that Libo came to the trial without an advocate to support him; and therefore, to end the dispute with his associates, he undertook to detail in a plain and simple manner the heads of the charge. Nothing could be more wild and extravagant than some of the articles. He stated that Libo had made it a question to the fortune-tellers, whether he should ever be rich enough to cover with money the Appian road, as far as Brundusium. There were other allegations of the same stamp, equally void of common sense;

[1] The accused appeared in a mourning habit in order to excite compassion.

or, to speak more truly, so weak and frivolous, that they could move no passion but pity.

There was however one fact of a serious nature. A paper was produced, containing a list of the Cæsars, and also several senators, with remarks, or notes, which no man could decipher, annexed to their names. This was exhibited as the handwriting of Libo. He insisted on his innocence. It was proposed to put his slaves to the torture. Their evidence, by the established rules of law, was inadmissible. By an ancient decree of the senate, it was ordained, that, where the master's life was in danger, no slave should undergo the question. Tiberius, by a master-stroke of invention,[1] found an expedient to evade the law. He directed a sale of the slaves to be made to the public officer, that, the property being altered, they might then be examined on a new principle, unknown to former times. Libo prayed an adjournment to the next day. Being returned to his own house, he sent by his relation, Publius Quirinius, an humble petition to the emperor: the answer was, "he must address the senate."

XXXI. A party of soldiers surrounded Libo's house, and, with the brutal rudeness of men insolent in authority, forced their way into the vestibule, determined to make themselves heard and seen by the family. The prisoner was then at table, intending to make an elegant banquet the last pleasure of his life: but a mind in agony could relish nothing. Distracted, terrified, he called on his servants to despatch him; he laid hold of his slaves, and endeavoured to force a sword into their hands. The servants, in agitation, made an effort to escape, and, in the struggle, overturned the light that stood upon the table. This to Libo was funereal darkness: he seized the moment, and gave himself two mortal stabs. His groans alarmed the freedmen, who crowded round their dying master. The soldiers followed; and seeing him at the point of death, had the decency to withdraw. The prosecution, however, did not die with the unfortunate victim. It was resumed in the senate with unabating severity. Tiberius made an end of the business, by declaring that, if the criminal

[1] We learn from Cicero, that the old law, which repelled the slave from being a witness against his master, made the case of incest an exception to the general rule. By the Roman law, a freeman could not be put to the torture. For that reason, the party accused, in order to suppress the truth, took care, in time, to give the slaves their freedom. To prevent that evasion of public justice in the case of adultery, Augustus provided, by the *Lex Julia*, that the slaves of the wife accused of adultery should not be manumitted before the expiration of sixty days, during which time they were liable to be put to the torture.

had not done justice on himself, he intended, notwithstanding the manifest proof of his guilt, to have recommended him to the mercy of the fathers.

XXXII. The estate of the deceased was divided among the informers. Such of them as were of senatorian rank, were promoted to the prætorship, without the form of an election. Various motions were made in the senate: Cotta Messalinus proposed that the image of Libo should not be carried in the funeral processions of his kindred; Cneius Lentulus, that the surname of Drusus should be no longer assumed by the Scribonian family. On the motion of Pomponius Flaccus, days of public thanksgiving were voted; and gifts were ordered to be presented to Jupiter, Mars, and Concord, at the desire of Lucius Puppius, Asinius Gallus, Papius Mutilus and Lucius Apronius. It was further decreed, that the ides of September, the day on which Libo despatched himself, should be observed as a festival. Of these resolutions, and their several authors, I have thought proper to record the memory, that adulation may be branded to all posterity, and that men may mark how long a servile spirit has been the canker of the commonwealth.

The tribe of astrologers and magicians, by a decree of the senate, was banished out of Italy. Two of the number suffered death; namely, Lucius Pituanius, and Publius Marcius. The former was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock; and the latter, by order of the consuls, was executed, at the sound of a trumpet, on the outside of the Esquiline gate,[1] according to the form prescribed by ancient usage.

XXXIII. At the next meeting of the senate, the luxury of the times became the subject of debate. The business was introduced by Quintus Haterius, of consular rank, and Octavius Fronto, who had discharged the office of prætor. A law was passed, prohibiting the use of solid gold for the service of the table; and further enacting, that men should not disgrace themselves by the effeminate delicacy of silk apparel. Fronto took a wider compass. He proposed that the quantity of silver in every family, the expense of furniture, and the number of domestics, should be limited by law. The senators at that time did not confine themselves to the question depending before the assembly; but every speaker was at liberty to start new matter, and submit to consideration whatever he thought conducive to the public good.

[1] The custom, says Suetonius, was to strip the criminal stark naked, and lash him to death, with his head fastened within a forked stake.

Asinius Gallus rose in opposition to the opinion of Octavius Fronto. "The commonwealth," he said, "had increased in grandeur, and the wealth of individuals grew with the growth of empire. Nor was this a modern innovation: the same effect, from the same causes, may be traced in the early period of the commonwealth. The Fabricii had their private wealth, and so had the Scipios, but different in degree. Wealth is relative, always in proportion to the affluence of the times. When the state was poor, frugality was the virtue of a citizen. Does the empire flourish, individuals flourish with it. In matters of domestic expense, such as plate and retinue, the measure of economy or extravagance must be determined by the circumstances of the family. Nothing is mean, nothing superfluous, but what is made so by the condition of the parties. The fortune of a senator,[1] as settled by law, differs from the qualification of a Roman knight. Has nature made a distinction between them? No, it is civil policy that draws the line; and surely it is fit that they, who stand high in rank, in honours, and public station, should live in suitable splendour, not only furnished with the necessaries, but also with the elegances, of life. High station is at best a post of danger. Will any one argue, that men in office are to drudge in business, condemned to endless toil, without the means of repairing the waste of labour, and without a comfort to soothe anxiety?" The apologist of dissipation and luxury carried his point. With an audience of congenial manners, public vices, decorated with specious names, were public virtues. Tiberius closed the debate. The times, he said, were not ripe for a censor;[2] but if corruption went on increasing, there would be no want of vigour to reform abuses of every kind.

XXXIV. In the course of these debates, Lucius Piso broke out with vehemence against the reigning vices of the times, the spirit of intrigue that prevailed in the forum, the venality of the courts of justice, and the band of public informers, who were ever armed with accusations, and spread terror through all ranks and degrees of men. For his part, he abjured the city of Rome. In some remote corner of the world, he was determined to seek an obscure but safe retreat from the villainy of abandoned men. He spoke, and left the senate-house. Tiberius heard him, but not without

[1] The qualification of a Roman knight was four hundred thousand sesterces (=£4000 roughly); that of a senator, in the time of the republic, eight hundred thousand, and under the emperors, twelve hundred thousand.

[2] The censor exercised his authority in the course of every fifth year.

inward mortification. He endeavoured by every means in his power to appease his indignation; and exerted all his interest with Piso's relations, in order to dissuade him from his purpose. In a short time after, the same eminent person gave another proof of his firmness. He had commenced a suit against Urgulania, a woman raised above the control of law by the friendship of Livia. Disdaining to answer the process, this haughty favourite took shelter in the imperial palace. Piso persisted in his demand, undismayed by the resentment of Livia, who considered his obstinacy as an affront to herself. Tiberius thought fit to temporise with the passions of his mother. He promised to attend the hearing of the cause, in favour of Urgulania; and that mark of filial compliance he thought would not be considered as a stretch of power.

He set out accordingly from the palace, his guards following at a distance. He proceeded slowly through the streets, amidst a concourse of people, with an air of calm composure, occasionally loitering in conversation. Piso's friends tried all in their power to make him desist from his suit; but nothing could shake that resolute temper. To end the controversy, Livia thought good to pay the whole of his demand. Piso by his firmness did honour to his character, and Tiberius gained the popular applause. Urgulania continued, notwithstanding, to tower above the condition of a citizen; insomuch that, being summoned as a witness in a matter depending before the senate, her pride would not suffer her to appear. A prætor was sent to take her examination in private; though, by ancient usage, the attendance of the vestal virgins, whenever cited to give their testimony, was never dispensed with, either in the forum or the tribunals of justice.

XXXV. Part of this year was remarkable for a total suspension of all public business. Of this inactive state it would be scarce worth while to take notice, if the different sentiments of Cneius Piso and Asinius Gallus did not seem to merit attention. Tiberius gave notice, that he intended to absent himself for some time from Rome. Piso declared his opinion, that, in such a juncture, the senate ought to attend with greater assiduity to the despatch of business. The fathers and the Roman knights might still discharge their respective functions; "the dignity of the commonwealth required it." Asinius Gallus saw, with a jealous eye, that his rival had taken the popular side; and,

to counteract his design, rose to oppose the motion. "Nothing," he said, "could be truly great, or worthy of the Roman people, unless conducted under the eye of the prince. The affairs of state, and the great conflux of people, not only from all parts of Italy but from the provinces, ought to be reserved for the presence of the emperor." Tiberius heard all that passed, but remained silent. A warm debate ensued. At length the fathers agreed to adjourn all business till the prince returned to Rome.

XXXVI. Upon another occasion the same Asinius Gallus had the spirit to clash even with the emperor. He moved, in form, that the election of civil magistrates should take place at the end of five years; that the officers who had the command of a legion, and discharged that duty before they attained the prætorship, should be declared prætors elect, without prejudice to the right of the sovereign to name twelve candidates. This motion, beyond all doubt, had a deeper aim, pointing directly at the policy of the times, and the secret maxims of the court. Tiberius affected to see a design to enlarge the sovereign authority; and, on that ground, replied, "that it was inconsistent with his moderation to take upon him so vast a charge. The power to choose, was a power to exclude; and the last was painful. The elections, even when annual, were attended with many inconveniences. The disappointed candidate was sure to repine at his want of success, and yet his disgrace was but of short duration: he consoled himself with hopes of better success in the following year. Defer the election for five years, and the man rejected for that length of time, will find his spirit more deeply wounded. Moreover, at the end of so long a period, who can answer that his character, his family connections, and his fortune, will be the same? To grow proud in office is the nature of man: extend his authority to the space of five years, and what will be the consequence? Every single magistrate will swell with the pride of five. The laws, which have wisely drawn the line, will be subverted; whereas, at present, the time for soliciting, as well as that of enjoying public honours, is fixed with precision."

XXXVII. By these specious arguments, delivered with a republican spirit, Tiberius strengthened the interests of despotism. His next measure was a grant of money to certain senators, whose fortunes were inferior to their rank. Nothing, however, in the midst of such liberal donations,

struck the minds of men with so much wonder, as the high tone with which he rejected the application of Marcus Hortalus, a young man of distinction, but embarrassed in his circumstances. He was grandson to Hortensius,[1] the celebrated orator. To prevent the extinction of that illustrious family, Augustus pressed him to marry, and seconded his advice by a present of a thousand great sesterces. The senate was sitting in the emperor's palace. Hortalus attended. Having stationed his four children before the door, he rose in his place, directing his eyes, first to the statue of Hortensius, among the famous orators, then to the statue of Augustus, and spoke to the following effect: "My children, conscript fathers, are now before you: you see their number, and their helpless infancy. They were not mine by choice: the command of Augustus made me a father. Let me add, the merit of my ancestors stood in so distinguished a light, that the line ought not to fail for want of issue. As to myself, the distraction of the times left me nothing but difficulties: involved in distress, destitute, without popular favour, and, above all, not endowed with eloquence, that peculiar gift and fortune of my family, I could have passed my days in humble content, resolved that poverty should neither make me a disgrace to my ancestors, nor a burthen to my friends. The advice of Augustus was a command: I obeyed, and married. Behold the issue of that alliance, the posterity of consuls and dictators. It is not the language of vain-glory that I utter; it is the voice of a father pleading for his children. Receive them, Cæsar, to your protection: under your auspicious smiles they may live to deserve your favour, and to merit public honours. In the meantime, let their tender years claim compassion; they are the grandchildren of Hortensius, and they were fostered by Augustus."

XXXVIII. This speech made an impression in his favour: but the inclination of the senate was sufficient to sour a temper like that of Tiberius. He replied to Hortalus nearly in the following words: "If the trade of begging is to be encouraged; if the poor are to come hither in crowds to solicit for their children; the public funds may be exhausted, and the craving of individuals will remain unsatisfied. To depart from the question before the senate, and open new matter for the public service, was no doubt the practice of our ancestors; but, under that sanction, to introduce domestic concerns, with a view to private interest, is an

[1] Hortensius, the great orator, and rival of Cicero.

abuse of the privilege, tending directly to reduce the senate, as well as the sovereign, to a painful dilemma. Whether we comply, or refuse our consent, either way we encounter prejudice. Besides, this mode of petitioning is not a modest humble request; it is a demand, brought on by surprise, while other business is before us. At such a time the petitioner comes, and, with the age and number of his children, assails the passions of this assembly: he does more; he makes a sudden transition to ourself, and by violence of prayer hopes to storm the treasury. But let us remember, that if, by our profusion, we exhaust the public stock, our crimes must replace it. You are not, Hortalus, now to learn, that the bounty of Augustus was his own voluntary act: he gave you money, but never intended that you should live a rent-charge upon the public. By false compassion we injure the community; industry will go to ruin; sloth will predominate, men will no longer depend upon themselves; but, having from their own conduct nothing to hope or fear, they will look to their neighbours for support: they will first abandon their duty, and then be a burthen on the public."

Such were the reasonings of Tiberius. His speech was well received by that class of men, who are ever ready to applaud the vices, no less than the virtues of their master: others heard in silence, or, at most, with a murmur of disapprobation. Tiberius saw the impression on the minds of the fathers: he paused, and added, that what he had said was a reply to Hortalus; but if the senate judged it proper, he was willing to give two hundred great sesterces to each of his sons. The fathers expressed their thanks. Hortalus made no answer, perhaps through fear, or probably retaining still the spirit of his ancestors, unbroken by distress. From this time Tiberius never relented. While the house of Hortensius sunk into distress and poverty, he looked on with unconcern, and saw that illustrious family moulder into ruin.

XXXIX. In the course of this year, the daring genius of a single slave well nigh involved the empire in a civil war. The name of this man was Clemens, formerly retained in the service of Posthumus Agrippa. He was no sooner apprised of the death of Augustus, than he conceived the bold design of passing over to the isle of Planasia, with intent, by force or stratagem, to carry off Agrippa, and convey him to the German army. This enterprise, con-

ceived by a slave, was no indication of a grovelling mind. He embarked on board a trading vessel, deeply laden, and, after a tedious passage, arrived too late: Agrippa was previously murdered. The man was now resolved to act a nobler part. Taking with him the ashes of the prince, he sailed to Cosa, a promontory of Etruria, and there remained concealed in the sequestered parts of the country, till his hair and beard were grown into length. He was of his master's age, and in form and stature not unlike him. He began, by his friends and agents, to circulate a whisper that Agrippa was still living. The story, as is usual in the beginning of plots, was helped about by clandestine arts. By degrees, the tools of this bold adventurer grew more hardy; the weak and ignorant believed everything; and the bold and turbulent, who wish for nothing so much as convulsions in the state, received the news with joy and exultation. While the report was gaining ground, the author of it withdrew with caution from the public eye. Truth, he was aware, is always brought to light by time and reflection; while the lie of the day lives by bustle, noise, and precipitation. The impostor was therefore resolved to keep the minds of men in a constant ferment; he visited the municipal towns, but always in the dusk of the evening; he went to one place, he flew to another, continually in motion, never long anywhere; but, as soon as he made his impression, leaving his fame behind him, or flying before it, to prepossess the people in some new quarter.

XL. The miraculous escape of Agrippa was currently reported all over Italy. At Rome the story was believed. The impostor landed at Ostia, amidst the acclamations of the rabble. Clandestine meetings were held in the capital. Tiberius was thrown into the utmost perplexity. Should he call forth the soldiers to subdue a slave? Were it not more advisable to leave the rumour to its own futility? On a sudden he was bent on vigorous measures, and nothing was to be slighted: he wavered, fluctuated, and to act with coolness seemed more advisable; to be alarmed at trifles was unworthy of the prince. The resolution of one moment gave way to the whim of the next, and pride and fear alternately distracted him. He resolved, and decided nothing. Weary of himself, he left the whole to Sallustius Crispus. That minister sent two of his creatures (some say, two soldiers) to join the fictitious Agrippa, as men devoted to his cause: he gave them full instructions to supply him

with money, and profess themselves ready in his service to encounter every danger. The men acted their parts; and, in the dead of night, seizing their opportunity, fell with a strong party upon the adventurer. Having seized his person, they dragged him in fetters, with a gag in his mouth, to the imperial palace. Being there interrogated by Tiberius "how he came to be Agrippa," he is said to have answered, "As you came to be Cæsar." With undaunted resolution he refused to discover his accomplices. Tiberius, not choosing to hazard a public execution, ordered him to be put to death in a sequestered part of the palace. The body was privately conveyed away; and though, at the time, there was reason to believe that many of the emperor's household, and even several of the Roman knights and senators, assisted the impostor with their advice and money, the affair was dropped without further inquiry.

XLI. Towards the end of the year, a triumphal arch was erected, near the temple of Saturn,[1] in memory of the Varian eagles retaken under the conduct of Germanicus, and the auspices of Tiberius. Several other public monuments were dedicated at the same time; a temple to Fortune, in the gardens on the banks of the Tiber, which Julius Cæsar had bequeathed to the Roman people; a chapel sacred to the Julian family; and a statue of Augustus in the suburbs, called *Bovillæ*.

In the consulship of Caius Cæcilius and Lucius Pomponius [A.U.C. 770, A.D. 17], Germanicus, on the seventh before the calends of June, enjoyed the glory of a triumph over the Cheruscans, the Cattians, the Angrivarians, and the rest of the nations extending as far as the Elbe. The spoils of the conquered, the prisoners of war, with various pictures of battles, mountains, and rivers, were displayed with great pomp and splendour. The war, though the general was not suffered to reap the full harvest of his glory, was considered by the populace as entirely finished. Amidst the grandeur of this magnificent spectacle, nothing appeared so striking as the graceful person of Germanicus, with his five children,[2] mounted on the triumphal car. The joy of the multitude was not, however, without a tincture of melancholy. Men remembered that Drusus, the father of

[1] The public treasure (*ærarium*) was kept in the temple of Saturn.

[2] The five children of Germanicus were, Nero and Drusus, whom we shall see cruelly murdered by Tiberius; Caligula, who was afterwards emperor; Agrippina, the mother of the emperor Nero; and Drusilla. Julia, his last child, was born afterwards in the isle of Lesbos.

Germanicus, was the darling of the people, and yet proved unfortunate: they called to mind young Marcellus,[1] blessed with all his country's wishes, yet prematurely snatched away. It happened, they said, by some fatality, that whenever a favoured character was the delight of the Roman people, their affections ended always in a general mourning.

XLII. Tiberius gave a largess to the populace of three hundred sesterces to each man, and ordered the distribution to be made in the name of Germanicus, at the same time declaring himself his colleague in the consulship for the ensuing year. These marks of good-will were specious, but by no man thought sincere. He was now resolved to remove the favourite of the people. This, however, was to be done under colour of new honours. He framed a pretence, or took advantage of that which the posture of affairs presented to him. Archelaus, during a space of fifty years, had swayed the sceptre of Cappadocia; but had the misfortune of being upon bad terms with the emperor, who, during his residence in the isle of Rhodes, had taken umbrage at the king's behaviour, and from that moment harboured the deepest resentment. Archelaus, it is true, had shown him no mark of respect; but that inattention did not originate in pride or arrogance. It was the conduct recommended by the confidential friends of Augustus, at a time when Caius Cæsar, flourishing in favour, was sent to arrange the affairs of the east. In that juncture, to court the friendship of Tiberius would have been highly impolitic.

After the failure of the Cæsarian line, and the elevation of Tiberius, letters to the eastern prince were despatched from the emperor's mother, avowing her son's resentment, but offering an entire remission of past offences, provided he came in person to solicit his pardon. Archelaus did not perceive the intended treachery; or, perceiving it, thought it prudent to dissemble. He risked a journey to Rome.

Tiberius received him with pride and sullen aversion. The king of Cappadocia was arraigned before the senate;[2] and though the charge was without foundation, a royal mind, not used to acknowledge an equal, much less to bend to the humiliating condition of a state-criminal, was naturally pierced to the quick. Worn out with grief, and drooping

[1] The young Marcellus, who was married to Julia, the daughter of Augustus.

[2] He was most probably charged with a design to render himself independent of the empire.

under the infirmities of age, the unhappy monarch died of a broken heart, or perhaps fell by his own hand. His kingdom was reduced to a Roman province. With this new source of wealth, Tiberius declared himself able to diminish the tax of the hundredth penny, and accordingly changed it to the two hundredth. About this time died Antiochus and Philopater; the former king of Commagena, and the latter of Cilicia. By their deaths their kingdoms were thrown into violent convulsions. Two factions were at variance: one, which formed a large majority, was willing to submit to the government of Rome; the other contended for the independence of their monarchy. In the same juncture the provinces of Syria and Judea prayed to be relieved from the burthen of oppressive taxes.

XLIII. This state of affairs, and the commotions in Armenia, which have been already mentioned, Tiberius laid before the senate. His conclusion was, that to settle the troubles of the east, recourse must be had to the wisdom of Germanicus. As to himself, he was now in the vale of years, and Drusus had neither maturity of age nor experience. The provinces beyond the Mediterranean[1] were, by a decree of the senate, committed to Germanicus. He was made commander-in-chief, with supreme authority, wherever he went, over all other governors, whether appointed by lot, or the will of the prince. At that time, Creticus Silanus was the governor of Syria. He had promised his daughter in marriage to Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus. For that reason Tiberius recalled him from the province, and in his place appointed Cneius Piso, a man of violent passions, impatient of control, and fierce with all the spirit of his father, that famous republican, who in the civil wars took up arms against Julius Cæsar, and rekindled the flame in Africa. After that exploit he followed the fortunes of Brutus and Cassius. Being at length restored to his country, he disdained all public offices, till Augustus prevailed upon him to accept of the consulship. To the pride derived from such a father, the son united the insolence of wealth acquired by his marriage with Plancina, who, besides her high descent, possessed immoderate riches. Proud of that connection, Piso thought himself scarcely second to Tiberius. The emperor's sons were beneath his rank. The government of Syria, he made no doubt, was given to him, as a bar to the hopes of Germanicus. For this purpose secret in-

[1] Asia, Egypt, and the provinces in Africa.

structions were at the time said to have been given to him by Tiberius. Plancina, it is certain, had her lesson from Livia, with full instructions to mortify the pride of Agrippina with all the arts of female emulation.

The court of Tiberius, divided between Drusus and Germanicus, was a scene of domestic faction. The emperor, as was natural, gave the preference to his own immediate issue; but the preference had no other effect than that of attaching the friends of Germanicus more warmly to his interest. They considered him, by the maternal line, of higher birth than Drusus;[1] Mark Antony was his grandfather, and Augustus Cæsar his great-uncle. On the other hand Pomponius Atticus,[2] the great-grandfather of Drusus, having never risen above the rank of a Roman knight, seemed to tarnish the lustre of the Claudian line. The merit of Agrippina weighed greatly in the scale. She had brought to Germanicus a numerous offspring; and her character, free from blemish, placed her in a point of view superior to the younger Livia,[3] the wife of Drusus. The two brothers, amidst the heat of contending parties, lived in perfect harmony: their friends were at variance, but the princes loved each other.

XLIV. Drusus was soon after sent to command the army in Illyricum. In that school of military science he might improve in the art of war, and gain the affections of the army. The camp, Tiberius thought, would wean a young man from the dissolute manners of the capital. He had still another motive: while his two sons were at the head of the legions, he might live in security, free from danger, and every possible alarm. But the ostensible reason for the expedition of Drusus, was an application from the Suevians, praying the assistance of Rome against the Cheruscans, who had turned their disappointed rage against their countrymen. The fact was, Germany being at that time evacuated by the Romans, the different nations of that country, no longer dreading a foreign invasion, began, according to the genius of Barbarians, to quarrel among themselves. The present difference was a struggle for power between two

[1] Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony by Octavia, the sister of Augustus, was the mother of Germanicus; consequently Augustus was great-uncle to Germanicus, and Mark Antony was his grandfather.

[2] Atticus is well known by Cicero's Epistles. Pomponia, his granddaughter, was the first wife of Agrippa, and mother of Vipsania Agrippina, whom Tiberius married, and divorced by order of Augustus. Drusus, whom Tiberius acknowledged as his son, was the issue of that marriage.

[3] She was sister to Germanicus.

rival states. The strength on each side was nearly equal; the abilities of the chiefs much upon a balance: but the name of king was detested by the Suevians, and, by consequence, Maroboduus was unpopular. On the opposite side, Arminius, the champion of liberty, was the idol of his country.

XLV. Arminius took the field at the head of a considerable army. The Cheruscans, and a large body of allies, accustomed to fight under him, followed his standard. To these were added the Semnones and the Longobards, two Suevian nations revolted from Maroboduus. By this defection the superiority had been decidedly with Arminius, had not Inguiomer thrown his whole weight into the opposite scale. For this conduct the pride of the man was the exciting motive. Arminius was the son of Inguiomer's brother; and the uncle, now a veteran soldier, disdained to serve under his nephew, and obey the orders of a boy. The two armies were drawn up in order of battle; on both sides equal ardour, and equal hopes of victory. The Germans no longer carried on a desultory war, in detached parties, and irregular bodies: their long conflict with the Romans had made them soldiers. Discipline was introduced; they followed the colours; they supported the broken ranks, and with prompt alacrity obeyed the word of command. Arminius appeared on horseback, rushing through the ranks, and animating his men to deeds of valour. He congratulated them on the recovery of their liberty; he gloried in the slaughter of Varus and his legions; he pointed to the spoils of victory, and the Roman weapons then in the hands of numbers; he called Maroboduus a coward and a fugitive, who never flashed his sword in battle, but fled for shelter to the Hercynian forest,[1] where, by negotiation, by bribes and embassies, he patched up an ignominious peace. A traitor to his country, and the slave of Cæsar, he was more an object of vengeance than Varus and his legions. He conjured them to remember the battles they had fought, and the glorious issue of all

[1] Maroboduus has already been mentioned, chap. xxvi. note. To what is there said it will not be amiss to add that he was born among the Marcomanians, and went early to Rome, where he was distinguished by Augustus. Endowed with great natural talents, he returned to his own country with an understanding above the level of Barbarians. He saw the Romans encroaching every day in the Lower Germany; and the progress of their arms he thought would, in a little time, reduce him to the condition of a sceptred slave. He removed from that dangerous neighbourhood to the Hercynian forest, and, having expelled the Boians from the country, established his kingdom in that region. He extended his new dominions towards the south,

their labours. "The Romans," he said, "have abandoned Germany, they are exterminated; and if men desire to know who were the conquerors, the event of the war will tell."

XLVI. Maroboduus, in the meantime, was not inactive. Of himself he talked in magnificent terms, and of the enemy with contempt and indignation. Holding Inguiomer by the hand, "Behold," he said, "in this brave warrior the support and glory of the Cheruscan name! To him they are indebted for the success of their arms. Arminius had no share in the conduct of the war; a rash presumptuous man, without knowledge or experience; he tears the laurel from another's brow, and founds his merit on fraud and murder: he fell by surprise upon three legions, and put an unsuspecting general, with his whole army, to the sword. All Germany has had reason to rue the carnage of that day; nor has Arminius anything to boast. His wife and his son are languishing in Roman chains. Has my conduct produced so dreadful a catastrophe? Tiberius, at the head of twelve legions, advanced against me; but the glory of the German name suffered no diminution. The peace which followed was made on equal terms. For that treaty I have no reason to blush. Hostilities were suspended, and you gained time to deliberate which was most advisable, war with Rome, or a safe and honourable peace."

The two armies were in this manner animated by their respective chiefs. The several nations added their own private motives. The Cheruscans took the field to maintain their ancient glory, and the Longobards to defend their liberty recently recovered. The Suevians aimed at an extension of territory. No battle was ever fought with more inflamed resentment, and none with such equivocal success. The right wing on both sides was put to flight. A decisive action was expected; when Maroboduus drew off his forces, and encamped on the neighbouring hills; acknowledging by his retreat, the superior strength of the enemy. Desertion in a little time thinned his army. He retired into the country of the Marcomanians, and thence sent a deputa-

and, by consequence, approached to the vicinity of the Romans. Tiberius was sent by Augustus to check the progress of the German king, who must have been crushed by the army employed against him, if a sudden revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia had not caused a suspension of hostilities. Whether that insurrection was effected by the intriguing genius of Maroboduus, cannot now be known. He offered terms of accommodation, and the politic Tiberius concluded a treaty of peace. From that time Maroboduus courted the alliance of Rome, and, by consequence, drew on himself the hatred of the German nations.

tion to Tiberius, in hopes of obtaining succours. The emperor's answer was, that Maroboduus, in the late war with the Cheruscans, had given the Romans no assistance; there was therefore no pretence for the present application. Drusus, notwithstanding, was despatched, in the manner already mentioned, to secure the frontiers from the incursions of the enemy, and to maintain the tranquillity of the empire.

XLVII. In the course of this year twelve principal cities in Asia were destroyed by an earthquake. The calamity happened in the night, and was for that reason the more disastrous; no warning given, and by consequence no time to escape. The open fields, in such dreadful convulsions, are the usual refuge; but the earth opening in various places, all who attempted to fly were buried in the yawning caverns. Hills are said to have sunk, and valleys rose to mountains. Quick flashes of lightning showed all the horrors of the scene. The city of Sardes suffered most, and was relieved in proportion to the distress of the inhabitants. Besides a remission for five years of all taxes, whether due to the public treasury, or the coffers of the prince, Tiberius promised a supply of one hundred thousand great sesterces. The city of Magnesia, situated near Mount Sipylus, suffered in the next degree, and was considered accordingly. The inhabitants of Temnos, Philadelphia, Egæa, and Apollonia, with the cities of Hierocæsarea, Myrina, Cyme, Tmolus, as also the Mosthenians, and the people called the Macedonians of Hyrcania, were, for the like term of five years, exempted from all manner of imposts. The senate resolved to send a person of their own order to make an estimate of the mischief, and grant suitable relief. The affairs of Asia were at that time administered by a man of consular dignity. To avoid the jealousy incident to officers of equal rank, Marcus Aletus, who had risen no higher than the office of prætor, was the person commissioned to superintend the business.

XLVIII. Besides these acts of public munificence, Tiberius showed, in matters of a private nature, a spirit of liberality that did him the highest honour. The estate of Æmilia Musa, who was possessed of a large fortune, and died intestate, leaving no lawful heir, was claimed to the prince's use by the officers of the imperial exchequer. Tiberius renounced his right in favour of Æmilius Lepidus, who seemed to stand in some degree of relation to the deceased. He gave up, in like manner, the rich possessions of Patuleius,

a Roman knight; and, though a considerable legacy was left to himself, he resigned the whole to Marcus Servilius, upon the ground of a former will, duly attested, in which Servilius was constituted sole heir. For this disinterested conduct the reason assigned was, that the dignity of two such illustrious citizens deserved to be supported. In general, it was a rule with Tiberius, in all cases where he had no previous title from connection or friendship, not to accept any property as testamentary heir. When humour, caprice, or passion, induced a stranger to disinherit his kindred, and make a disposition in favour of the prince, he declared it an inofficious testament. To honest and virtuous poverty he often showed himself a friend: to prodigality he was an inflexible enemy. In the class of spendthrifts he considered Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sylla, and Quintus Vitellius. These men, undone by their own extravagance, were either expelled the senate, or allowed to vacate their seats.

XLIX. The plan undertaken by Augustus for the building of temples in the room of such as had been injured by time, or damaged by fire, was now completed. Tiberius dedicated the various structures to their respective deities; one near the Great Circus to Bacchus, Proserpine, and Ceres, originally raised in consequence of a vow made by Aulus Posthumius the dictator; a temple of Flora, near the same place, formerly dedicated by Lucius and Marcus Publicius, during their ædileship; another to Janus, in the herb-market, founded by Caius Duillius,[1] the first who by a naval victory added lustre to the Roman name, and triumphed over the Carthaginians. The temple of Hope, vowed by Atilius in the same Punic war, was dedicated by Germanicus.

L. Meanwhile, the law of violated majesty went on with increasing fury. A prosecution founded on that cruel device was set on foot against Apuleia Varilia, descended from a sister of Augustus, and grand-niece to that emperor. She was charged with speaking defamatory words to the dishonour of Augustus, and uttering sharp invectives against Tiberius and his mother. Adultery was another head of accusation: though related to the Cæsarian family, she had, by her licentious conduct, brought disgrace on that illustrious name. The last article was thrown out of the case, as a matter within the provisions of the Julian law.[2] With regard to her

[1] Duillius obtained a signal victory over the Carthaginian fleet, B.C. 260.

[2] The law against adultery was called *Lex Julia*. The wife who was found guilty forfeited half her effects, and was banished.

calumnious language, Tiberius desired that a distinction might be made. If it appeared in proof, that she had spoken irreverently of Augustus, the law, he said, should take its course; but personalities levelled at himself might pass with impunity. A question was put by the consul touching the liberties taken with the emperor's mother. Tiberius made no reply. At the next meeting of the senate he informed the fathers that words affecting Livia were, by her own desire, never to be imputed as a crime. Varilia was acquitted on the law of majesty. With regard to the charge of adultery, Tiberius requested the fathers to soften the rigour of their sentence. In conformity to ancient practice, he was of opinion, that the relations of the offender might remove her to the distance of two hundred miles from Rome. This mode of punishment was adopted. Manlius, her paramour, was banished from Italy and Africa.

LI. The office of prætor becoming vacant by the death of Vipsanius Gallus, the appointment of a successor gave occasion to a warm and eager contest. Haterius Agrippa, nearly related to Germanicus, was declared a candidate. Drusus and Germanicus, both still at Rome, espoused his interest. It was, however, a settled rule, that the person who had the greatest number of children[1] should be deemed to have the superior title. From this line of decision many of the fathers were unwilling to depart. Tiberius saw with inward satisfaction the senate wavering between the law and the wishes of his sons. The law, as may be imagined, proved too feeble. The two princes carried the question, though not without a strong contention, and by a small majority. This, however, was no more than what often happened in better times, when laws were still in force, but had to struggle with power, and were often obliged to yield to superior interest.

LII. By the spirit of a bold and daring adventurer, a war was this year kindled up in Africa. This man, a Numidian by birth, and known by the name of Tacfarinas, had served in the Roman camp among the auxiliary troops. He deserted afterwards, and collected together a body of freebooters, accustomed to live by rapine, and by consequence addicted

[1] By the law called *Papia Poppæa*, the candidate who had the greatest number of children was to be deemed duly elected. In consequence of this law, it became the common practice of men who had no issue, but were determined, at all events, to secure their election, to adopt a competent number, and, as soon as they obtained the government of provinces, to renounce their fictitious children. The fraud was afterwards repressed.

to a life of warfare. Tacfarinas had acquired some rudiments of military discipline. He formed his rash-levied numbers into companies of foot, and squadrons of horse. Having drawn over to his party the Musulanians, a nation bordering on the wilds of Africa, where they led a roving life, without towns, or fixed habitations, he was no longer a chief of a band of robbers, but, with a higher title, the general of a people. The neighbouring Moors,[1] a race of savages, under the command of Mazippa, joined the confederacy. The two chiefs agreed to divide their troops into two separate bodies. Tacfarinas, with the flower of the army, formed a regular camp, arming his men after the Roman manner, and training them to the art of war; while Mazippa, at the head of his light-armed freebooters, ravaged the country, and marked his way with fire and sword. The Cinithians, a nation by no means contemptible, were forced to enter into the league.

At length, Furius Camillus, proconsul of Africa, advanced to check the insurgents, at the head of a legion, and such of the allies as still remained under his command. With this handful of men, a slender force when compared to the numbers of the Moors and Numidians, the Roman general determined to hazard a decisive action. His chief care was, not to strike the enemy with terror. Their fears, he knew, would make them avoid an action, and protract the war. The Barbarians hoped to gain an easy victory, and, by their hopes, were led on to their destruction. Camillus drew up in order of battle. His legion formed the centre: in the wings were stationed the light cohorts, and two squadrons of horse. Nor did Tacfarinas decline the conflict. He engaged, and was totally routed. By this victory the name of Camillus, after an interval of many years, seemed to retrieve its ancient honours. From him, who was the deliverer of Rome,[2] and his son, who emulated the father's example, all military fame was transplanted to other families, till Camillus, the conqueror of Tacfarinas, once more revived the glory of his ancestors; but he did it without their talents. He had seen no service, nor was he considered as an officer. Tiberius, for that reason, was the more lavish in his praise. Triumphal ornaments were decreed to him by the senate; nor was he afterwards ruined by his merit. His moderation,

[1] The *Mauri*, inhabitants of Mauritania, bordered on what is now called *Algiers*.

[2] M. Furius Camillus obtained a complete victory over the Gauls, and saved the city of Rome, B.C. 390.

and the simplicity of his manners, screened him from envy. He enjoyed his honours with impunity.

LIII. Tiberius and Germanicus were joint consuls for the following year [A.U.C. 771, A.D. 18]; the former for the third time, and the latter for the second. Germanicus, in this juncture, was absent from Rome, at the city of Nicopolis in Achaia. He had passed into Dalmatia, on a visit to his brother Drusus. From that place he sailed along the coast of Illyricum; and after a tempestuous voyage in the Adriatic and the Ionian seas, arrived at Nicopolis, where he was invested with his new dignity. His fleet had suffered, and took some days to refit for sea. In the meantime, he seized the opportunity to view the Bay of Actium, rendered famous by the great naval victory at that place. He saw the trophies consecrated by Augustus, and the lines of Mark Antony's camp. To him, who was grand-nephew to Augustus, and grandson to Mark Antony, the scene was interesting. Every object reminded him of his ancestors; and every circumstance awakened those tender sensations, in which the heart unites regret and pleasure. From Nicopolis he proceeded to Athens. In that city, the seat of valour and of literature, and for many years in alliance with Rome, he showed his respect for the inhabitants by appearing without pomp, attended only by a single lictor. The Greeks exhausted their invention to do him honour: ingenious in the arts of flattery, they took care to blend with their compliments frequent mention of the renowned exploits and memorable sayings of their ancestors; and thus, by enhancing their own merit, they thought they gave refinement, and even value, to adulation.

LIV. From Athens Germanicus sailed to the island of Eubœa, and thence to Lesbos, where Agrippina was delivered of a daughter, called Julia, the last of her children. From Lesbos he pursued his voyage along the coast of Asia; and, after visiting Perinthus and Byzantium, two cities of Thrace, sailed through the straits of the Propontis, into the Euxine Sea, led by curiosity to visit all places renowned in story. In his progress he attended everywhere to the complaints of the inhabitants, whom he found distracted by their own intestine divisions, or labouring under the tyranny of the magistrates. He redressed grievances, and established good order wherever he went.

On his return from the Euxine, he intended to visit Samothracia, famous for its rites and mysteries; but the

wind springing up from the north, he was obliged to bear away from the coast. He viewed the ruins of Troy, and the remains of antiquity in that part of the world, renowned for so many turns of fortune, the theatre of illustrious actions, and the origin of the Roman people. He landed next at Colophon, to consult the oracle of the Clarian Apollo. The responses at this place were not delivered, like those at Delphos, by a Pythian maid: a priest officiates, chosen by custom out of certain privileged families, and generally a citizen of Miletus. From such as apply to him, he requires nothing but their number and their names. Content with these particulars, he descends into a cavern; and, after drinking from a secret spring, though untinctured with learning, and a stranger to poetry, he breaks out in a strain of enthusiastic verse, on the subject of every man's hopes and fears. He is said to have foretold the approaching fate of Germanicus, but in the oracular style, dark and enigmatical.

LV. Piso, in the meantime, impatient to execute his evil purposes, made his entry into Athens, and with the tumult of a rude and disorderly train alarmed the city. In a public speech he thought fit to declaim against the inhabitants, obliquely glancing at Germanicus, who, he said, by ill-judged condescensions, had impaired the dignity of the Roman name. The civility of the prince, he said, was shown, not to the men of Athens (a race long since extirpated), but to a vile heterogeneous mass, the scum of various nations, at one time in league with Mithridates against Sylla, and afterwards with Mark Antony against Augustus. He went back to the times of Philip of Macedon; condemning, in terms of reproach, not only their feeble exertions in their struggle with that monarch, but also the ingratitude of a giddy populace to their best and ablest citizens. To this behaviour Piso was instigated by a private pique against the Athenians. It happened that one Theophilus was condemned for forgery by the judgment of the Areopagus: Piso endeavoured to gain a pardon for this man, but that upright judicature was inflexible.

After this prelude to the scenes which he was still to act, Piso embarked, and, after a quick passage through the Cyclades, arrived at Rhodes. While he lay at the mouth of the harbour a storm arose, and drove the vessel on the point of a rock. Germanicus was then at Rhodes. He knew the hostilities that had been already commenced against himself, and might have left a man of that dangerous char-

acter to the mercy of the winds and waves; but, acting with his usual benevolence, he sent off boats and galleys to save even an enemy from destruction. Gratitude was not in the character of Piso. He spent but a single day with his benefactor; and, to take his measures beforehand, proceeded on his way to Syria. Having reached that place, he began by bribery, by intrigue, and cabal, to draw to himself the affections of the legions. He caressed the lowest of the soldiers: he dismissed the centurions of approved experience, and removed all the tribunes, who supported military discipline; substituting in their room his own dependants, and, still worse, the vile and profligate, who had nothing but their crimes to recommend them. Sloth prevailed in the camp; licentiousness diffused itself through the cities; and over the face of the country nothing was seen but a dissipated and disorderly band of soldiers. By these practices Piso rose into popularity, insomuch that he was hailed the *Father of the Legions.*

His wife Plancina forgot the decencies of the female character. She attended the troops in the field; she reviewed the cavalry; she railed with spleen and malice against Agrippina, and did not even spare Germanicus. This behaviour, it was generally believed, had the approbation and countenance of Tiberius. The consequence was, that not only the weak and profligate were alienated from Germanicus, but even the men of sober conduct, who were inclined to remain in their duty, went in a short time to pay their homage to the favourites of the emperor.

LVI. Germanicus was fully apprised of these proceedings; but Armenia claimed his first attention. He hastened without loss of time to regulate the affairs of that kingdom; a kingdom where caprice and levity marked the national character, and the situation of the country encouraged the inconstancy of the people. Armenia borders a great length of way upon the Roman provinces; then stretches, to a vast extent, as far as the territory of the Medes. Hemmed in by two great empires, that of Parthia and of Rome, the Armenians are never steady to either; but, with their natural levity, alternately at variance with each; with the Romans, from rooted aversion; with the Parthians, from motives of ambition, and national jealousy. In the present juncture the throne was vacant. Vonones being expelled, the wishes of the people were fixed on Zeno, the son of Polemon, king of Pontus. The young prince had shown, from his earliest youth, a

decided inclination to Armenian manners. The sports of the chase were his favourite amusement; he delighted in carousing festivals, and all the pastimes of savage life. For these qualities he was high in esteem, not only with the populace, but also the grandees of the nation. In this disposition of men's minds, Germanicus entered the city of Artaxata, and, amidst the acclamations of the people, placed the diadem on the head of Zeno. The Armenians paid homage to their new master, in the ardour of their zeal proclaiming him king, by the name of Artaxias, in allusion to the place of his coronation. About the same time, the Cappadocians, who had been reduced to the form of a province, received Quintus Veranius as their governor. The first measure of his administration was to remit part of the taxes heretofore paid to their kings; that, from so mild a beginning, the people might conceive a favourable idea of Roman moderation. The Comagenians, in like manner, submitted to the government of a prætor, and Quintus Servæus was appointed to the office.

LVII. In this manner tranquillity was established in the east. The events were important, and such as might have given Germanicus reason to congratulate himself; but his joy was poisoned by the repeated hostilities and the insolence of Piso. This man had orders to march with a detachment of the legions into Armenia, or, at his option, to give the command to his son. He complied in neither instance. The prince met him at Cyrrum, the winter quarters of the tenth legion. At that place they came to an interview, both with countenances adjusted to the occasion; Piso with an air of intrepidity, still disdaining a superior; and Germanicus with the serenity of a man who wished to stifle his resentment. The gentle qualities of his nature inclined him at all times to moderation; but his friends, with the usual talent of men who love to make bad worse, inflamed the quarrel. They aggravated what was true; they gave colour to falsehood; and omitted nothing to the disadvantage of Piso, Plancina, and their sons.

In the presence of a few select friends, Germanicus came to an explanation: his language was in that measured style, which anger and prudence, combating each other, usually inspire. Piso made an arrogant apology. The meeting broke up, and both retired with smothered resentment. From this time Piso rarely attended the tribunals of justice; whenever he appeared in court, his countenance plainly discovered

ill-will, and sullen discontent. At a banquet given by the Nabathean king, a sudden expression fell from him, and betrayed his real temper. Golden crowns were presented to the company: two, for Germanicus and Agrippina, were of a ponderous size; while those for Piso and the rest were of inferior value. Piqued at the distinction, Piso exclaimed, "This feast is made for the son of a Roman prince, not of a Parthian king." In the instant he threw the present made to himself, with peevish contempt, on the ground, declaiming with bitterness against the growth of luxury. Germanicus heard his rude invective, but still remained master of himself.

LVIII. About this time arrived ambassadors from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, with instructions to mention, in terms of respect, the ancient alliance between Rome and Parthia, and the desire of the monarch to renew their former friendship. As an earnest of respect for Germanicus, Artabanus was willing to advance to an interview as far as the Euphrates; but he made it a condition, that Vonones should be removed from Syria, where his residence, in the neighbourhood of Parthia, gave him an opportunity to carry on secret negotiations with the nobles of the realm, and in time to stir up a revolt. Germanicus answered with condescension, yet with dignity. Of the alliance between Rome and Parthia he spoke with due regard, and the royal visit he considered as an honour to himself. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis on the coast of Cilicia, not so much to comply with the demands of the Parthian king, as to curb the insolence of Piso, then linked in ties of friendship with the exiled prince, who had contrived, by marks of respect and magnificent presents, to purchase the favour of Plancina.

LIX. In the consulship of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus [A.U.C. 772, A.D. 19], Germanicus made a progress into Egypt, to view the monuments of antiquity so much celebrated in that country. For this journey the good of the province was his pretext. In fact, by opening the public granaries, he reduced the price of corn; and by pursuing popular measures, he gained the good-will of the inhabitants. He appeared in public without a guard; his feet uncovered, after the Greek fashion;[1] and the rest of his apparel was also Greek. In these particulars he took for his model the conduct of Publius Scipio, who, we are

[1] To go with the feet bare, or with sandals that did not cover them, *nexæ sine tegmine plantæ*, was an Egyptian custom, and from thence passed into Greece.

told, did the same in Sicily, while Rome was still convulsed by the distractions of the Punic war. Tiberius, as soon as he received advices from Egypt, condemned this affectation [1] of foreign manners, but without asperity. Another point appeared to him of greater moment. Among the rules established by Augustus, it was a maxim of state-policy,[2] that Egypt should be considered as forbidden ground, which neither the senators, nor the Roman knights, should presume to tread, without the express permission of the prince. This was, no doubt, a wise precaution. It was seen that, whoever made himself master of Alexandria, with the strongholds, which by sea and land were the keys of the whole province, might, with a small force, make head against the power of Rome, and, by blocking up that plentiful corn country, reduce all Italy to a famine. Germanicus, without authority, had entered Alexandria; and this, to the jealous temper of Tiberius, was little short of a state-crime.

LX. Meanwhile Germanicus, little suspecting that he had incurred the emperor's displeasure, determined to sail up the Nile. He set out from Canopus, a city built by the Spartans in memory of a pilot of that name, who was buried on the spot, at the time when Menelaus, on his return from Troy, was driven by adverse winds on the coast of Libya. From Canopus, the next place of note, was a mouth of the river dedicated to Hercules, who was born, as the inhabitants contend, in that country. He was, according to them, the first of the heroic line; and his name, being made another term for virtue, was by the voice of succeeding ages bestowed on all who emulated the example of the Egyptian worthy. Germanicus proceeded to the magnificent ruins of the city of Thebes, where still was to be seen, on ancient obelisks, a pompous description, in Egyptian characters, of the wealth and grandeur of the place. From the account of an elderly priest, who was desired to interpret the hieroglyphics of his country, it appeared that Thebes, at one time, contained within her walls no less than seven hundred thousand men, capable of bearing arms; that the whole army was called

[1] Scipio's conformity to foreign manners was censured by Fabius Maximus, as a dangerous example, tending to corrupt the Roman discipline.

[2] To visit *Sicily*, and the provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, was at all times permitted to the senators and other eminent citizens. Egypt, by the policy of Augustus, was a sequestered and prohibited province. The senate had no authority over it. The administration was altogether in the hands of the prince. Egypt was the great corn country, from which Rome drew vast supplies, and it was thought advisable to keep it in the hands of the emperor, among the secret resources of the state, *inter arcana imperii*.

forth into the field by Rhamses, one of the kings of Egypt; and, under the auspices of that monarch, overran all Libya, Æthiopia, and in their progress subdued the Medes and Persians, the Bactrians and the Scythians, with the extensive regions inhabited by the Syrians, the Armenians, and their neighbours the Cappadocians. By this conquest, a track of country, extending from Bithynia on the Pontic Sea to the coast of Lycia in the Mediterranean, was reduced to subjection. The inscription further stated the tribute paid by the conquered nations; the specific weight of gold and silver; the quantity of arms, the number of horses, the offerings of ivory and of rich perfumes presented to the temples of Egypt; the measure of grain, and the various supplies administered by every nation; making altogether a prodigious revenue, no way inferior to the taxes of late years, collected either by Parthian despotism, or the authority of Rome.

LXI. In a country abounding with wonders, the curiosity of Germanicus was not easily satisfied. He saw the celebrated statue of Memnon,[1] which, though wrought in stone, when played upon by the rays of the sun, returns a vocal sound. He visited the Pyramids, those stupendous structures raised by the emulation of kings, at an incredible expense, amidst a waste of sands almost impassable. He saw the prodigious basin,[2] formed, by the labour of man, to receive the overflowings of the Nile; and in other parts of the river, where the channel is narrowed, he observed a depth of water so profound, that the curiosity of travellers has never been able to explore the bottom. The prince proceeded as far as Elephantinè[3] and Syenè, the boundaries formerly of the Roman Empire, though now extended as far as the Red Sea.

LXII. While Germanicus passed the summer in visiting the provinces of Egypt, Drusus, by his able conduct in Pannonia, acquired no small degree of reputation. He had the address to make the Germans turn their hostilities against themselves. The power of Maroboduus was in its wane; and his countrymen were, by consequence, encouraged to complete the ruin of that unfortunate prince. Catualda, a young man of rank,

[1] Akenside has described it in the *Pleasures of Imagination:*

> "As Memnon's marble harp, renown'd of old
> By fabling Nilus, to the quiv'ring touch
> Of Titan's ray, with each repulsive string
> Consenting, sounded through the warbling air
> Unbidden strains."

[2] The lake *Mareotis.*

[3] *Elephantinè* is an island in the Nile, in Upper Egypt.

who was formerly compelled by the injustice of Maroboduus to fly his country, had taken refuge among the Gothones. The season of revenge was at length arrived. At the head of a strong force he entered the territory of the Marcomanians. Having seduced the leading nobles to his party, he stormed the royal palace, and took by assault a strong castle, nearly adjoining, where the Suevians had been accustomed to deposit their plunder. A considerable booty fell into his hands. He found, besides, a number of victuallers and traders from the Roman provinces; men who had been attracted to that part of the world by the liberty allowed to commerce, and by the love of lucre were induced to remain, till, by the force of habit, they lost all remembrance of their native land.

LXIII. Maroboduus, finding himself deserted by his people, had no resource but in the friendship of Tiberius. He crossed the Danube, where that river washes the confines of Noricum; and thence sent his despatches to Rome, not in the humble style of a prince driven from his throne, but, even in ruin, with an elevation of mind worthy of his former grandeur. The substance of his letters was, that the nations who knew his fame in arms had made him offers of friendship, but he chose rather to rely on the protection of the Romans. Tiberius promised him a safe retreat in Italy; with liberty, if his affairs took a favourable turn, to withdraw whenever his interest should invite him. To the fathers he talked a different language: Philip of Macedon,[1] he said, was not so much to be dreaded by the Athenians, nor Pyrrhus or Antiochus by the Roman people. His speech on this occasion is still extant; we there find him magnifying the fortitude of the German chiefs, and the ferocity of the nations over which he reigned with absolute power. He sets forth the danger of a powerful enemy so near the Roman frontier, and applauds himself for the wisdom of the measures that brought on the ruin of a great and warlike prince. Maroboduus was received at Ravenna; and there held up to the Suevians, if they dared to commence hostilities, as a prince that might once more ascend the throne. In the space, however, of eighteen years, Maroboduus never once stirred out of Italy. He grew grey in indolence; and clinging too long to a wretched life, survived his reputation.

Catualda experienced a like reverse of fortune, and found no better refuge. The Hermundurians, led on by Vibillius

[1] Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, invaded Italy B.C. 278.

their chief, expelled him from the throne. The Romans fixed his residence at Foro-Julium, a colony in Narbon Gaul. The Barbarians, who followed the fortunes of the two exiled kings, were not suffered to incorporate with the people of the provinces; but, to prevent the danger that might otherwise shake the public tranquillity, were conducted beyond the Danube, where they had allotments of land between the rivers Marus and Cusus, under the command of Vannius, a man born in the Quadian nation, and by Tiberius made king of the colony.

LXIV. The elevation of Artaxias to the throne of Armenia being about this time known at Rome, the senate decreed the lesser triumph to Drusus and Germanicus. Triumphal arches were raised near the temple of Mars the Avenger, and the statues of the two princes were placed in a conspicuous point of view. Tiberius rejoiced at these events; and the more so, as they were the effect of policy, not of conquest. By the same insidious arts he now began to plan the destruction of Rhescuporis, king of Thrace. Rhæmetalces at one time reigned sole monarch over that whole country. After his death Augustus made a partition of the kingdom, assigning to Rhescuporis, the late king's brother, one moiety; and the other to Cotys, son of the deceased monarch. In this division of the kingdom, the cultivated parts of the country, the fertile vales and flourishing cities that lay contiguous to Greece, fell to the share of Cotys; the wilds and barren places, which were open to hostile incursions, were allotted to Rhescuporis. The genius of the two kings resembled their soil: the milder virtues distinguished the character of Cotys; ferocity, ambition, rapine, and impatience of an equal, were the prominent features of Rhescuporis. The princes preserved at first a show of mutual concord; in time Rhescuporis began to encroach on his nephew, not indeed with open violence, as he knew that Augustus, the founder of both kingdoms, might likewise prove the avenger of wrongs. During that emperor's life, he concealed his designs; but he no sooner heard that Rome had changed masters, than he threw off the mask, and avowed his ambition. With a band of freebooters he ravaged the country, razed to the ground the strongholds and castles, and by every act of hostility provoked a war.

LXV. To keep things, which were once settled, in the same unaltered state, was the principal care that occupied the anxious spirit of Tiberius. He despatched a centurion to

restrain the Thracian kings from an open rupture. Cotys disbanded his forces. Rhescuporis resolved to act with craft and subtlety. He proposed a conference which, he had no doubt, would terminate all their differences. The time and place were fixed: a negotiation was opened, both princes seeming willing to remove all difficulties. Cotys brought to the meeting a conciliating spirit; the uncle meditated a stroke of perfidy. To ratify the preliminaries, he proposed a banquet. The parties met, and protracted their festivity to a late hour of the night. Amidst the joys of wine, and in the moment of revelry, Rhescuporis attacked his nephew, unsuspecting and unprovided. The deluded prince urged in vain the rights of kings, the laws of hospitality, and the gods of their forefathers. He was loaded with irons. His treacherous uncle made himself master of all Thrace; and immediately sent despatches to inform Tiberius that a dangerous conspiracy against his life had been defeated by timely vigilance. In the meantime, under colour of an enterprise against the Basternians and the Scythians, he made levies of horse and foot, determined, at all events, to be prepared for a defensive war.

LXVI. Tiberius returned for answer, that his conduct, if found to be free from reproach, would be his best protection; but neither the senate nor the emperor could prejudge the cause: the guilt or innocence of men must arise out of the fact. He added, that Rhescuporis would do well to release his nephew, and make the best of his way to Rome in order to fix the criminality where it ought to fall. A letter to this effect from the emperor was forwarded to the Thracian king by Latinius Pandus, prætor of Mysia. A band of soldiers went, at the same time, to demand that Cotys should be delivered into their custody. Rhescuporis, divided between hope and fear, fluctuated for some time: he chose, at length, rather to answer for an actual crime, than for the bare intention. He murdered Cotys, and spread a report that he died by his own hand. Tiberius heard the news without emotion, determined still to pursue his plan of fraud and treachery. Latinius Pandus died in the interval. Rhescuporis had always represented him as his inveterate enemy; but the government of Mysia being now vacant, Tiberius gave the administration of the province to Pomponius Flaccus, a man of military experience, and upon the best terms with Rhescuporis. A friend, he knew, might prove in the end the most fatal enemy. That consideration determined his choice.

LXVII. Flaccus, without loss of time, arrived in Thrace. He found Rhescuporis in a state of violent agitation, conscious of his guilt, and overwhelmed with doubt and fear. He soothed him with gracious words, and by plausible promises inveigled him to hazard his person within the lines of a Roman garrison. Pretending there to do honour to the prince, he appointed a guard to attend him. The tribunes and centurions enticed him to go forward under their protection; till, having drawn him a considerable way, they avowed their purpose, and Rhescuporis found that he was a prisoner in close custody. He was conducted to Rome, where the widow of Cotys accused him before the senate. His guilt was manifest: the senate decreed that he should pass the remainder of his days at a distance from his dominions. The kingdom of Thrace was once more divided. Rhæmetalces, son of the deposed king, and always adverse to his father's measures, had a portion of the realm; the rest was granted to the sons of Cotys, then under age. During their minority, Trebellienus Rufus, of prætorian rank, undertook the government of the kingdom in trust for the heirs of Cotys, according to the precedent of former times, when the senate sent Marcus Lepidus to administer the affairs of Egypt in the capacity of regent and guardian to the children of Ptolemy. Rhescuporis was conveyed to Alexandria; and there attempting to make his escape, or perhaps unjustly charged with that design, he was seized and put to death.

LXVIII. About the same time Vonones, who, as has been mentioned, was detained in Cilicia, made a like attempt, but with no better success. Having corrupted the guards, he intended to push his way into Armenia, and thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, flattering himself that he should be able to penetrate into Scythia, and there obtain protection from the reigning king, who was his near relation. With this intent he went on a hunting party; and having watched his opportunity, betook himself to flight. Turning off from the sea-coast, he struck into the woods, and rode at full speed towards the river Pyramus. The inhabitants, on the first alarm, demolished the bridges. The river was not fordable. Vonones was found wandering along the banks, and by order of Vibius Fronto, the commander of the cavalry, loaded with fetters. He did not long survive. Remmius, a resumed veteran, had been entrusted with the custody of his person. This man, in a sudden transport of pretended passion, drew his sword and ran the unhappy prince through the body.

The secret cause of this violent act cannot now be ascertained; the general opinion was, that the soldier had been bribed to favour the king's escape, and, rather than be detected as an accomplice, chose to be an assassin.

LXIX. Germanicus on his return from Egypt found all his regulations, in the civil as well as the military line, totally abolished, or changed to a system directly contrary to his intentions. Hence a new source of dissension. He condemned the conduct of Piso; and in return met with nothing but contumacy, and a spirit of opposition to all his measures. Piso was at length determined to evacuate Syria: hearing, however, that Germanicus was attacked by a sudden illness, he changed his resolution. He had soon after the mortification of learning that the disorder was abated. At Antioch the news diffused a general joy. The people of that place had offered vows for the recovery of the prince; and, having obtained the object of their wishes, began by solemn rites to discharge the obligations which they had imposed upon themselves. Enraged at this proceeding, Piso interrupted the ceremonies; by his lictors he drove the victims from the altars; he spread terror and confusion through the temples, and dispersed the congregation. After this exploit he withdrew to Seleucia. At that place, having advice that Germanicus was relapsed, he resolved to make some stay, in expectation of the event. The prince suspected that poison had been secretly conveyed by Piso, and that idea added to the malignity of his disorder.

A discovery was made of a singular nature. Under the floor, and in the cavities of the walls, a collection of human bones was found, with charms, and magic verses, and incantations. The name of Germanicus was graved on plates of lead; fragments of human bodies, not quite consumed to ashes, were discovered in a putrid condition; with a variety of those magic spells, which, according to the vulgar opinion, are of potency to devote the souls of the living to the infernal gods. Amidst the confusion occasioned by these extraordinary circumstances, messengers were sent by Piso to inquire after the health of Germanicus; but those men were considered as spies, who came to watch for intelligence.

LXX. Germanicus was informed of all that passed. Fear and indignation took possession of him by turns. "If my doors," he said, "are to be besieged by my enemies; if interlopers are to see me at the point of expiration, what is the prospect that my wife has before her? and what are my children

to expect? The poison is too slow in its operation for the wishes of my enemies; they want to hasten its effect; and the impatience of Piso has already swallowed up the province, with the command of the legions. But Germanicus is not yet deserted by all: his enemies may still have reason to repent; and the murderer will find that he has not long to enjoy the wages of his guilt." In this temper of mind he wrote a letter to Piso, in express terms disclaiming all friendship and connection with him: as some will have it, he commanded him to depart from the province. Piso, in fact, did not linger at Seleucia: he embarked immediately, but slackened his course; still willing to hover near the coast, in hopes that the death of Germanicus would leave the province open to his ambition.

LXXI. The disorder intermitting for a short time, Germanicus had an interval of hope. But the fatal moment was approaching: he sunk into a mortal languor; and, finding himself near his end, took leave of his friends in words to the following effect: "Were I to die a natural death, yet, thus cut off in the bloom of life from my family, my children, and my country, I might think it hard, and call the gods severe in their dispensations. Falling, as I now do, a victim to the iniquity of Piso and his wife Plancina, I leave with you, my friends, the request of a dying man. You know the indignities that provoked me beyond all enduring; you know the snares that have been laid for me, and you see the anguish of heart that brings me prematurely to my grave: relate the whole to my father and my brother.[1] The friends, whom prosperity connected with me; my relations, more closely united by the ties of blood, will hear the story with indignation: even envy, that never fails to persecute the living, will drop a tear over my remains. All will lament the fate of an unhappy prince, whom they saw flourishing in the smiles of fortune, a conqueror in so many battles, yet at last snatched away by the artifices of female malice.[2] It will be yours to appeal to the senate; yours to invoke the vengeance of the laws; and yours to show your friendship, not by unavailing tears, but by executing my last commands. In that consists the noblest duty, the best tribute to the memory of the dead. Even strangers who never saw me will be touched with sympathy; and you, my friends, if I was ever

[1] Tiberius was his father by adoption; Drusus, the son of Tiberius, was of course his brother.

[2] The malice of Livia, and Plancina, Piso's wife.

dear to you, if you followed my person, and not my fortune, you will revenge my fall. Show to the Roman people my afflicted wife, the granddaughter of Augustus; show my children, my six unhappy orphans. Compassion will be on the side of the prosecutors; and should my enemies attempt to screen themselves by pleading secret orders, mankind will either not believe them, or, believing, will not forgive them." The friends of the dying prince clasped his hand, and bound themselves by a solemn oath to revenge his death, or perish in the attempt.

LXXII. Germanicus turned to his wife, and fixing his eyes upon her, earnestly conjured her by the memory of her husband, and by their mutual children, to abate from the pride and fierceness of her disposition. To bend to the stroke of adversity, and at her return to Rome not to provoke, by vain competition, the resentment of enemies too high in power, was all that now was left. Thus far with an audible voice: he then whispered a secret caution, which was supposed to point at the malignity of Tiberius. In a short time after he breathed his last. The provinces lamented their loss; he was honoured by kings, and regretted by the neighbouring nations: such was his equal behaviour to the allies of Rome, and such the humanity that endeared him even to the enemy. Graceful in his person, he charmed by his affability; beloved, when heard; admired, when only seen; and, in the highest elevation, great without arrogance, he maintained the dignity of his rank, yet never gave envy reason to repine at his success.

LXXIII. The funeral was plain and simple, without pomp or pageantry. No images were carried in the procession. Fond remembrance, and the praises due to virtue, were the best decorations. Between him and Alexander men formed a parallel: his time of life, the graces of his person, the manner of his death, and the small distance between the places where both expired, gave room for the comparison. Both, it was observed, were of a comely form; both of illustrious birth; neither of them much exceeding the thirtieth year of his age; and both died in a foreign land, cut off by domestic treachery.

But Germanicus had qualities peculiar to himself: he was mild and gracious to his friends, in his pleasures temperate, an affectionate husband, and by one wife the father of a numerous issue. Nor was his military character any way inferior: he had the bravery of Alexander, without his rashness; and, if he had not been recalled from Germany, where

he gained so many signal victories, the entire conquest of that country had crowned his operations with immortal glory. The power of the state was never in his hands. Had he possessed the sole authority, with the royal title, and the prerogative of a prince, the progress of his arms would have made him equal to the conqueror of Darius; while, on the side of virtue, his clemency, his moderation, his temperance, and other amiable qualities, gave him a decided superiority. The body lay in state in the forum at Antioch, where the funeral ceremony was performed. Whether any symptoms of poison were discovered, is uncertain. The people were divided into opposite parties, and their opinions varied accordingly. Some lamented the deceased prince, and, in minds so prepossessed, suspicion amounted to proof; others warped into the interests of Piso; and all pronounced according to the bias of their inclinations.

LXXIV. In this juncture, who was the fit person to govern the province, became the subject of debate. A council for this purpose was held by the commanders of the legions, and all of senatorian rank, then on the spot. A number of candidates appeared. After a short struggle, the contest lay between Vibius Marsus and Cneius Sentius. The question hung for some time in suspense. Marsus at length withdrew his pretensions; willing to yield to a senior officer, who showed himself ambitious of the honour. The first step of the new governor was to send to Rome a woman of the name of Martina, well known throughout the province for her practices in the trade of poisoning, and also for her intimacy with Plancina. This measure was adopted at the request of Vitellius, Veranius, and a number of others, who were then actually busy in collecting evidence, and preparing the charge with as much assiduity, as if the prosecution had been already commenced in due form of law.

LXXV. Meanwhile Agrippina, pierced to the heart, and her health impaired by affliction, resolved, notwithstanding, to surmount every obstacle that might retard the hand of justice. She embarked for Italy with the ashes of Germanicus, and her orphan children. All eyes beheld her with compassion: all were grieved that a woman of the highest distinction, so lately happy with the best of men, and in the splendour of a court seen with universal homage, should undertake a melancholy voyage, with the urn of him she loved, not sure of a just revenge, alarmed for herself, and by the fruitfulness of her marriage-bed exposed to calamities yet unknown. Piso was at

the isle of Coos. He there received advice that Germanicus was no more. Transported with joy beyond all bounds, he hastened to the temples, and offered victims as a public thanksgiving. Plancina was still more extravagant: she laid aside her mourning for a deceased sister, to celebrate in her gayest apparel an event so grateful to her heart.

LXXVI. The centurions flocked in crowds to Piso, assuring him that the legions were devoted to his service, and for that reason exhorted him to resume a command unjustly taken from him. Piso called a council of his friends: his son, Marcus Piso, was for his returning to Rome without delay. "What had been done, might well be justified: suspicions, unsupported by proof, would soon evaporate; and vague reports were of no moment. The long contention with Germanicus might perhaps be censured: it was unpopular, but could not amount to a crime. Piso had lost his government, and by that circumstance the rage of his enemies would be appeased. To return to Syria, were to enter into a civil war with Sentius. The centurions and soldiers were not to be trusted. The memory of Germanicus was still recent: and that affection for the Cæsarian family, which had taken root in the minds of all, would operate throughout the army."

LXXVII. Domitius Celer, the intimate friend of Piso, was of a contrary opinion. "The opportunity," he said, "should be seized without delay. Piso, and not Sentius, was the legal governor of Syria: the prætorian jurisdiction, the ensigns of magistracy, and the command of the legions, were committed to his care. If the sword must be drawn, who had so much right on his side as the person who received his commission from the emperor? Public rumour should not be too soon encountered. Give the report of the day time to grow stale, and it dies of itself. In the first heat of prejudice, innocence itself has often fallen a victim to popular clamour. If Piso, at the head of an army, stood at bay with his enemies, new emergencies, which no wisdom could foresee, might unexpectedly assist his cause. Why should he hasten to the capital? Was it his interest to enter Rome with Agrippina bearing the urn of Germanicus? Did he mean, unheard and undefended, to try the effect of female lamentation, or to be hurried to execution by the fury of a licentious rabble? Livia, it is true, is of your party, and Tiberius will favour you; but both will act in secret: and, in fact, none will grieve for Germanicus with so much ostentation of sorrow, as they who, in their hearts, rejoice at the event."

LXXVIII. The turbulent genius of Piso was easily satisfied with this reasoning. He despatched letters to Tiberius, charging Germanicus with pride and luxury; and further complaining, that, with views of ambition, he had driven out of Syria the lawful governor, duly appointed by the emperor. That governor, he added, would now resume the command; and, by a faithful discharge of so important a trust, demonstrate his zeal for the public service. Thus determined, he ordered Domitius to sail for Syria; keeping as much as possible in the open sea, without touching at any of the islands, or approaching too near to the mainland. Meanwhile, deserters crowded in from all quarters. Piso formed them into companies; he armed the lowest followers of the army, and with this hasty levy embarked for the continent. He had not long been landed, when a body of recruits, marching to the legions in Syria, fell in his way. He drew them over to his party, and by circular letters demanded succours from the petty kings of Cilicia. The younger Piso, though he had objected to the measure, was not inactive in his father's service.

LXXIX. Piso's fleet, and that which conveyed Agrippina, met near the coast of Lycia and Pamphilia. They beheld each other with animosity. Both parties were eager to come to action; but they passed each other, content with throwing out reproaches and opprobrious language. Vibius Marsus summoned Piso "to appear at Rome, and stand his trial." Piso answered with derision, "that he would be sure to attend, when the prætor, vested with jurisdiction in matters of poison, had cited the parties, and appointed a day." Meanwhile Domitius, who had landed at Laodicea, in the province of Syria, advanced towards the winter quarters of the sixth legion; expecting, in that corps, to find the minds of the men ripe for mutiny and desertion. By the vigilance of Pacuvius, who commanded in those parts, the attempt was frustrated. Sentius, by letters to Piso, complained of these proceedings; at the same time warning him neither to corrupt the army, nor disturb the peace of the province. His next care was to draught from the legions all such soldiers as were known to be attached to Germanicus, or adverse to his enemies. He represented the attempts of Piso as an invasion of the imperial dignity, and a war against the commonwealth. Having excited the ardour of his men, he marched into Cilicia, prepared to decide the dispute by force of arms.

LXXX. Piso found himself pressed on every side, and yet was determined not to abandon his enterprise. He seized a

stronghold in Cilicia, called the castle of Celendris. With a body of deserters, incorporated with the recruits lately intercepted, and the auxiliaries sent by the kings of Cilicia, he threw himself into the place, resolved to hold out to the last. To his forces he added his own slaves, and those of Plancina, forming altogether a number equal to a legion. To excite their courage, he complained aloud that he, the governor appointed by Tiberius, was driven out of the province, not by the legions, for they invited him to return, but by Sentius, who, with the specious colour of public motives, varnished over his own private animosity. He told his troops, that they had only to show themselves in force, and the affair would be decided. The soldiers of the adverse party, at the sight of Piso, whom they hailed the father of the legions, would lay down their arms, and submit to the man who not only had justice on his side, but, if necessary, courage and resolution to maintain his rights. Having thus exhorted his people, he drew them out before the walls of the castle, on the summit of a craggy hill. The place was everywhere else surrounded by the sea. The veterans, under Sentius, advanced in regular order. A body of reserve followed to support them. On one side were seen skill and bravery: on the other, nothing but the advantage of the ground; no courage to incite; no hope to animate; and no warlike weapons, but only such rustic tools as the men were able to snatch up in the first tumult of a dangerous enterprise. An engagement followed; but the victory was no longer in suspense, than while the Romans were employed in forcing their way up the ascent of the hill. The steep being surmounted, the Cilicians fled for shelter to their fortifications.

LXXXI. The fleet under the command of Sentius lay at anchor under the walls of Celendris. Piso made a sally, with intent to seize the ships. Being repulsed, he showed himself before the works of the castle; he complained of cruel injustice, and tried by the force of pathetic language to soften the legions in his favour; he called upon individuals by name, and by ample promises hoped to raise a spirit of sedition. His success was such, that an eagle-bearer of the sixth legion deserted to him with his standard. Sentius resolved to carry the place by assault. The signal for the charge was given; scaling-ladders were advanced to the walls; the foremost in courage began to mount to the stop of the works; while an incessant volley of darts, and stones, and flaming brands, was poured in upon the garrison. Piso desired to capitulate. He offered to lay down his arms, upon condition that he should

remain in the castle till the emperor's pleasure touching the government of the province should be finally declared. The proposition was rejected. Sentius allowed him safe-conduct to Italy, and shipping for his passage; no other terms were granted.

LXXXII. The indisposition of Germanicus was known at Rome some time before his death. The news, like all distant intelligence, increased every moment, and bad was made worse by exaggeration. Grief and loud complaints filled every quarter of the city. "Was it for this, that Germanicus was sent to distant regions? For this, was the province of Syria assigned to Piso? This is the consequence of private interviews between Livia and Plancina! When Drusus, the father of Germanicus, died, it was observed by men of reflection, and observed with truth, that if the son of a despotic prince is the friend of civil liberty, his father never forgives his virtues. It was for this that Drusus and Germanicus were snatched away from the Roman people. They intended to restore the old constitution, and they perished in the cause." Such were the sentiments that prevailed at Rome. The fatal news at length arrived. In that moment the passions of men knew no bounds. Without waiting for an edict of the magistrates, or a decree of the senate, a cessation of all business took place; the courts of justice were deserted; houses were shut up; shrieks and groans burst out, and at intervals a deep and awful silence followed.

A general mourning covered the face of the city. The exterior forms of grief were observed, but the anguish of the heart surpassed all outward show. It happened, before Germanicus expired, that certain traders from Syria arrived at Rome with favourable accounts. What was wished was easily believed. The news spread with rapidity; he who heard imperfectly made his report with additions; others did the same; and thus the story went on, gathering strength from mouth to mouth, and diffusing universal joy. The populace ran wild through the streets: they threw open the gates of the temples; night came on; the hurry still continued; assertion grew more confident in the dark, and credulity listened with a greedy ear. Tiberius saw the delusion, but calmly left it to its own futility. Time disclosed the truth; the people renewed their sorrow with redoubled violence, as if the prince had been torn from them a second time.

LXXXIII. The senate met to decree honours to his memory. Friendship put itself to the stretch, and men of

talents exhausted their invention. It was voted that the name of Germanicus should be inserted in the Salian Hymn,[1] that a curule chair, adorned with a civic crown, should be placed in the college of Augustan priests; that his statue, wrought in ivory, should be carried in the procession of the Circensian games; and that the vacancy made by his death in the list of flamens and augurs, should be filled from the Julian family only. Triumphal arches were ordered to be erected at Rome, on the Rhine, and Mount Amanus at Syria, with inscriptions setting forth the splendour of his actions, and, in direct terms, declaring that he died in the service of his country. At Antioch, where his remains were burned, a mausoleum was ordered; and at Epidaphne, where he died, a tribunal in honour of his memory. Of the several statues, and the places where they were to be worshipped, it would be difficult to give a regular catalogue. It was further proposed that a shield of pure gold, exceeding the ordinary size, should be dedicated to him in the place allotted to orators of distinguished eloquence. Tiberius overruled the motion, declaring his intention to order one of the common size, and usual metal. Superior rank, he said, did not confer superior eloquence. A place among the great writers of antiquity would be sufficient honour. The equestrian order came to a resolution, that the troop called the youthful squadron should for the future take its name from Germanicus; and that his image should be carried at the head of their annual cavalcade on the ides of July. Of these several institutions, many are still subsisting; some fell into disuse; and others, by length of time, have been abolished.

LXXXIV. While the tears of the public still flowed for Germanicus, Livia, the sister of that prince, and the wife of Drusus, was delivered of two sons at a birth. In families of inferior rank, events of this kind are rare, and always matter of joy. Tiberius was transported beyond measure. He had the vanity to boast before the senate, that so singular a blessing had never happened to any Roman of equal dignity. It was the policy of that subtle spirit to extract from every occurrence, and even from chance, something that tended to his own glory. The people, however, did not sympathise with the emperor. They saw, with regret, the family of

[1] The Salian priests, called *Salii* from *salire*, were instituted by Numa. They were twelve in number; all dedicated to the worship of MARS, the God of War, whom they celebrated, with song and dance, in a solemn procession through the streets of Rome.

Drusus increasing, and that of Germanicus in danger of being eclipsed.

LXXXV. In the course of this year, several decrees against the licentiousness of female manners passed the senate. It was ordained by a law, that no woman whose grandfather, father, or husband was a Roman knight, should be allowed to make her person venal. The profligacy of Vistilia, descended from a father of prætorian rank, gave rise to this regulation. She presented herself before the ædiles, and in form made a public profession of lewdness,[1] according to the rule established in ancient times, when women, registered as harlots by the magistrate, had the privilege of leading a life of debauchery. The principle of that law was, that the very act of professing the character of a prostitute would be a punishment, and perhaps operate as a restraint. Titidius Labeo, the husband of Vistilia, was cited to assign a reason why so abandoned a woman had not been brought to condign punishment. To exculpate himself, he alleged, that the sixty days[2] allowed by law for the consultations necessary in matters of that nature, were not elapsed. Satisfied with the answer, the fathers thought it sufficient to proceed against the adulteress. She was banished to the isle of Seriphos. The Egyptian and Jewish ceremonies were the next subject of debate. By a decree of the senate, four thousand of that description, the descendants of enfranchised slaves, all infected with foreign superstition, and of age to carry arms, were transported to the island of Sardinia, to make war upon the freebooters, who plundered the inhabitants, and ravaged the country. If the whole number died in that unwholesome climate, the loss, it was said, would be of no kind of moment. The remaining sectaries were ordered, at a certain day, to depart out of Italy, unless before that time they renounced their impious worship.

LXXXVI. The choice of a vestal virgin, in the room of Occia, who had been, with the greatest sanctity of manners, president of the order during the space of fifty-seven years, was by Tiberius referred to the senate. Fonteius Agrippa and Domitius Pollio made each of them an offer of his

[1] Women of inferior rank were allowed, in ancient times, to exempt themselves from the penalties of the law, by entering themselves as prostitutes in the register of the Ædiles. Suetonius says it began in the reign of Tiberius; but, if we believe Tacitus, the meaning must be, that the custom was then, for the first time, adopted by women of illustrious birth.

[2] By the *Lex Julia de Adulteriis*, sixty days from the commission of the crime were allowed to the husband to prepare for the prosecution.

daughter. The emperor commended their zeal for the public service. The daughter of Pollio was preferred. Her mother had never known but one husband, and, still continuing to live with him, gave an example of conjugal fidelity; whereas the divorce of Agrippa was considered as a blemish in the family. That reason, and that only, determined the present choice. The repulse of the disappointed candidate was softened by a present of a million sesterces,[1] granted by Tiberius.

LXXXVII. To appease the clamours of the people about the exorbitant price of corn, the sum to be paid by the purchaser was ascertained, Tiberius undertaking to grant a bounty of two sesterces on the measure,[2] as an encouragement to the vendor. On this, as on former occasions, he refused the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. He even censured, with a degree of asperity, the zeal of those who gave him the appellation of LORD AND MASTER, and wanted to dignify his administration with the epithet of DIVINE. In this manner, eloquence was confined within narrow limits. What topic could be safely handled? The emperor was the enemy of civil liberty, and he detested flattery.

LXXXVIII. In the memoirs of some of the senators of that day, and also in the works of contemporary writers, mention, I find, is made of letters from Adgandestrius, prince of the Cattians, which were read in the senate. They contained a proposal to despatch Arminius, provided poison for that purpose were sent from Rome. The answer was magnificent: the German was told that the Roman people were in the habit of waging war, not by fraud and covert stratagem, but sword in hand, and in the field of battle. In this instance, Tiberius vied with the generals of ancient Rome, who with scorn rejected the scheme of poisoning Pyrrhus, and even delivered up the traitor who harboured that base design.

Arminius, however, did not long survive. The Roman army being withdrawn from Germany, and Maroboduus ruined, he had the ambition to aim at the sovereign power. The independent spirit of his countrymen declared against him. A civil war ensued. Arminius fought with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, and fell at last by the treachery of his own relations: a man of warlike genius, and, beyond all question, the deliverer of Germany. He had not, like the kings and generals of a former day, the infancy of Rome to cope with: he had to struggle with a great and flourishing

[1] Viz., about £8000.

[2] Roughly, 4d.

empire; he attacked the Romans in the meridian of their glory. He stood at bay for a number of years with equivocal success; sometimes victorious, often defeated, but in the issue of the war still unconquered. He died at the age of thirty-seven, after twelve years of fame and power. In the rude poetry of the Barbarians, his name is celebrated to this hour; unknown indeed to the annalists of Greece, who embellish nothing but their own story. Even among the Romans, the character of this illustrious chief has met with little justice, absorbed as the people are in their veneration of antiquity, while, to the virtue of their own times, they remain insensible and incurious.

BOOK III

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These transactions include three years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
773	20	M. Valerius Messala, C. Aurelius Cotta.
774	21	Tiberius, 4th time; Drusus, his son, 2nd time.
775	22	D. Haterius Agrippa, C. Sulpicius Galba.

I. AGRIPPINA pursued her voyage without intermission. Neither the rigour of the winter,[1] nor the rough navigation

[1] A.D. 20.

in that season of the year, could alter her resolution. She arrived at the island of Corcyra, opposite to the coast of Calabria. At that place she remained a few days, to appease the agitations of a mind pierced to the quick, and not yet taught in the school of affliction to submit with patience. The news of her arrival spreading far and wide, the intimate friends of the family, and most of the officers who had served under Germanicus, with a number of strangers from the municipal towns, some to pay their court; others, carried along with the current, pressed forward in crowds to the city of Brundusium, the nearest and most convenient port. As soon as the fleet came in sight of the harbour, the sea-coast, the walls of the city, the tops of houses, and every place that gave even a distant view, were crowded with spectators. Compassion throbbed in every breast. In the hurry of their first emotions, men knew not what part to act: should they receive her with acclamations? or would silence best suit the occasion? Nothing was settled. The fleet entered the harbour, not with the alacrity usual among mariners, but with a slow and solemn sound of the oar, impressing deeper melancholy on every heart.

Agrippina came forth, leading two of her children, with the urn of Germanicus in her hand, and her eyes steadfastly fixed upon that precious object. A general groan was heard. Men and women, relations and strangers, all joined in one promiscuous scene of sorrow, varied only by the contrast between the attendants of Agrippina, and those who now received the first impression. The former appeared with a languid air; while the latter, yielding to the sensation of the moment, broke out with all the vehemence of recent grief.

II. Tiberius had ordered to Brundusium two prætorian cohorts. The magistrates of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, had it in command to pay every mark of honour to the memory of the emperor's son. The urn was borne on the shoulders of the centurions and tribunes, preceded by the colours, not displayed with military pomp, but drooping in disorder, with all the negligence of grief. The fasces were inverted. In the colonies through which they passed, the populace in mourning, and the knights in their purple robes, threw into the flames rich perfumes, spices, and garments, with other funeral offerings, according to the ability of the place. Even from distant towns the people came in crowds to meet the procession: they presented victims; they erected

altars to the gods of departed souls, and by their lamentations marked their sense of the public calamity. Drusus advanced as far as Terracina, accompanied by Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, and the children[1] of the deceased prince that had been left at Rome. The consuls, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Marcus Aurelius Cotta, who a little before had entered on their magistracy, with the whole senate, and a numerous body of citizens, went out to meet the melancholy train. The road was crowded; no order kept, no regular procession; they walked, and wept, as inclination prompted. Flattery had no share in the business: where the court rejoiced in secret, men could not weep themselves into favour. Tiberius indeed dissembled, but he could not deceive. Through the thin disguise the malignant heart was seen.

III. Neither the emperor nor his mother appeared in public. They imagined, perhaps, that to be seen in a state of affliction, might derogate from their dignity; or, the better reason was, that a number of prying eyes might unmask their inmost sentiments. It does not appear, either in the historians of the time, or in the public journals, that Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, took any part in the funeral ceremony. Agrippina, Drusus, Claudius, and the rest of the prince's relations, are registered by name: but of Antonia no mention is made. She was probably hindered from attending by want of health, or the sensibility of a mother might be unequal to so severe a trial. To speak my own opinion, I am inclined to believe that nothing but the emperor and his mother could restrain her from the last human office to her son. If all three absented themselves, equal affliction might be inferred; and the uncle and grandmother might be supposed to find a precedent in the conduct of the mother.

IV. The day on which the remains of Germanicus were deposited in the tomb of Augustus[2] was remarkable for sorrow in various shapes. A deep and mournful silence prevailed, as if Rome was become a desert; and at intervals the general groan of a distracted multitude broke forth at once. The streets were crowded; the Field of Mars glittered with torches; the soldiers were under arms; the magistrates appeared without the ensigns of their authority; and the people stood ranged in their several tribes. All,

[1] These were Nero and Drusus, Agrippina and Drusilla.
[2] In the Campus Martius.

with one voice, despaired of the commonwealth; they spoke their minds without reserve, in the anguish of their hearts forgetting the master that reigned over them. Nothing, however, touched Tiberius so near, as the decided affection of the people for Agrippina, who was styled the ornament of her country, the only blood of Augustus, and the last remaining model of ancient manners. With hands upraised, the people invoked the gods, imploring them to protect the children of Germanicus from the malice of pernicious enemies.

V. There were at that time men of reflection who thought the whole of the ceremony short of that funeral pomp which the occasion required. The magnificence displayed in honour of Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was put in contrast to the present frugality. "Augustus, in the depth of winter, went as far as Ticinum to meet the body; and, never quitting it afterwards, entered the city in the public procession. The bier was decorated with the images of the Claudian and the Livian families: tears were shed in the forum; a funeral oration was delivered from the rostrum; and every honour, as well of ancient as of modern invention, was offered to the memory of the deceased. How different was the case at present! Even the distinctions usually granted to persons of illustrious rank, were refused to Germanicus. The body was committed to the funeral pile in a foreign land; that was an act of necessity; but, to compensate for the first deficiency, too much could not be done. One day's journey was all that a brother performed. The uncle did not so much as go to the city gate. Where now the usage of ancient times? Where the bed on which the image of the deceased lay in state? Where the verses in honour of departed virtue? Where the funeral panegyric, and the tear that embalms the dead? If real tears were not ready to gush, where, at least, were the forms of grief? and where the decency of pretended sorrow?"

VI. Tiberius was not ignorant of what passed. To appease the murmurs of the people, he issued a proclamation, in which it was observed, "that eminent men had at various times fallen in the service of their country, though none were so sincerely lamented as Germanicus. The regret shown on the present occasion, did honour to the virtue of the people, and the imperial dignity; but grief must have its bounds. That which might be proper in private families, or in petty states, would ill become the grandeur

of a people who gave laws to the world. Recent affliction must have its course. The heart overflows, and in that discharge finds its best relief. It was now time to act with fortitude. Julius Cæsar[1] lost an only daughter; Augustus saw his grandsons prematurely snatched away; but their grief was inward only. They bore the stroke of affliction with silent dignity. If the authority of ancient times were requisite, conjunctures might be mentioned, in which the Roman people saw, with unshaken constancy, the loss of their generals, the overthrow of their armies, and the destruction of the noblest families. Whatever may be the fate of noble families, the commonwealth is immortal. Let all resume their former occupations; and, since the Megalensian games were near at hand, let the diversions of the season assuage the general sorrow."

VII. The vacation from public business was now concluded. The people returned to their ordinary functions, and Drusus set out for the army in Illyricum. At Rome, in the meantime, all were impatient to see Piso brought to justice. That an offender of such magnitude should be suffered to roam at large through the delightful regions of Asia and Achaia, roused the general indignation. By such contumacy the law was eluded, and the evidence was growing weaker every day. The fact was, Martina, that notorious dealer in poison, whom Sentius, as has been mentioned, ordered to be conveyed to Rome, died suddenly at Brundusium. Poison was said to have been found in the tangles of her hair, but no trace of suicide appeared on any part of her body.

VIII. Piso, taking his measures in time, sent his son to Rome with instructions to prepossess the emperor in his favour. He went himself to seek an interview with Drusus; persuaded that he should find the prince not so much exasperated at the loss of a brother, as pleased with an event that delivered him from a rival. The son arrived at Rome. Tiberius, to show that nothing was prejudged, gave the youth a gracious reception; adding the presents usually bestowed on persons of rank on their return from the provinces. Drusus saw the elder Piso, and frankly told him that if what was rumoured abroad appeared to be founded in truth, the charge demanded his keenest resentment; but he rather hoped to find the whole unsupported by proof, that no man might deserve to suffer for the death of Germanicus. This

[1] Julia was the daughter of Julius Cæsar by his wife Cornelia.

answer was given in public; no private audience was admitted. The prince, it was generally believed, had his lesson from Tiberius; it being improbable that a young man of a free and open disposition, unhackneyed in the ways of business, could have acted with that guarded reserve which marked the veteran in politics.

IX. Piso crossed the Gulf of Dalmatia,[1] and, leaving his ships at Ancona, went forward to Picenum. From that place he pursued his journey on the Flaminian road, and on his way met a legion marching from Pannonia to Rome, in order to proceed from thence to serve in Africa. This incident was variously canvassed by the people. A criminal, it was said, presumes to join the soldiers on their march, and even waylays them at their quarters, to curry favour with his military friends. Piso heard of these complaints, and, to avoid suspicion, or because it is the nature of guilt to be always wavering and irresolute, at Narni he embarked on the Nar, and, sailing down the Tiber, landed on the Field of Mars, near the tomb of the Cæsars. This was another cause of popular discontent; in open day, amidst a crowd of spectators, he and his wife Plancina made their appearance; the former surrounded by a tribe of clients, and the latter by a train of female attendants; all with an air of gaiety, bold, erect, and confident. Piso's house overlooked the forum; preparations were made for a sumptuous entertainment; the scene was adorned with splendid decorations; and, from the nature of the situation, nothing could remain a secret. The whole was exposed to the public eye.

X. On the following day Fulcinius Trio exhibited an accusation before the consuls. To this proceeding Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who had attended Germanicus into Asia, made strong objections; alleging, that Trio had not so much as a colour to entitle him to the conduct of the prosecution. As to themselves, they did not mean to stand forth as accusers; but they had the last commands of Germanicus, and to the facts within their knowledge intended to appear as witnesses. Trio waived his pretensions, but still claimed a right to prosecute for former misdemeanours. That liberty was allowed. Application was made to the emperor, that the cause might be heard before himself. The request was perfectly agreeable to the accused party, who was not to learn that the senate and the people were prejudiced against him. Tiberius, he knew, was firm enough to resist popular clamour;

[1] Now the Gulf of Venice.

and, in conjunction with Livia, had acted an underhand part in the business. Besides this, the truth he thought would be better investigated before a single judge, than in a mixed assembly, where intrigue and party violence too often prevailed. Tiberius, however, saw the importance of the cause, and felt the imputations thrown out against himself. To avoid a situation so nice and difficult, he consented to hear, in the presence of a few select friends, the heads of the charge, with the answers of the defendant; and then referred the whole to the consideration of the senate.

XI. During these transactions, Drusus returned from Illyricum. For the captivity of Maroboduus, and the prosperous events of the preceding summer, an ovation had been decreed by the senate; but he chose to postpone that honour, and entered the city as a private man. Piso moved that Titus Arruntius, T. Vinicius, Asinius Gallus, Æserninus Marcellus, and Sextus Pompeius, might be assigned as advocates to defend his cause. Under different pretexts they all excused themselves; and in their room, Marcus Lepidus, Lucius Piso, and Livineius Regulus, were appointed. The whole city was big with expectation. It remained to be seen how far the friends of Germanicus would act with firmness; what resources Piso had left; and whether Tiberius would speak his mind, or continue, as usual, dark and impenetrable. No juncture had ever occurred in which the people were so warmly interested; none, when in private discourse, men made such bitter reflections; and none, when suspicion harboured such gloomy apprehensions.

XII. At the next meeting of the senate, Tiberius, in a premeditated speech, explained his sentiments. "Piso," he observed, "had been the friend and chosen lieutenant of Augustus; and was lately named, with the approbation of the senate, to assist Germanicus in the administration of the eastern provinces. Whether, in that station, he had made it his business, by arrogance and a contentious spirit, to exasperate the prince; whether he rejoiced at his death; and, above all, whether he was accessory to it; were questions that called for a strict, but fair inquiry. If he, who was only second in command, exceeded the limits of his commission, regardless of the duty which he owed to his superior officer; if he beheld the death of Germanicus, and the loss which I have suffered, with unnatural, with fell delight; from that moment he becomes the object of my fixed aversion. I forbid him to enter my palace; he is my own personal enemy. But the emperor

must not revenge the private quarrels of Tiberius. Should murder be brought home to him, a crime of that magnitude, which in the case of the meanest citizen calls aloud for vengeance, is not to be forgiven: it will be yours, conscript fathers, to administer consolation to the children of Germanicus; it will be yours to assuage the sorrows of an afflicted father, and a grandmother overwhelmed with grief.

"In the course of the inquiry, it will be material to know whether Piso endeavoured, with a seditious spirit, to incite the army to a revolt. Did he try by sinister arts to seduce the affections of the soldiers? Was his sword drawn to recover possession of the province? Are these things true, or are they the mere suggestions of the prosecutors, with intent to aggravate the charge? Their zeal, it must be owned, has been intemperate. By laying the body naked at Antioch, and exposing it to public view, what good end could be answered? Why were foreign nations alarmed with a report of poison, when the fact is still problematical, and remains to be tried? I lament the loss of my son, and shall ever lament it: but, notwithstanding all my feelings, it is competent to the defendant to repel the charge; he is at liberty to bring forward whatever may tend to establish his innocence, and even to arraign the conduct of Germanicus, if any blame can be imputed to him. It is not for me to abridge any part of the defence. My affections, it is true, are interwoven with the cause: but you will not, for that reason, take imputations for guilt, nor allegations for conclusive proof. And since either the ties of consanguinity, or motives of friendship, have engaged able advocates to patronise the party accused, let them exert their zeal, their talents, and their eloquence. In the same manner I exhort the prosecutors: let them act with the same constancy, with equal ardour. The only distinction which the prerogative of the prince can grant, is, that the cause shall be tried in this court, and not in the forum; in the presence of the senate, not before the common tribunals. In all things else let the forms of law be observed. The tears of Drusus, and my own affliction, are foreign to the question: let no man regard our interest; throw it out of the case, and discard from your minds the little calumnies that may glance at myself."

XIII. Two days were allowed to the prosecutors to support their charge, six to prepare the defence, and three for hearing it. Fulcinius Trio began. The ground he took was the avarice and tyranny, with which Piso conducted himself, during his administration in Spain. This was starting from a

period too remote. Though convicted on that point, the defendant might still repel the present charge; and, if acquitted, he might be guilty of higher crimes. Fulcinius was followed by Servæus, Veranius, and Vitellius; all three exerting themselves with equal zeal, but the latter with superior eloquence. The points insisted upon were—"That Piso, incited by malice to Germanicus, and his own ambitious views, diffused a spirit of licentiousness through the Roman army. He corrupted the soldiery, and suffered the allies of Rome to be plundered with impunity. In consequence of those pernicious practices, the vile and profligate hailed him FATHER OF THE LEGIONS. But his conduct was hostile to all good men, and more directly to the friends of Germanicus. To fill the measure of his iniquity, he had recourse to magic arts, and the prince was destroyed by poison. Piso and his wife Plancina were known to have assisted in superstitious rites and impious sacrifices. And yet the prisoner did not stop there: he was guilty of rebellion; he appeared in arms against the state; and, before he could be brought to justice as a citizen, he was conquered as an enemy."

XIV. The defence in every article, except that which related to the crime of poison, was weak and ineffectual. The charge of debauching the soldiers by bribery, the rapacity of his creatures, and the insults offered to Germanicus, were stubborn facts, and could not be denied. The crime of poisoning seemed to be sufficiently answered. It was left on weak ground by the managers of the prosecution. All they had to urge in support of that article, was a bare allegation, that Piso, at an entertainment given by Germanicus, being placed on a couch above the prince, had contrived, with his own hands, to mingle poison with the victuals. An attempt of the kind, in the midst of servants not his own, under the eye of numbers, and in the very presence of Germanicus, seemed improbable, and indeed absurd. To refute it altogether, Piso made a tender of his slaves to be questioned on the rack, demanding, at the same time, that the domestics of Germanicus, who waited that day at table, should undergo the like examination. But nothing made an impression on the judges. For different reasons they were all implacable; Tiberius, on account of the war levied in Syria; the senators, from a full persuasion that treachery had a hand in the death of Germanicus. A motion was made for the production of all letters written to the criminal by Tiberius and Livia. This was opposed with vehemence, not only by Piso, but also by the emperor. The

clamours of the populace, who surrounded the senate-house, were heard within doors. The cry was, if Piso escaped by the judgment of the fathers, he should die by the hands of the people. They had already seized his statues, and, in their fury, dragged them to the place of execution called the Gemoniæ,[1] with intent to break them into fragments. By order of Tiberius they were rescued out of their hands. Piso was conveyed home in a litter, guarded by a tribune of the prætorian bands: but whether that officer was sent to protect him from the populace, or to see justice executed, was left to conjecture and vague report.

XV. Plancina, no less than her husband, was an object of public detestation; but, protected by court favour, she was thought to be out of the reach of her enemies. What Tiberius would do was uncertain. While she supposed herself involved in the fate of Piso, without a gleam of better hope, her language was that of a woman willing to share all chances with her husband, and, if he was doomed to fall, determined to perish with him. Having, in the meantime, by the interest of Livia, obtained her pardon, she began to change her tone, and pursue a separate interest. Finding himself thus abandoned, Piso despaired of his cause. Without further struggle, he intended to resign himself to his fate; but, by the advice of his sons, he resumed his courage, and once more appeared before the senate. The prosecution was renewed with vigour; the fathers spoke in terms of acrimony; everything was adverse; and the prisoner plainly saw that his fate was decided. In this distress, nothing affected him so deeply as the behaviour of Tiberius, who sat in sullen silence, neither provoked to anger nor softened by compassion, with his usual art stifling every emotion of the heart. Piso was conducted back to his house. He there wrote a few lines, in appearance preparing his defence for the ensuing day, and having sealed the paper, delivered it to one of his freedmen. The usual attentions to his person filled up his time, till, at a late hour of the night, his wife having left the room, he ordered the door to be made fast. In the morning he was found dead; his throat cut, and his sword lying near him on the ground.

XVI. I remember to have heard from men advanced in years, that a bundle of papers, not produced at the trial,

[1] The *Gemoniæ Scalæ* were a flight of steps at the bottom of the Capitoline Hill, where the bodies of malefactors were exposed, and then dragged by a hook fixed in the throat, and thrown into the Tiber.

was often seen in the hands of Piso, containing, as his friends attested, the letters of Tiberius, full of instructions hostile to Germanicus. These documents would have transferred the guilt to the emperor; but, by the delusive promises of Sejanus, they were all suppressed. It was also confidently said that Piso did not lay violent hands on himself, but died by the stroke of an assassin. For the truth of these assertions I do not mean to be answerable; I state the facts as I heard them related by men with whom I conversed in my youth; and the anecdotes of such men may be deemed worthy of attention.

Tiberius attended the next meeting of the senate. He there complained, with seeming anxiety, that the death of Piso was intended to reflect dishonour on himself. He sent for the freedman, who had received the paper sealed up, as already stated, and inquired particularly about his master: how he passed the last of his days? and what happened in the course of the night? The man answered in some instances with caution, and in others off his guard. The emperor produced Piso's letter, and read it to the senate. It was nearly in the following words: "Oppressed by the malice of my enemies, and falling under a load of imputed guilt, without a friend to espouse the truth, or shelter innocence, I call the immortal gods to witness, that to you, Cæsar, I have, through life, preserved my faith inviolate. For your mother I have ever felt the sincerest veneration. I conjure you both to take my sons under your protection. Cneius Piso is innocent. Nothing that happened in Asia can be imputed to him, since he remained, during the whole time, at Rome. His brother Marcus, when I returned to the province of Syria, was strenuous against the measure. Would to Heaven that I had yielded to the advice of a young man, and that my authority had not silenced all opposition. For him I offer up my fervent prayers: let not the errors of the father bring down ruin on the son. If in the course of five and forty years I have been devoted to your service; if Augustus made me his colleague in the consulship;[1] if the remembrance of our early friendship can now avail: by all those ties I implore your mercy for my unhappy son. It is the request of a dying father; the last I shall ever make." He made no mention of Plancina.

XVII. Tiberius declared his opinion, that Marcus Piso,

[1] Piso had been joint consul with Augustus, and afterwards with Tiberius.

being under the control of his father, ought not to be answerable for the civil war. He mentioned the regard due to an illustrious house, and even lamented the unhappy lot of the deceased, though brought upon him by misconduct. He spoke in favour of Plancina, but with an air of embarrassment, conscious of his own duplicity. The intercession of his mother was a colour for the part he acted; but thinking men were by no means satisfied. On the contrary, their hatred of Livia was more embittered than ever. They exclaimed without reserve, "Shall the grandmother admit to her presence a woman stained with the blood of her grandson? Shall she converse in familiar freedom with a murderess? Must she receive to her arms an abandoned woman, and by her influence rescue her from the vengeance of the senate? The laws protect the meanest citizen; but in the case of Germanicus they have lost their vigour. Vitellius and Veranius poured forth their eloquence in the cause of a prince cut off by treachery, while the emperor and his mother side with Plancina. That pernicious woman may now with impunity continue her trade of poisoning; she may practise her detestable arts on the life of Agrippina and her children; she may proceed in her iniquity, and, with the blood of an illustrious but unhappy family, glut the rage of a dissembling uncle and a worthless grandmother." For two days together Rome was amused with a mock-trial of Plancina. Tiberius, in the meantime, exhorted Piso's sons to stand forth in defence of their mother. The charge was opened; the witnesses were examined, and the orators spared neither zeal nor eloquence in support of the prosecution: no reply was made; the wretched condition of a helpless woman began to operate on the feelings of the fathers, and prejudice was melted into pity. Aurelius Cotta, the consul, was the first that gave his vote, according to a settled rule, whenever the question was put by the emperor. The opinion of Cotta was, that the name of Piso should be razed out of the public registers, that part of his estate should be confiscated, and the rest granted to Cneius Piso, upon condition that he changed the family name; and that his brother Marcus, divested of all civil honours, should be condemned to banishment for the space of ten years, with a sum, however, of fifty thousand great sesterces for his support. In deference to the solicitations of Livia, it was proposed to grant a free pardon to Plancina.

XVIII. This sentence, in many particulars, was mitigated

by Tiberius. The family name, he said, ought not to be abolished, while that of Mark Antony, who appeared in arms against his country, as well as that of Julius Antonius, who, by his intrigues, dishonoured the house of Augustus, subsisted still, and figured in the Roman annals. Marcus Piso was left in possession of his civil dignities and his father's fortune. Avarice, as has been already observed, was not the passion of Tiberius. On this occasion, the disgrace incurred by the partiality shown to Plancina, softened his temper, and made him the more willing to extend his mercy to the son. Valerius Messalinus moved, that a golden statue might be erected in the temple of Mars the Avenger. An altar to vengeance was proposed by Cæcina Severus. Both these motions were overruled by the emperor. The principle on which he argued was, that public monuments, however proper in cases of foreign conquest, were not suited to the present juncture. Domestic calamity should be lamented, and, as soon as possible, consigned to oblivion.

Messalinus added to his motion a vote of thanks to Tiberius and Livia, to Antonia, Agrippina, and Drusus, for their zeal in bringing to justice the enemies of Germanicus. The name of Claudius[1] was not mentioned. Lucius Asprenas desired to know whether that omission was intended. The consequence was, that Claudius was inserted in the vote. Upon an occasion like this, it is impossible not to pause for a moment, to make a reflection that naturally rises out of the subject. When we review what has been doing in the world, is it not evident, that in all transactions, whether of ancient or of modern date, some strange caprice of fortune turns all human wisdom to a jest? In the juncture before us, Claudius figured so little on the stage of public business, that there was scarce a man in Rome who did not seem, by the voice of fame and the wishes of the people, designed for the sovereign power, rather than the very person, whom fate, in that instant, cherished in obscurity, to make him, at a future period, master of the Roman world.

XIX. The senate, a few days afterwards, on the motion of Tiberius, granted the sacerdotal dignity to Vitellius, Veranius, and Servæus. Fulcinius Trio received a promise of the emperor's favour in his road to honours, but was, at the same time, admonished to restrain the ardour of his genius, lest, by overheated vehemence, he might mar his eloquence. In this manner ended the inquiry concerning the

[1] Claudius was brother to Germanicus.

death of Germanicus; a subject which has been variously represented, not only by men of that day, but by all subsequent writers. It remains, to this hour, the problem of history. A cloud for ever hangs over the most important transactions, while, on the one hand, credulity adopts for fact the report of the day; and, on the other, politicians warp and disguise the truth: between both parties two different accounts go down from age to age, and gain strength with posterity.

Drusus thought it time to enjoy the honours of a public entry. For this purpose he went out of the city, and, having assisted at the ceremony of the auspices, returned with the splendour of an *ovation*. In a few days after he lost his mother Vipsania:[1] of all the children of Agrippa, the only one that died a natural death. The rest were brought to a tragic end; some, as is well known, by the murderer's stroke; and others, as is generally believed, by poison or by famine.

XX. In the same year Tacfarinas, the Numidian chief, whom we have seen defeated by Camillus in a former campaign, once more commenced hostilities in Africa. He began by sudden incursions; depending for his safety on the rapidity of his flight. Emboldened by success, he attacked several towns and villages, and went off enriched with plunder. At length, at a place near the river Pagida, he hemmed in a Roman cohort, and held them closely besieged. Decrius, a gallant and experienced officer, who commanded the fort, considered the blockade as a disgrace to the Roman arms. Having exhorted his men to face the enemy on the open plain, he marched out, and formed in order of battle. At the first onset the Barbarians made an impression. The cohort gave way. Decrius braved every danger. Amidst a volley of darts, he opposed his person to stop the flight of his men; he called aloud to the standard-bearers, charging them not to incur the shame and infamy of yielding to an undisciplined rabble, a vile collection of runaways and deserters. His efforts were ineffectual. Covered with wounds, and one eye pierced through, he still persisted with undaunted valour, till at last, abandoned by his troops, he died bravely sword in hand.

XXI. Lucius Apronius, who had succeeded Camillus as proconsul of Africa, received the account of this defeat with indignation. The disgrace of the Roman arms touched him more than the glory that accrued to the Barbarians. He resolved to expiate the infamy by a dreadful punishment,

[1] She was the daughter of Agrippa, married to Tiberius, and divorced from him.

founded, indeed, upon ancient precedent, and recorded in history; but in modern times fallen into disuse. He ordered the cohort, whose behaviour had been so ignominious, to be decimated: every man upon whom the lot fell, died under repeated blows of the cudgel. The consequence of this severity was, that a body of five hundred veterans, stationed in garrison at Thala,[1] maintained their post against the attempts of Tacfarinas, and even routed the troops lately flushed with victory. In this action Rufus Helvius, a common soldier, obtained the glory of saving the life of a Roman citizen. He was rewarded by Apronius with a spear and collar. Tiberius ordered the civic crown to be added, observing, at the same time, that the proconsul had the power of granting that reward: yet he censured the omission without asperity, pleased that something was reserved for himself.

Tacfarinas, finding his Numidians unwilling, after their defeat, to undertake a siege, changed his plan of operations. He chose a roving kind of war; if the Romans advanced, quick in retreat, and, as soon as the pursuit was over, wheeling round to hang upon the rear. By this desultory mode of skirmishing, the wily African baffled and fatigued the Roman army, till, having ravaged the country near the sea-coast, and loaded his men with booty, he was obliged to pitch his camp. In that situation Apronius Cæsianus, son of the proconsul, at the head of the cavalry, the auxiliary cohorts, and a body of light infantry draughted from the legions, gave battle to the Numidian, and, having gained a complete victory, obliged him to fly to his wilds and deserts.

XXII. At Rome, in the meantime, a prosecution was carried on against Lepida, a woman of illustrious birth, descended from the Æmilian family, and great-granddaughter both to Sylla and Pompey. She was married to Publius Quirinius, a citizen of great wealth, far advanced in years, but without children to inherit his estate. The wife was charged with an attempt to pass a supposititious child for his legitimate issue. Other articles were added; such as adultery, dealing in poison, and consultations with Chaldean astrologers concerning the fate of the imperial family. Her brother, Manius Lepidus, undertook her defence. Quirinius had repudiated her; and yet, after his divorce, attacked her with implacable resentment. This circumstance, notwithstanding the guilt and infamy of Lepida, rendered her an object of compassion. In the course of the proceeding, the real sentiments of Tiberius eluded all dis-

[1] A town in Numidia.

covery. Fluctuating between opposite passions, he mixed and shifted mercy and resentment in such quick succession, that where he would fix it was impossible to guess. He desired that the crime of violated majesty might be thrown out of the case, and, in a short time after, ordered Marcus Servilius, of consular rank, and the rest of the witnesses, to prove the very facts over which he pretended to draw a veil. He removed the slaves of Lepida, who had been placed under a military guard, to the custody of the consuls: nor would he suffer them to be examined under the torture upon any point that concerned himself or his family. He exempted Drusus, though consul elect, from the rule that required him to give the first vote. This, by some, was considered as a true republican principle, that the fathers might give their voices, free and uninfluenced by the example of the prince. Others called it a stroke of subtle cruelty; it being by no means probable that Drusus would decline to speak in order of time, if a sentence of condemnation had not been already fixed.

XXIII. The celebration of the public games suspended the trial for some days. In that interval, Lepida, accompanied by a train of illustrious women, entered the theatre; in a pathetic strain she invoked her ancestors; she called on Pompey in his own theatre (that monument of grandeur), and addressed herself to the images of that illustrious man. Her grief made an impression; tears gushed from the eyes of the people, and, indignation soon succeeding, bitter execrations were thrown out against Quirinius; "a superannuated dotard, sprung from a mean extraction, to whom, in the decline of life, a noble dame, formerly intended to be the wife of Lucius Cæsar, and, by consequence, the granddaughter of Augustus, was joined in wedlock, that he, good man! might raise heirs to his estate." Notwithstanding these clamours, the slaves of Lepida were put to the question. Their evidence amounted to full proof of her guilt; and, on the motion of Rubellius Blandus, she was forbid the use of fire and water. Even Drusus gave his assent, though a milder sentence would have been agreeable to the wishes of a considerable number. By the interest of Scaurus, her former husband, who had a daughter by her, the confiscation of her property was remitted. At the close of the proceedings, Tiberius informed the fathers, that he had examined the slaves of Quirinius, and their evidence left him no room to doubt of a formed design to poison her husband.

XXIV. The families of the first consequence at Rome began to feel, with regret, that their numbers were thinned by repeated misfortunes. The Calpurnian house had lately suffered by the loss of Piso, and the Æmilian was impaired by the condemnation of Lepida. In order to make some amends, Decius Silanus was restored to the Junian family. The particulars of his case seem to merit some attention. The life of Augustus was variously chequered: he was successful against his country, and in his family often unhappy. The intrigues of his daughter and granddaughter embittered his days. He ordered them both to depart from Rome, and punished the adulterers with death or banishment. To the commerce natural between the sexes, that emperor gave the name of sacrilege and violated majesty; and, under colour of this new device, forgot at once the lenity of former times, and even the laws enacted by himself. But the tragic issue that befell offenders of this kind, with other memorable events of that period, shall be the subject of a distinct history, if, when the work now in hand is finished, my life shall be protracted in health and vigour for a new undertaking.

With regard to Silanus, who had a criminal connection with the granddaughter of Augustus, his offence drew upon him no greater vengeance, than a total exclusion from the friendship of the emperor. That exclusion, as Silanus understood it, implied a sentence of banishment. He retired into voluntary exile, and never, till the reign of Tiberius, presumed to apply, either to the prince or senate, for permission to return to his country. For the favour extended to him, he was indebted to the weight and influence of his brother, Marcus Silanus, who added to his high rank the fame of distinguished eloquence. Marcus prevailed with the emperor, and, in a full meeting of the senate, expressed his sense of the obligation. Tiberius answered, that "the return of Decius Silanus, after a long absence, was an event agreeable to all. It was, however, no more than his legal right. No law had abridged his liberty; no decree of the senate was in force against him. And yet it was impossible for the prince to forget the wrongs done to Augustus; nor could the return of Silanus either efface his crime, or cancel what had been settled by an injured emperor." From this time, Decius Silanus lived at Rome, a private citizen, without honours, or preferment.

XXV. The next care of the senate was to soften the rigour of the law Papia Poppæa; a law made by Augustus in the

decline of life, when the Julian institutions were found ineffectual. The policy was, to enforce, by additional sanctions, the penalties of celibacy, and thereby increase the revenue. Marriage, however, was not brought into fashion. To be without heirs was still considered as a state that gave great advantages. Prosecutions multiplied, and numbers were every day drawn into danger. Informers were the interpreters of justice; and chicane and malice wrought the ruin of families. The community laboured, at first, under the vices of the times, and, afterwards, under the snares of law. From this reflection if we here go back to trace the origin of civil institutions, and the progress of that complex system which has grown up to harass mankind, the digression will not be incurious, nor altogether foreign to our purpose.

XXVI. In the early ages of the world, men led a life of innocence and simplicity. Free from irregular passions, they knew no corruption of manners; and void of guilt, they had no need of laws. In the natural emotions of the heart they found incitements to virtue, and rewards were unnecessary. Having no inordinate desires, they coveted nothing, and pains and penalties were unknown. In process of time, when all equality was overturned, and, in the place of temperance and moderation, ambition and violence began to trample on the rights of man; then monarchy was established, in several nations unlimited, absolute, and flourishing at this hour. Some states, indeed, in their first formation, or, at least, soon after they had made an experiment of kings, preferred a government by law; and law, in its origin, was, like the manners of the age, plain and simple. Of the several political constitutions known in the world, that of Crete, established by Minos; that of Sparta, by Lycurgus; and that of Athens, by Solon, have been chiefly celebrated. In the latter, however, we see simplicity giving way to complication and refinement. At Rome, the reign of Romulus was the reign of despotism. His will was the law. Numa Pompilius introduced the rites and ceremonies of religion, and, by establishing forms of worship, strengthened the civil union. Some improvements were added by Tullus Hostilius, and some by Ancus Martius. But the true legislator was Servius Tullius; the author of that best policy, which made even kings the subjects of the laws.

XXVII. After the expulsion of Tarquin, the people, to secure their rights from powerful factions in the senate, and

to prevent the effects of civil discord, were obliged to modify the constitution by new regulations. With this view, the decemvirs were created. Those magistrates, by adopting from the wisdom of other nations what appeared worthy of selection, framed a body of laws, entitled the Twelve Tables. All sound legislation ended there. It is true that, after that time, new statutes were enacted; but, if we except a few, suggested by the vices of the times, and passed on the spur of the occasion, they were, for the most part, made in the conflict of parties, and for the worst of purposes; in some instances, to lay open to ambition the road to honours; in others, to work the downfall of illustrious citizens: and, in general, with pernicious motives. Hence the Gracchi,[1] and the Saturnini, those turbulent demagogues; and hence the violent spirit of Drusus, that famous partisan of the senate, who, by largesses and open bribery, supported the claims of the nobility, and, by specious promises, induced the allies of Rome to espouse his cause, deceiving them at first, and, between the senate and the popular leaders, making them in the end the bubble of contending factions. Hence a wild variety of contradictory laws. In the social war, which involved all Italy, and the civil commotions that followed, new ordinances were established, but with the same contentious spirit, till at length Lucius Sulla, the dictator, by repealing several laws, by amending others, and by organising a code of his own, gave a check to the rage of legislation. But the respite was but short. The fiery genius of Lepidus preferred a number of seditious decrees, and the tribunes of the people, resuming their ancient powers, alarmed the state with tumult and popular commotions. The general good was no longer thought of: new characters appeared in the great scene of public business, and new statutes were enacted. In a corrupt republic vice increased, and laws were multiplied.

XXVIII. Pompey, at length, in his third consulship, was chosen to correct abuses, and introduce a reformation of manners. His remedies were more pernicious than the mischief. He made laws, and broke them; he had recourse to arms, and by force of arms was ruined. From that time, during a period of twenty years, the rage of civil discord threw everything into confusion. Justice was silent; the manners were corrupted; vice triumphed with impunity,

[1] The two Gracchi were leaders of the popular party in opposition to the senate and the patrician order.

and virtue met with sure destruction.[1] At length Augustus, in his sixth consulship, finding himself established without a rival, repealed the acts passed by himself during the triumvirate, and gave a new system, useful indeed to the public tranquillity, but subversive of the constitution; fit only for the government of one. The chains of slavery were closely riveted, and spies of state were appointed.[2] To excite and animate the diligence of those new officers, the law *Papia Poppæa* held forth rewards. By that law, the people, under the fiction of universal parent, were declared heirs to the vacant possessions of such as lived in celibacy, regardless of the privileges annexed to the paternal character. To enforce this regulation, informers were encouraged. The genius of those men knew no bounds: they harassed the city of Rome, and stretched their harpy-hands all over Italy. Wherever they found a citizen, they found a man to be plundered. Numbers were ruined, and all were struck with terror. To stop the progress of the mischief, Tiberius ordered a set of commissioners, to be drawn by lot; five of consular rank, five prætorians, and a like number from the body of the senate. Under their direction the law was explained; ensnaring subtleties were removed; and the evil, though not wholly cured, was palliated for the present.

XXIX. About this time Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, was entering on the state of manhood. Tiberius recommended him to the favour of the senate, adding his request, that the young prince might be excused from serving the office of the vigintivirate,[3] with leave, five years earlier than the time limited by law, to stand candidate for the quæstorship. As a precedent for this indulgence, he cited the example of Augustus, who had made the like application for himself and his brother Drusus. The proposal was a mockery, and

[1] The twenty years of civil distraction are to be computed from the death of Pompey.

[2] Informers were encouraged, by the law of *Papia Poppæa*, to hold a strict watch over such as lived in a state of celibacy.

[3] Dio informs us, that while Augustus, after all his victories, was still absent from Rome, the senate by a decree established a new magistracy, consisting of twenty, to superintend the police and good government of the city. Their duty was divided into different departments: three to sit in judgment; three to direct the coinage; four to superintend the public ways; and ten to preside in such causes as were tried by the centumviri. The office was continued by Augustus, and became the previous step to the higher magistracies. The time for entering on the quæstorship was at the age of twenty-four; consequently Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, might begin his career of honours when turned of nineteen.

accordingly, men heard it with derision. Even in the reign of Augustus there were, in all probability, numbers who laughed in secret at the new way of commanding by petition. The artifice, however, was, at that time, not impolitic : the grandeur of the Cæsars was in its infancy, and the forms of the old republic were still remembered. With regard to the request made by Tiberius, it may be observed, that the relation between the stepfather and the sons of his wife did not create so tender an interest, as the natural affection of a grandfather for his grandson. The senate not only granted what was asked, but added a seat in the pontifical college. The day on which the young prince made his first appearance in the forum, was distinguished by a largess to the people, who saw with pleasure a son of Germanicus rising to the state of manhood. His marriage with Julia, the daughter of Drusus,[1] was soon after celebrated, and diffused a general satisfaction. But another match, then in contemplation, between the son of Claudius[2] and a daughter of Sejanus, was received by the people with every mark of discontent. Men objected, that the lustre of the imperial family would be tarnished, and the ambition of Sejanus, already suspected, would, when strengthened by that connection, tower above the rank of a citizen.

XXX. Towards the close of the year died two men of distinguished character, namely, Lucius Volusius, and Sallustius Crispus. The former was of an ancient family, at all times highly honoured, though never raised above the prætorian rank. The deceased was the first of his house that rose to the consulship. When it was afterwards necessary to regulate the classes of the equestrian order, he was, for that purpose, advanced to the dignity of censor. In the course of his time he accumulated an immoderate fortune, and laid the foundation of that rank and splendour, in which his family flourished after him.

The ancestors of Crispus were of equestrian rank. By the maternal line, he was grand-nephew to Caius Sallustius, the accomplished Roman historian. Being adopted by that illustrious writer, he assumed the family name; and, though the road to honours lay open before him, the example of Mæcenas was the model on which he formed his conduct. Never aspiring to the rank of senator, he lived in a degree of splendour

[1] Drusus, the son of Tiberius. He married *Livia*, otherwise *Livilla*, the daughter of Drusus, who was brother to Tiberius.

[2] Claudius, afterwards emperor, was brother to Germanicus.

that eclipsed the consular magistrates, and even the commanders of armies, who had triumphed for their victories. The austerity of ancient manners was not to his taste. In his apparel and equipage he was gay and costly; in his style of living fond of elegance, and even of luxury. Uniting in his character opposite qualities, he was at once a man of pleasure, and a statesman of consummate ability. The vigour of his mind, though often relaxed in indolence, was such as qualified him for the most arduous affairs. When occasion called, he returned to business with an elastic spring, that showed he gained new strength from inactivity. While Mæcenas lived and flourished, Crispus acted the second character. Succeeding afterwards to that minister, he took the lead in the cabinet, the first in favour, and in all secret transactions the confidential manager. Agrippa Posthumus was cut off under his direction. In the decline of life he retained the appearance of power, without the reality; a reverse of fortune which had been felt by Mæcenas, and which, by some fatality, is the usual end of all who bask in the sunshine of a court. Between the prince and his favourite, weariness and satiety succeed to the ardour of affection, and both begin to wean themselves from each other; the prince, when the power of giving is exhausted; and the minister, when avarice has no more to crave.

XXXI. The year [A.U.C. 774, A.D. 21] which we are now to open, stands distinguished by the joint consulship of the father and the son; Tiberius, for the fourth time, and Drusus, the second. It is true that, two years before, Germanicus shared the same honour; but their union was not founded in sincerity and mutual esteem. Throughout that year Tiberius beheld his colleague with a malignant eye. The tie of affinity between them was not so close as the present. Tiberius had scarce entered on the office in conjunction with Drusus, when, pretending to recruit his health, he removed into Campania, perhaps even then meditating that long retreat, which was afterwards his plan of life: perhaps, intending to give Drusus the honour of discharging the consular functions, without the assistance of his father. An incident soon occurred, in itself of little moment, but by the heat of parties it kindled to a flame, and afforded to the young consul an opportunity to gain the popular esteem. A complaint was made to the senate by Domitius Corbulo, formerly one of the prætors, stating that Lucius Sylla, a youth of illustrious rank, had refused, in a late show of gladiators, to give place to his superior

in point of years. The grave and elderly were on the side of Corbulo. They saw the rights of age infringed, and the example of ancient manners treated with contempt. Mamercus Scaurus and Lucius Arruntius undertook the defence of Sylla, and with the rest of his relations formed a party in his favour. A warm debate ensued. The practice of good times was stated, and several decrees, enforcing the reverence due to age, were cited as decisive authority. Drusus, by a qualifying speech, allayed the ferment. Corbulo declared himself satisfied with the apology made by Mamercus Scaurus, who was uncle as well as father-in-law to Sylla, and, besides, the most eloquent orator of his time. That business being thus amicably settled, the state of the public roads was made the subject of debate by the same Corbulo. The highways, he said, were in a bad condition throughout Italy, neglected everywhere, and in some places impassable. He imputed the mischief to the fraudulent practices of contractors, and the inattention of the magistrates. He was desired to superintend the business; but the advantage, whatever it was, that accrued to the public, did not counterbalance the ruin of individuals, who suffered, both in reputation and fortune, by the harsh decisions of Corbulo, and the confiscation of their effects.

XXXII. In a short time after, the senate received despatches from Tiberius, with intelligence that Africa was again alarmed by the incursions of Tacfarinas. The occasion, the emperor said, required a proconsul of military talents, and vigour equal to the fatigues of war; but the choice was left to the judgment of the fathers. Sextus Pompeius seized this opportunity to launch out in a bitter invective against Marcus Lepidus, whom he styled a man void of courage, destitute of fortune, a disgrace to his ancestors, and by no means fit to be entrusted with the government of Asia,[1] which had then fallen to his lot. The senate was of a different opinion. What was called want of courage, according to them, was mildness of disposition; his indigence was a misfortune, not a disgrace; nor could it be deemed a fair objection to a man, who, in narrow circumstances, supported the dignity of his ancestors, and lived in honourable poverty, with an unblemished char-

1 It has been already mentioned that Augustus, having reserved some provinces for his own management, resigned the rest to the senate. Asia and Africa were in the number assigned to the fathers, and were always considered as consular governments. Two, who had discharged the office of consul, were named, and the province of each was decided by lot. That rule however was waived in sudden emergencies, and a proconsul was sent without any form of election or ballot.

acter. He was, therefore, declared proconsul of Asia. The choice of a governor to command in Africa was, by a decree, reserved for the decision of the emperor.

XXXIII. In the course of the debate, a motion was made by Cæcina Severus, that the governors of provinces should be no longer accompanied by their wives. He prefaced the business with repeated declarations, that between him and his wife, who had brought him six children, the truest harmony subsisted; and yet the law, which he now proposed, had ever been the rule of his own conduct; insomuch that, in a series of forty years, during which time he had served as many campaigns, his wife always remained in Italy. "It was with good reason," he said, "that in former times, women were neither allowed to visit the allies of Rome, nor to have any intercourse with foreign nations. The softer sex brought many inconveniences; in times of peace they were prone to luxury, and in war, easily alarmed. A female train, in the march of a Roman army, presented an image of savage manners: it had the appearance of Barbarians going to battle.

"That women are by nature feeble, and soon overcome by hardship, was not the only objection: other qualities entered into the female character, such as pride, revenge, and cruelty and ambition. The love of power is the predominant passion of the sex, and in the exercise of it they know no bounds. They appear in the ranks; they march with the troops; and they entice the centurions to their party. We have seen, in a late instance, a woman[1] reviewing the cohorts, and directing the exercise of the legions. Have we forgot, that as often as rapacity and extortion have been laid to the account of the husband, the wife has proved the principal offender? She no sooner enters the province, than her party is formed. The unprincipled attend to pay their homage. She becomes a politician; she takes the lead in business, and gives a separate audience. The husband and the wife appear in public with their distinct train of attendants. Two[2] tribunals are established, and the female edict, dictated by caprice and tyranny, is sure to be obeyed. By the Oppian[3] and other laws, the wife was formerly restrained within due bounds; at present,

[1] Plancina, the wife of Piso.

[2] The tribunal where the consuls sat in judgment was called the Prætorium.

[3] Caius Oppius, tribune of the people, was the author of a law by which the women were laid under several restrictions in the articles of dress and other expenses. That law was repealed, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Cato the censor.

all decorum is laid aside; women give the law in families; they preside in the tribunals of justice, and aspire to be commanders-in-chief."

XXXIV. To this speech a small number assented; the rest received it with a murmur of disapprobation. The business, they said, was not in form before the fathers, and a question of that importance ought not to be drawn into debate by a self-created censor like Cæcina. His argument was answered by Valerius Messalinus; a man who derived from his father Messala, the celebrated orator, no inconsiderable share of eloquence. "The rigour," he said, "of ancient manners has taken a milder tone. The enemy is not at the gates of Rome, and the provinces have no hostile intentions. In favour of the tender sex some concessions ought to be made, especially since it is now known by experience that the wife, so far from being a burden to the province, is scarcely felt in the private economy of the husband. She is no more than a sharer in his splendour and dignity. In time of peace what danger from her presence? War, indeed, calls for vigour; and men should go unencumbered to the field. When the campaign is over, where can the general so well repose from toil and labour as in the bosom of a wife, whose tenderness relieves his pain, and sweetens every care? But women, it has been said, are prone to avarice and ambition: what shall be said of the magistrates? Have they been always free from irregular passions? and if not, will it follow that men are to be no longer trusted with the administration of the provinces? We are told, that the vices of the wife have their influence on the manners of the husband: and is it therefore true, that in a life of celibacy we are sure of finding unblemished honour?

"The Oppian laws were formerly deemed expedient: the policy of the times required them; but the manners have varied since, and with the manners the law has been modified. We strive in vain, under borrowed terms, to hide our own defects: the truth is, if the wife exceeds the bounds of the female character, the blame falls on the husband. In two or three instances we may have seen that the men were weak and too uxorious: and shall we for that reason take from the commander of armies the most endearing comforts of marriage, the mutual joy in prosperity, and, in affliction, the balm that heals his sorrow? By the restraint now proposed, the weaker sex will be left

in a state of destitution, the sport of their own caprice, and a prey to the passions of the profligate seducer. The presence of the husband is scarce sufficient to guard the sanctity of the marriage-bed: what must be the consequence, if they are separated, and, as it were, divorced for a number of years? In that interval, the nuptial union may be obliterated from the mind. Let us, if we can, prevent disorder in the provinces; but let us not forget the manners of the capital."

In this debate Drusus delivered his sentiments. He touched upon the subject of his own marriage, and added, that the princes of the imperial house were liable to the frequent necessity of visiting distant provinces. How often did it happen that Augustus made a progress in the west, and in the east, accompanied by Livia his wife! As to himself, he had commanded in Illyricum, and was ready, if the state required it, to serve in any part of the empire; but he should serve with regret, if he was to be torn from an affectionate wife,[1] the faithful mother of all his children. In consequence of these reasonings, Cæcina's motion fell to the ground.

XXXV. The senate at their next meeting received letters from Tiberius, in which, after complaining obliquely that the burden of all public business was thrown on himself, he named Manius Lepidus and Junius Blæsus for the proconsulship of Africa; leaving the choice of one of them to the determination of the fathers. Both were heard: Lepidus, with a degree of earnestness, desired to be excused; alleging the infirmities of his constitution, and the care due to his children, who, except a daughter then fit for the married state, were all of tender years. Lepidus had still a better reason, but he chose to suppress it: it was, nevertheless, well understood that Blæsus was uncle to Sejanus, and of course had the prevailing influence. Blæsus in his turn declined the office, but with affected coyness. Flattery knew on which side its interest lay; and, by consequence, the slaves of power knew how to conquer such feeble reluctance. Blæsus was of course appointed.

XXXVI. A public grievance, which had long been felt with secret discontent, was soon after brought before the fathers. A licentious spirit of defamation prevailed at Rome, and reigned without control. The vile and profligate launched out with virulence against the best members

[1] He was married to Livia, the sister of Germanicus.

of society, and the statues of the Cæsars were a sanctuary, where the assassins of every honest name found protection. The freedmen, and even the slaves, poured out a torrent of abuse; and, after lifting their hands against their patrons, or their masters, resorted to the same asylum, where they grew more formidable in their insolence. Caius Cestius, a member of the senate, complained of this enormity: "Princes," he said, "represented the gods; but the gods lent a favourable ear to none but the just. Neither the capitol nor the temples were places of refuge, where guilt might find a shelter, and even encouragement. In a late prosecution Annia Rufilla was found guilty of manifest fraud; and if such a woman might with impunity, in the forum, and even in the portal of the senate, insult him with opprobrious language, and even with menaces; if such contumacy were permitted, and the emperor's statue gave a sanction to evil practices, insomuch that he could obtain no redress; all good order was at an end, and the laws were no better than a dead letter." Others spoke to the same effect. Facts still more atrocious were stated, and, with one voice, the whole assembly called on Drusus for exemplary punishment. Rufilla was cited to appear; and, being convicted, the fathers ordered her to be imprisoned in the common jail.

XXXVII. Confidius Æquus and Cælius Cursor, two Roman knights, who had preferred a false charge of violated majesty against Magius Cæcilianus, then one of the prætors, were for that offence condemned, at the desire of Tiberius. From this act of justice, as well as the sentence against Rufilla, Drusus derived no small share of popularity. Men were willing to allow that, by residing at Rome, and by mixing in social meetings, he made some atonement for the dark and sullen spirit of his father. The luxurious passions of a young man were easily excused: Let him, said the people, indulge his taste for pleasure; let him pass his day in the glare of public spectacles, and his night in social revelry, rather than live sequestered from mankind, without a joy to cheer him, in painful vigils and the gloom of solitude, brooding over his cares, and thinking only to engender mischief.

XXXVIII. The ruin of eminent citizens had not yet appeased the rage of Tiberius and his crew of informers. An accusation was preferred by Ancharius Priscus against Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete, for peculation and

violated majesty. The last article was, at that time, the burden of every prosecution.[1] Antistius Vetus, a man of the first consequence in Macedonia, had been accused of adultery, and acquitted. This gave umbrage to Tiberius. He censured the judges, and ordered Vetus to be tried on the usual charge of violated majesty. He represented him as a man of a turbulent spirit, and an accomplice with Rhescuporis, at the time when that Barbarian, having put his nephew Cotys to death, was on the eve of a war with Rome. Vetus fell a sacrifice. He was interdicted from fire and water, with an additional sentence, that he should be confined to some island not contiguous either to Macedonia or Thrace.

Since the partition of the latter kingdom between Rhæmetalces and the sons of Cotys, to whom Trebellienus Rufus was appointed guardian, that country continued in a state of tumult and hostility to Rome. The people saw, with minds exasperated, the grievances inflicted on the natives, and, having no prospect of redress, accused Trebellienus no less than Rhæmetalces. In the same juncture the Cælaletans, the Odrysæans, Dians, and other adjacent states, in one general revolt, had recourse to arms. They took the field under their own respective chiefs, men of no consideration, and all by their meanness and incapacity reduced to one common level. Hence no concerted plan, no spirit of union. By one party the country was laid waste; another passed over mount Hæmus, with a design to draw distant nations into their confederacy; while the most numerous and best disciplined troops sat down before Philippopolis (a city founded by Philip of Macedon), and there held Rhæmetalces closely besieged.

XXXIX. On the first intelligence of this revolt, Publius Velleius, who commanded an army in the neighbourhood, sent a detachment of horse and light infantry in pursuit of the insurgents, who spread themselves over the country, either with a view to plunder, or to reinforce their numbers. He himself marched in force to raise the siege. He was successful in every quarter: the freebooters were put to the sword; and dissensions breaking out among the besiegers, Rhæmetalces made a sally in the moment when the Roman

[1] Pliny the younger, in his panegyric on the emperor Trajan, says that neither the laws enacted in the consulship of Voconius, nor the Julian law, conduced so much to enrich the exchequer of the prince and the public treasury, as the charge of violated majesty, too often the only charge against those who were free from every crime.

army came up to his relief. The Barbarians abandoned the place. Of these events, however prosperous, there is no room to speak in the pomp of military language: a rabble of savages without discipline, and almost without weapons, cannot be called an army; nor was that a battle, where the enemy was cut to pieces, without the effusion of Roman blood.

XL. In the course of the same year a rebellion broke out among the cities of Gaul, occasioned by the load of debt that oppressed the common people. The principal leaders of the revolt were Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir; the former a man of weight among the Treviri, and the latter among the Æduans. They were both of illustrious birth. Their ancestors had deserved well of the Romans, and, for their services, received the freedom of the city, at a time when that privilege was rare, and the reward of merit only. By these incendiaries secret meetings were held; the fierce and daring were drawn into the league together with such as languished in poverty, or, being conscious of their crimes, had nothing left but to grow desperate in guilt. Florus undertook to kindle the flame of rebellion in Belgia; and Sacrovir to rouse the neighbouring Gauls. The plan thus settled, they caballed in private, held frequent meetings, and left no topic untouched that could inflame the minds of the people. "Tributes," they said, "were levied with unabating rigour; usurious interest oppressed the poor, and their haughty masters continued to lord it over them with pride and arrogance. By the murder of Germanicus, disaffection was diffused among the legions, and the opportunity to strike the blow for liberty was now arrived. Reflect on the numbers we can bring into the field: remember the impoverished state of Italy. At Rome every warlike principle is extinguished. The strength of their armies is mouldered away. They have no national strength, but depend altogether on foreign nations to fight their battles."

XLI. A general spirit of revolt prevailed in every part of Gaul. Scarce a city was free from commotion. The flame blazed out among the Andecavians and the people of Tours; but by the diligence of Acilius Aviola, who marched from Lyons at the head of a cohort, the insurgents in the former province were reduced to obedience. The same commander with a legionary force, detached by Visellius Varro, from the Lower Germany, marched into the territory of Tours,

and quelled the insurrection. In this expedition some of the principal chiefs in Gaul joined the Roman army, not with zeal for the cause, but pretending friendship, in order, with surer effect, to be traitors in the end. Even Sacrovir fought with the Romans: he was seen in the heat of action with his head uncovered, in order, as he gave out, to signalise his courage and fidelity; but in truth, as was afterwards collected from the prisoners, to avoid being aimed at by the darts of his countrymen. An account of these disturbances was transmitted to Tiberius. He doubted the intelligence, and by this indecision prolonged the war.

XLII. Julius Florus, in the meantime, continued to exert his most vigorous efforts. A regiment of horse, raised formerly among the Treviri, but trained to the Roman discipline, happened to be quartered at Treves. He tampered with those troops, in hopes of beginning the war by a general massacre of the Roman merchants. A small number listened to his advice, but the rest continued in their duty. Florus was followed by a rabble of debtors, and a number of his own dependants. He marched towards the forest of Arden, but was intercepted by the legions detached by Visellius and Caius Silius from the two armies on the Rhine. A party of those troops was ordered forward under the command of Julius Indus, a native of Treves, who was then at variance with Florus, and, for that reason, burned with impatience to encounter his enemy. He gave battle to the rebels, and over an ill-appointed and undisciplined multitude gained a complete victory. Florus lay for some time concealed in lurking-places; but at length finding himself unable to elude the search of the Roman soldiers, and seeing the defiles and passes guarded on every side, he died by his own sword. The people of Treves, after this event, returned to their duty.

XLIII. The Æduan commotions were not so easily quelled. The state was rich and powerful, and the force necessary to subdue the insurrection lay at a considerable distance. Sacrovir strained every nerve to support his cause. He seized the city of Augustodunum, the capital of the Æduans, and took into his custody the flower of the young nobility, who resorted thither from all parts of Gaul, as to a school of science and liberal education. By detaining those pledges, he hoped to attach to his interest their parents and relations. He supplied the young men with arms, which had been prepared with secrecy by his directions. His numbers

amounted to less than forty thousand, a fifth part of which were armed after the manner of the legions; the rest carried hunting-poles, knives, and other instruments of the chase. He had, besides, pressed into his service a body of slaves reared up to the trade of gladiators, and according to the custom of the country, clad with an entire plate of iron. In the language of Gaul they were called CRUPELLARIANS. Their armour was impenetrable to the stroke of the enemy, but, at the same time, rendered the men too unwieldy for the attack. The adjoining provinces had not taken up arms; but a number of individuals caught the infection, and joined the rebel army. Sacrovir gained a further advantage from the jealousies subsisting between the Roman generals. Each claimed to himself the conduct of the war; and the dispute continued, till Varro, finding himself impaired by age, gave up the point to Silius, who was then in the vigour of his days.

XLIV. Meanwhile a report prevailed at Rome, that not only the Æduans and the Treviri, but several other cities of Gaul, to the number of sixty-four, had thrown off the yoke. Germany, it was added, had joined the league; and Spain was wavering. The rumour, as usually happens, was magnified by the credulity of the populace. Good men felt for their country: the greater part, detesting the present system, and wishing for nothing so much as a change, enjoyed the confusion, and triumphed in the common danger. Invective did not spare Tiberius. "In a difficult and alarming crisis, he was busy in settling the forms of some new prosecution. Did he mean to proceed by way of information against Julius Sacrovir? Was that chieftain to be accused of violated majesty? The revolt plainly showed that there still existed men of undaunted valour, who were resolved, at the point of the sword, to defy his letters written in blood to the senate; and war, with all its dangers, was preferable to a sanguinary peace, under a despotic tyrant." Amidst these murmurs of discontent, Tiberius appeared with an unruffled temper, never once changing his look, his place of abode, or his habits of life. Is this to be ascribed to magnanimity? or did he know, by secret intelligence, that the whole was either false, or magnified beyond the truth?

XLV. Silius, in the meantime, having sent before him a body of auxiliaries, marched at the head of two legions into the territory of the Sequanians, a people at the extremity

of Gaul, bordering on the Æduans, and confederates in the war. He laid waste the country, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Augustodunum. Nothing could equal the ardour of the legions: the standard-bearers with emulation gave every proof of their alacrity; the common soldiers declared, with one voice, that they wanted no repose; the night ought not to be lost in sleep; let them but see the enemy, they asked no more; victory was sure to follow. At the distance of twelve miles from Augustodunum, Sacrovir appeared in force. His line of battle was formed on the open plain. The gladiators, in complete armour, were stationed in the centre; his cohorts in the two wings, and his half-armed multitude in the rear. He was himself mounted on a superb horse, attended by a number of chiefs. He rode through the ranks, haranguing his men: he called to mind the glory of their ancestors,[1] their brave exploits against the Romans, and the eternal honour of succeeding in the cause of liberty. A defeat, he said, would bring with it infamy, and chains, and bondage.

XLVI. The speech was short, and the soldiers heard it without emotion. The legions advanced in regular order. A band of raw recruits, lately levied in the towns of Gaul, could not sustain a sight so terrible. The faculties of eyes and ears were lost in confusion. By the Romans victory was already anticipated. To exhort them was unnecessary, yet Silius thought proper to inflame their ardour. "The disgrace," he said, "would be great, if the victorious legions, who had conquered in Germany, were now to consider the Gauls as an equal enemy. The rebels of Tours have been chastised by a single cohort; a detachment of the cavalry crushed the insurgents at Treves; and a handful of this very army gave the Sequanians a total overthrow. The Æduans are now before you; not an army, but an effeminate race, abounding in wealth, and enervated by luxury. Charge with valour, and to pursue the runaways will be your only trouble." This speech was received with a general shout. The rebels were soon hemmed in by the cavalry; the front of their line gave way at the first onset of the infantry, and the wings were put to flight. The men in iron armour still kept their ranks. No impression could be made by swords and javelins. The Romans had recourse to their hatchets and pickaxes. With

[1] The Gauls, under the conduct of Brennus, stormed the city of Rome, B.C. 390.

these, as if battering a wall, they fell upon the enormous load, and crushed both men and armour. Some attacked with clubs and pitchforks. The unwieldy and defenceless enemy lay on the ground, an inanimate mass, without an effort to rise. Sacrovir threw himself into the town of Augustodunum, but in a short time, fearing to be given up a prisoner, withdrew, with his most faithful adherents, to a villa in the neighbourhood, where he put an end to his life. His followers, having first set fire to the place, turned their swords against themselves, and perished in one general carnage.

XLVII. Tiberius, at length, thought fit to write to the senate on the subject of these commotions. In one and the same letter he gave an account of the war begun and ended. He neither magnified nor disguised the truth, but in plain terms ascribed the whole success to the valour of his officers, and the wisdom of his councils. Why he did not go in person, or send his son Drusus, the same letter explained his reasons: "The extent and majesty of the empire claimed his utmost care. It was not for the dignity of the prince, on the revolt of one or two cities, to relinquish the seat of government. But now, since he could not be supposed to be under any kind of alarm, it was his intention to show himself to the provinces, in order, by his presence, to allay the ferment, and restore the public tranquillity." Vows for his return, and solemn festivals, with other usual ceremonies, were decreed by the senate. Dolabella, intending to display his genius in the trade of flattery, succeeded so far as to show his meanness and absurdity. He proposed that the emperor, on his return from Campania, should enter the city with the splendour of an ovation. This occasioned a letter to the senate from Tiberius, wherein he observed, "that after conquering fierce and warlike nations, and having in his youth received and declined triumphal honours, he was not such a novice to glory as to desire, in the evening of his days, the vain parade of a public entry, for an excursion that was little more than a party of pleasure to the suburbs of Rome."

XLVIII. About this time Tiberius wrote to the senate, requesting that a public funeral might be decreed to Sulpicius Quirinius; a man no way related to the ancient patrician family of the Sulpicii. He was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town: he distinguished himself by his military services, had considerable talents for business, and was

raised by Augustus to the honour of the consulship. Having afterwards stormed and taken the strongholds of the Homonadensians in Cilicia, he obtained triumphal honours. He attended Caius Cæsar in his expedition to Armenia, was the chief director of his councils, and made use of that opportunity to pay his court, with secrecy, to Tiberius, while that prince resided in the isle of Rhodes. This anecdote Tiberius mentioned in his letter; declaring himself, in gracious terms, well pleased with the good offices of Quirinius, and, at the same time, reflecting with a degree of acrimony on Marcus Lollius, to whose conduct he imputed the dissensions between himself and Caius Cæsar. But the character of Quirinius was held in no esteem; his unrelenting prosecution of Lepida, already related, was still remembered; and the sordid avarice of the man, even in old age, and in the height of power, left a stain upon his memory.

XLIX. The year closed with a prosecution of a singular nature. Caius Lutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, was the author of an applauded poem on the death of Germanicus, and for his composition had received a reward from Tiberius. The crime laid to his charge was that, when Drusus lay ill, he prepared another elegy, from which he hoped, if the young prince died, to derive still greater emolument. With the vanity of a poet Lutorius read his verses at the house of Publius Petronius, in the presence of Vitellia, the mother-in-law of that senator. Several women of distinction were of the party. As soon as the prosecutor opened the heads of his accusation, the confidential friends of the author were struck with terror. The fact was admitted by all, except Vitellia: she had the memory of a liberal-minded woman, and could recollect nothing. Credit, however, was given to the rest of the evidence. Haterius Agrippa, consul-elect, was the first to give his opinion: he proposed that the unfortunate poet should suffer death.

L. Manius Lepidus opposed the motion. He spoke as follows: "If in our deliberations, conscript fathers, we advert to nothing but the flagitious sentiments, by which Lutorius has discovered the malignity of his heart and wounded the ear of others, neither the dungeon, nor the rope, nor the torments, which the law ordains for slaves, would be adequate to the enormity of his guilt. But on the other hand, however great the depravity of mankind, there are degrees of punishment. The clemency of the prince interposes

often to mitigate the rigour of the law; the wisdom of our ancestors has delivered down to us a system of justice founded in mercy, and you have, on many occasions, followed their example. If between error in judgment and malignity of heart a distinction is to be made; if words and criminal actions are not to be confounded, the case before us admits a sentence, which at once will reach the offence, and leave us no reason to blush either for our moderation or our severity. The complaints of the emperor, when the guilty, by a voluntary death, have prevented the effect of his clemency, have been heard by us all. Lutorius lives; and should he continue to do so, will the state be in danger? His death will neither promote the public interest, nor serve as an example to others. Productions such as his, the effusions of a wild and irregular fancy, may well be left to flutter for a time, and then, like all frivolous things, to be forgotten. Nothing serious or important is to be expected from him, who betrays himself, not in the hearing of men, but in a circle of women. And yet my voice is against him: let him be condemned to exile; let his effects be confiscated; let fire and water be interdicted. This is my opinion, the same as I should give, had he been in due form convicted on the law of violated majesty."

LI. Rubellius Blandus, of consular rank, was the only person that assented to the opinion of Lepidus. The rest concurred with Agrippa. The poet was hurried away, and strangled in a dungeon. Concerning these proceedings, Tiberius wrote to the senate in his usual style, ambiguous and inexplicable. He commended the zeal of the fathers, even in a matter of no importance, but desired that, for the future, words alone should not be punished with so much precipitation. He praised the humanity of Lepidus, yet found no fault with Agrippa. This produced a decree, by which it was enacted, that no sentence of condemnation should, for the future, be sent to the treasury, till the tenth day after passing it; and, in the interval, execution was to be suspended. The fathers, however, were not to have the power of rejudging their own acts, or revoking their sentence. The appeal was to be to Tiberius, and no time could soften that implacable temper.

LII. Caius Sulpicius and Decimus Haterius were the next consuls [A.U.C. 775, A.D. 22]. The year was free from foreign commotions; but at Rome new laws were expected to check the growth of luxury, and that apprehension spread

a general alarm. The prodigality of the times had risen to the highest pitch. In many articles of expense, and those the heaviest, the real price might be concealed; but the cost of the table was too well understood. The profusion, with which luxury was maintained, could not remain a secret. It was therefore apprehended, that a prince, addicted to the frugality of ancient manners, would endeavour by severe regulations to control the mischief.

The subject was opened in the senate by Caius Bibulus, one of the ædiles: his colleagues joined to support him. They stated that the sumptuary laws were fallen into contempt. The extravagance in furniture and utensils, though prohibited, grew every day more enormous, insomuch that, by moderate penalties, the mischief was not to be cured. The senate, without further debate, referred the whole to the consideration of the emperor. Tiberius weighed every circumstance: he knew that passions, which had taken root, could not be easily weeded out of the heart: he considered how far coercive measures might be a public grievance. If an unsuccessful attempt gave a victory to vice, the defeat, he saw, would be a disgrace to government; and the necessity of waging continual war against the characters and fortunes of the most eminent citizens, was what he wished to avoid. After mature deliberation, he sent his thoughts in writing to the senate, in substance as follows.

LIII. "Upon any other question, conscript fathers, it would perhaps be expedient that I should attend the debate in person, and, in my place, lay before you what I conceive to be for the advantage of the commonwealth. At present, it may be better that my eyes should not survey the scene. In so mixed an assembly, many, no doubt, by their looks and manner, might be apt to betray a consciousness of their own vicious habits. The attention of the senate would naturally fix upon such men, and I should, of course, be led to watch their behaviour: in that case, the guilty would, as it were, be taken in the fact. Had the ædiles, whose zeal deserves commendation, applied in the first instance to me, I should, perhaps, have thought it advisable to connive at vices that have gathered strength from time, rather than expose to the world the inveteracy of the mischief, and the feebleness of legal remedies. Those magistrates, it must be acknowledged, have performed their duty with a spirit which every civil officer would do well to emulate. As to myself, to remain silent, were a desertion

of the public; and to speak out, may be impolitic. The part which I sustain is neither that of ædile, prætor, nor consul. From the emperor something more than the minute detail of business is expected. The pre-eminence is painful, while individuals claim the merit of all the good that is done, and, if men transgress, the blame is transferred to the prince. At the expense of one, all are guilty. If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin, and how am I to restore the simplicity of ancient times? Must I abridge your villas, those vast domains, where tracts of land are laid out for ornament? Must I retrench the number of slaves, so great at present that every family seems a nation in itself? What shall be said of massy heaps of gold and silver? of statues wrought in brass, and an infinite collection of pictures, all indeed highly finished, the perfection of art? How shall we reform the taste for dress, which, according to the reigning fashion, is so exquisitely nice, that the sexes are scarce distinguished? How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of female vanity, and, in particular, with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets, which drains the empire of its wealth, and sends in exchange for baubles, the money of the commonwealth to foreign nations, and even to the enemies of Rome?

LIV. "That these abuses are the subject of discussion at every table, and the topic of complaint in all private circles, I am not now to learn. And yet, let a law be made with proper sanctions, and the very men, who call for a reform, will be the first to make objections. The public peace, they will say, is disturbed; illustrious families are in danger of ruin; and all, without distinction, must live in dread of rigorous inquiries, and the harpies of the law. It is with the body politic as the body natural: in the latter, chronical disorders, in time grown obstinate, call for harsh and violent remedies. Just so in the distemper of the mind: the heart, sick to the very core with vice, corrupted and corrupting, requires an antidote as strong as the poison that inflames our passions. Many wholesome laws were made by our ancestors, and many by Augustus: the former are grown obsolete; and the latter (to the disgrace of the age) are fallen into contempt, and, by consequence, luxury riots without control. The reason is obvious; while there is no law in force to prevent abuses, men proceed with caution, that the magnitude of the mischief may not provoke the authority of the legislature; but when positive instructions

are found inadequate, the case is very different: unbridled passions take their course with impunity, and all transgress without fear or shame.

"Why was frugality the practice of ancient times? Because each individual was a law to himself: because he knew how to moderate his desires; because we were then the inhabitants of a single city. Even Italy, when reduced to subjection, afforded but few incentives to luxury. Foreign victories taught us to dissipate the property of others; and the civil wars made us prodigal of our own. But after all, is the mischief, which the ædiles make the ground of their complaint, the worst of our grievances? Compare it with other evils, and it vanishes into nothing. Italy stands in need of foreign supplies, and yet no reformer tells us, how much the commonwealth is every day at the mercy of the winds and waves. The produce of colonies is imported to maintain our pride and luxury, to feed the master of the soil, and to supply his slaves with the necessaries of life. Should these resources fail, will our groves, our villas, and our spacious pleasure-grounds be sufficient to satisfy our wants? That care is left to the sovereign. Should he neglect that essential duty, the commonwealth is lost. With regard to other evils, the remedy is in the breast of every individual. Men of rank may be restrained by principle, the poor by indigence, and the rich by satiety. These are my sentiments. If, notwithstanding, any magistrate should be of opinion that more may be done; if he feels within himself vigour and industry to oppose the torrent; I honour the firmness of his character, and cheerfully resign to abler hands a great part of my own solicitude. But when he has declaimed against corruption, if his zeal is to evaporate in a florid speech; if the violence of party resentments, which his patriot cares have roused, is to point at me, while the censor of the manners enjoys the fame of his eloquence; believe me, conscript fathers, I am not more than another ambitious of making enemies. To encounter animosities, for the most part unprovoked, and often unjust, is too much my lot at present; and yet, for the interest of the community, it is a tax which I am willing to pay. But if I deprecate new hostilities, permit me, with your consent, to avoid all such as may be excited without due consideration, useless to the state, and to me big with every disadvantage."

LV. This letter being read, the senate released the ædiles from all further care about the business. Luxury went on

with boundless profusion. It began soon after the battle of Actium, and continued to flourish, for the space of a century, down to the time when Galba attained the imperial dignity. At that period the manners changed, and temperance became the fashion. Of this revolution in the modes of life a short account will not be improper. While the old constitution still subsisted, pomp and splendour were often the ruin of the most illustrious families. To conciliate the favour of the populace, and of the allies of Rome, including even kings and princes, was the great object of a Roman citizen. In proportion to his wealth, his grandeur, and the magnificence of his retinue, his importance rose, and with it the number of his clients. But when the best blood in Rome was spilt by imperial tyranny, and to be eminent was to be marked out for destruction; it became the interest of the great to lay aside all vain ostentation, and adopt a more humble plan of life. At the same time, a new race of men from the municipal towns, the colonies, and the provinces, found their way, not only to Rome, but even into the senate. The strangers, thus incorporated, brought with them their natural parsimony. In the course of a long life many of them, either by their own frugality, or a tide of success in their affairs, accumulated immoderate riches; yet even in affluence avarice was their ruling passion. But the cause, which, above all others, contributed to the revival of ancient economy, was the character of Vespasian; a man of primitive temperance and rigid austerity. All agreed to imitate so excellent a model. Respect for the prince did more than all the pains and penalties of the law. And yet, it may be true, that in the nature of things there is a principle of rotation, in consequence of which the manners, like the seasons, are subject to periodical changes. Nor is it certain that, in the former ages of the world, everything was better than in the times that succeeded. The present age has produced, in moral conduct and the liberal arts, a number of bright examples, which posterity will do well to imitate. May the contest with antiquity continue! but let it be a generous emulation for superior virtue; and may that spirit go down to future times!

LVI. Tiberius gained by these proceedings a considerable share of popularity. His moderation, in the business of the intended reform, gave satisfaction to all ranks and conditions. The people saw, with pleasure, the tribe of informers disappointed in their views. In this favourable moment, Tiberius, by letters to the senate, desired that his son Drusus

might be invested with the tribunitian dignity. That specious title, importing nothing less than sovereign power, was invented by Augustus, at a time when the name of king or dictator was not only unconstitutional, but universally detested. And yet a new name was wanted to overtop the magistrates and the forms of the constitution. In that power usurped, Marcus Agrippa became his colleague; and, after his death, Tiberius Nero succeeded. By the last promotion, it was the policy of Augustus to mark out the line of succession, and thereby check the views of aspiring men. He was sure that Tiberius would act an under part, and, besides, his own name was a tower of strength. Tiberius, in the present juncture, followed the precedent left by Augustus. During the life of Germanicus, he held the balance even between the two young princes, reserving to himself the power of deciding when he should see occasion. In the letter, which opened the matter to the senate, after invoking the gods, and fervently praying, that the measure might be of advantage to the commonwealth, he introduced the character of Drusus, but in a guarded style, never exceeding the bounds of truth. The prince, he said, had a wife and three children, and was then of the age which he himself had attained[1] when raised by Augustus to the same honour. Nor could the favour now requested, be deemed premature. Drusus had gone through a probation of eight years: the proofs of his merit were, seditions quelled, wars happily terminated, the splendour of a triumph, and two consulships. There was, therefore, no danger that he would be a novice in public business.

LVII. The senate was not taken by surprise: the emperor's intention had been foreseen, and flattery was ready with her servile strain. Invention, notwithstanding, was at a loss for novelty. Statues were decreed to Tiberius and his son; altars were raised to the gods; temples were built, and triumphal arches erected, with other honours of a similar nature. Marcus Silanus aimed at something new. Willing, at the expense of the consular dignity, to pay a compliment to the princes, he proposed that, in all public and private registers, the year should no longer take its date from the names of the consuls, but from the persons invested with the tribunitian power. Quintus Haterius went still further: he moved that the decrees of that day should be fixed up in the senate-house in letters of gold. His motion was treated with

[1] Drusus according to this account, was six-and-thirty years of age.

contempt and ridicule. The fathers saw with indignation a superannuated senator, who, on the verge of life, could incur present infamy, without a prospect of future wages.

LVIII. Amidst these transactions, the government of Africa was continued to Junius Blæsus. The proconsulship of Asia, happening then to be vacant, was demanded by Servius Maluginensis, the priest of Jupiter. In support of his claim, he contended, "that the inability of a priest, in his station, to go out of Italy, was a vulgar error. The order, to which he belonged, differed in nothing from that of Mars and Romulus. If the priests of the two last were eligible to foreign governments, whence arose his incapacity? No prohibitory law was ever passed by the people: the books of religious ceremonies are silent on the subject. In particular cases, when the ministers of Jupiter were detained, either by illness or by public business, one of the pontiffs officiated in his place. After the tragical death of Cornelius Merula,[1] a space of no less than seventy-six years elapsed, without any nomination to the office: did the interest of religion suffer in the meantime? During that whole period, the sacerdotal function was suspended, without prejudice to the established worship; and why should not his absence be excused during the year of his proconsular government? That some of his predecessors had been restrained by the authority of the chief pontiff, was a fact not to be controverted; but the restraint, in those cases, was the effect of private animosity. At present, by the indulgence of the gods, the chief pontiff is the chief of men; a stranger to all petty jealousies; uninfluenced by the cabals of a party, and superior to the little motives of a private station."

LIX. Lentulus the augur, and several other senators, opposed the motion. A debate ensued, with so much diversity of opinion, that the question was referred to the decision of the supreme pontiff.[2] Tiberius was not in haste

[1] The death of Cornelius Merula deserves particular notice. He saw Marius and Cinna in possession of Rome, and the most illustrious citizens bleeding in one general massacre. He abdicated his office of consul, and, opening his veins, sprinkled with his blood the very altar, where, in his character of priest of Jupiter, he had frequently offered up his prayers for the peace and happiness of his country. With his last breath he poured forth his execration of Cinna, and, having invoked the vengeance of the gods on that traitor's head, closed a life of honour and virtue. From that time no priest of Jupiter was appointed till Augustus revived the office.

[2] The emperor was not only commander-in-chief of the armies of Rome, in his character of IMPERATOR, and the sole director of all civil business, by his tribunitian power; but he was also, as high pontiff, at the head of the religion of his country.

to determine the point. In his letters to the senate, he mentioned nothing but the honours decreed to Drusus on his elevation to the tribunitian power; and those he thought good to modify with certain restrictions. He censured, in direct terms, the resolution proposed by Silanus, and likewise the motion of Haterius, for fixing up the decrees in letters of gold; condemning both as unconstitutional, and repugnant to ancient usage. Letters from Drusus were, at the same time, read in the senate, modest in the style and turn of expression, but, in the general opinion, denoting pride and arrogance. "Rome," they said, "was reduced to an humble condition, when a young man, raised to the highest dignity, declines to return thanks to the gods in their own temples; when he disdains to honour the senate with his presence, and refuses to attend the usual auspices in his native city. Was it war that detained him? or did he dread the inconvenience of a long journey, when he was only visiting the coast of Campania, or pursuing his pleasures on the lakes? This is the education of him, who is to be the future master of the Roman world! He is tutored in the political school of his father! Tiberius may have his reasons for withdrawing himself from the public eye: the infirmities of age, and the labours of his life, afford a colourable pretext; but for Drusus what apology can be made? Pride, rank pride, is his only motive."

LX. To strengthen the foundations of his own power was the constant policy of Tiberius. Intent on that object, he still preserved the forms of the constitution, and amused the senate with a phantom of liberty. All petitions from the provinces were referred to that assembly. About this time, the right of having sanctuaries, and of multiplying the number without limitation, was assumed by all the cities of Greece. The temples in that country were crowded by the most abandoned slaves; debtors screened themselves from their creditors, and criminals fled from justice. The magistrates were no longer able to control a seditious populace, who carried their crimes, under a mask of piety, to the altar of their gods. An order was therefore made, that the several cities should send their deputies to Rome, with a state of their respective claims. Some places, finding their pretensions brought to the test, thought proper to decline the inquiry. The rights of others were founded on traditional superstition; and superstition was not willing to renounce her errors. Some of the cities relied on the merit

of their ancestors in the service of Rome. The business came at length to a hearing. A day more august and splendid cannot be figured to the imagination. We now behold a Roman senate sitting in judgment on the grants of the old republic; discussing the treaties and conventions of confederate nations; deliberating on the acts of kings, while kings were able to make a stand against the power of Rome; and, above all, reviewing the various systems of religion, which had been for ages established in the belief of mankind. These were the important subjects; and to give still greater dignity to the scene, the senate met, as was the practice in good times, with authority to inquire, and liberty to determine.

LXI. The case of the Ephesians was the first brought forward. It was stated in their behalf, that Diana and Apollo were not, as generally supposed, born in the isle of Delos, but in the Ortygian Grove, on the banks of the river Cenchris, which flows within the territories of Ephesus. In that secret recess, Latona, taking shelter under an olive-tree, was delivered of those two deities. The tree was still to be seen in a flourishing state, and the grove became a consecrated spot. It was there that Apollo, after having slain the Cyclops, found a retreat from the vengeance of Jupiter; it was there that Bacchus, after his victories, gave a free pardon to such of the Amazons as fled for protection to the altar; and it was there that Hercules, having conquered Lydia, established a temple, with rites and ceremonies, which neither the Persian kings, nor the Macedonian conqueror, presumed to violate. The Romans at all times paid the strictest regard to the sanctity of the place.

LXII. The Magnesians were the next in order. They relied on the ordinances of Lucius Scipio,[1] confirmed and ratified by Lucius Sulla; the former victorious over Antiochus, and the latter over Mithridates. In the wars which were waged under their conduct, the Magnesians adhered with fidelity to the cause of Rome; and, to reward their services, the temple of Diana Leucophrynè was, by those commanders, declared a sanctuary. The people of Aphrodisium, and also of Stratonicè, produced a decree of Cæsar the dictator, and another of Augustus, commemorating the zeal with which those states withstood the Parthian invasion, and preserved to the last their attachment to the interest of Rome. The

[1] Lucius Scipio conquered Antiochus. Mithridates was driven out of Asia by Lucius Sulla.

Aphrodisians claimed the temple of Venus; the Stratoniceans worshipped Jupiter and Diana Trivia. The city of Hierocæsarea deduced their ceremonies from remote antiquity, alleging that they had for ages adored a Persian Diana, in a temple consecrated by Cyrus.[1] Several orders made by Perpenna, by Isauricus, and other Roman generals, were also cited, whereby it appeared that those sanctuaries, with a precinct two miles round, were declared holy ground. The inhabitants of Cyprus claimed three sanctuaries; the first and most ancient, dedicated by Aerias to the Paphian Venus; the second, by Amathus, the son of Aerias, in honour of the Amathusian Venus; and the third, to the Salaminian Jove, by Teucer, the son of Telamon, when that hero was obliged to fly from the rage of his father.

LXIII. Several other cities appeared by their deputies; but the senate, weary of the number, and of the party spirit with which different places were espoused, came to a resolution, to refer the whole to the consuls, and wait their report on the merits of each distinctive case. The consuls went through the inquiry. Besides the temples already mentioned, they found at Pergamos the sanctuary of Æsculapius, confirmed by authentic proof. The titles of other places, being all deduced from ages too remote, were lost in the darkness of antiquity. In this number was the oracle of Apollo, by which it was pretended, that the people of Smyrna were commanded to build a temple to Venus Stratonice; and another of the same god, directing a temple and a statue to Neptune, in the isle of Tenos. The Sardians, and the people of Miletus, were content with a more modern date. The former relied on the privileges granted by Alexander; and the latter, on the authority of Darius. Diana was the tutelar deity in one of those cities, and Apollo in the other. The statue of Augustus was held to be a sanctuary by the inhabitants of Crete. Several decrees were passed, with due attention to the religious tenets of the people, yet limiting the number of sanctuaries. These regulations were ordered to be engraved in brass, and fixed up in the respective temples, as lasting monuments, to ascertain the rights now established, and prevent the future claims of national pride, or blind superstition.

LXIV. About this time a fit of illness threatened the life of Livia. Her danger was so alarming, that it occasioned the emperor's return to Rome. Hitherto the mother and

[1] The Persian monarchy was founded by Cyrus B.C. 559.

son had lived on terms of mutual regard, or, at worst, with hatred well disguised. Livia, not long before, had raised a statue to Augustus, near the theatre of Marcellus. In the votive inscription her own name preceded that of the emperor. To the jealous temper of Tiberius this was an offence against the imperial dignity. His resentment, however, was suppressed, and, for that reason, was thought to have sunk the deeper. The senate proceeded to order supplications for the recovery of Livia, with solemn games on the occasion; in which the pontiffs, the augurs, the college of fifteen, with that of the septemvirs, and the sodality of Augustan priests, were to conduct the ceremonies. Lucius Apronius moved that the heralds at arms[1] should likewise officiate. Tiberius opposed the motion. It proceeded, he said, on a mistaken principle. He mentioned the distinct functions of the several orders of the priesthood, and made it clear, from ancient precedents, that the heralds had never been admitted to that participation of honour. The fraternity of Augustan priests was called forth with good reason, since that order belonged, in a peculiar manner, to the family, for which public vows were to be offered.

LXV. To give, in detail, the several motions and resolutions of the time, is not within the plan of this work. And yet, when virtue and fair integrity do honour to the heart, or when a slavish spirit brands the character, in either case, it is my intention to select the particular instances. In this, I apprehend, consists the chief part of the historian's duty. It is his to rejudge the conduct of men, that generous actions may be snatched from oblivion, and that the author of pernicious counsels, and the perpetrator of evil deeds, may see, beforehand, the infamy that awaits them at the tribunal of posterity. In general, a black and shameful period lies before me. The age was sunk to the lowest depth of sordid adulation; insomuch that not only the most illustrious citizens, in order to secure their pre-eminence, were obliged to crouch and bend the knee, but men of consular and prætorian rank, and the whole body of the senate, tried with emulation which should be the most obsequious slave. We are informed by tradition, that Tiberius, as often as he went from the senate-house, was used to say in Greek, "Devoted men! how they rush headlong into bondage!" even he, the enemy of civil liberty, was disgusted with adula-

[1] All questions of war and peace, the suspension of hostilities, and treaties of alliance, were referred to their decision.

tion: he played the tyrant, and despised the voluntary slave.

LXVI. From acts of base compliance, the next step of degenerate men was to deeds of horror. Caius Silanus, proconsul of Asia, was accused of rapine and extortion by the people of the province. The conduct of the cause was undertaken by Mamercus Scaurus, of consular rank; by Junius Otho, at that time prætor; and Brutidius Niger, one of the ædiles. The complaint was aggravated by an additional charge of irreverence to the divinity of Augustus, and disaffection to Tiberius. Mamercus affected to grace himself by citing the bright examples of a former day: Scipio Africanus, he observed, prosecuted Lucius Cotta; Cato, the censor, appeared against Servius Galba, and Marcus Scaurus against Publius Rutilius; as if those great and excellent men had instituted prosecutions for constructive crimes like the present; as if Scaurus, the grandfather of the prosecutor, had descended to so vile an office. It was reserved for Mamercus to degenerate into an informer, and tarnish the lustre of his ancestors. Junius Otho, another prosecutor, had been by profession the teacher of a school. Raised from that obscurity by the patronage of Sejanus, he obtained a seat in the senate, and hoped by flagitious deeds to efface the meanness of his origin. Brutidius was a different character. Adorned with liberal accomplishments, and formed for great things, he was sure of reaching the first honours of the state, had he been willing to walk in the paths of virtue. His impatience ruined him. Eager to outstrip his equals, and then to rise over his superiors, he enlarged his views, and began to soar above his most flattering hopes: but his ambition led him to the precipice from which good men have often fallen, when, not content with slow, but sure success, they have hurried on with too much ardour, and ended their career in ruin.

LXVII. Gellius Poplicola, who had been quæstor to Silanus, and Marcus Paconius, his lieutenant, listed on the side of the prosecution. Silanus, beyond all doubt, was guilty both of rapine and oppression; but in his case a number of circumstances, dangerous even to innocence, conspired against him. Besides the persons already mentioned, the most able orators of Asia, men who were chosen on account of their eloquence, united their strength. Against that powerful combination, Silanus stood alone, obliged, without any powers of oratory, to make his own defence

with fear and trembling; a situation that might disarm the noblest talents. Tiberius helped to increase his difficulties. With a stern tone of voice, and a contracted brow, he pressed the defendant with sudden questions, never suffering him to pause a moment, either to repel or elude the charge. Silanus was obliged to admit several points, rather than seem to refute or baffle the inquiry of the emperor. His very slaves, to make them competent witnesses, were sold by auction to the public officer; and, to make destruction sure, Tiberius added the crime of violated majesty, that none of the prisoner's family or friends might presume to assist in the defence. Silanus desired an adjournment of a few days. In that interval, abandoning all his hopes, he sent a memorial to Tiberius, in a style sufficiently humble, but still with the spirit of a man, who felt himself oppressed, and dared to speak the language of reproach.

LXVIII. Tiberius remained inflexible: but, to give the colour of precedent to his final sentence, he ordered the proceedings against Volesus Messala (who had also been proconsul of Asia), with the record of Augustus, and the decree made on that occasion, to be read. He then collected the votes, beginning with Lucius Piso. That senator, after some flourishes in praise of the emperor's clemency, concluded, that Silanus should be interdicted from fire and water, and banished to the isle of Gyarus. The fathers concurred in the same opinion, when Cneius Lentulus proposed, by way of mitigation, that the estate which descended to Silanus from his mother, should not be included in the general forfeiture, but vested in the grandson. Tiberius agreed to the amendment. The business seemed to be at an end, when Cornelius Dolabella rose, to show that his servile spirit had not deserted him. He launched out into a sharp invective against the morals of Silanus, grafting on it a motion, that no man of dissolute manners should be eligible to the government of provinces; and of this incapacity the emperor should be the sole judge. When a crime is committed, "the law takes cognisance of it, and inflicts the punishment. But a law to prevent the offence, would be at once an act of mercy to bad men, and a blessing to the provinces."

LXIX. Tiberius spoke in reply: "To the reports," he said, "which were current to the disadvantage of Silanus, he was no stranger. But laws ought to have a better foundation than public rumour. The governors of provinces had

often disappointed the hopes, and sometimes the fears, of mankind. By important scenes of action the powers of the mind are roused; the heart expands to meet the occasion; while, on the other hand, feeble spirits shrink from a great opportunity, and grow less by elevation. The prince can never be fully informed; and it is not fit that he should see with the eyes of others. The arts of ambitious rivals may deceive him. In human affairs nothing can be foreseen with certainty, and without facts, laws can have no operation. Till men have acted, they cannot be judged. It was the wisdom of our ancestors to keep the sword of justice in the scabbard, till actual offences drew it forth. In a system so just in itself, and so long established, innovations ought not to be rashly made. The cares of government are a burthen to the sovereign, and his prerogative wants no enlargement. Extend his authority, and you abridge the rights of the subject. When the laws in being are sufficient, there is no occasion to resort to the will of the prince."

This was, no doubt, a constitutional speech. From a man little studious of popularity, it was received with universal approbation. Tiberius did not stop here: when his own private resentment was not provoked, he knew that moderation was the best policy: with that view he thought proper to add, that Gyarus was a dreary island, uncultivated, and inhospitable. In honour, therefore, of the Junian family, and from motives of lenity to a man who was a member of the senate, he proposed to change the place of banishment to the isle of Cythera: and this, he said, was the request of Torquata, sister to Silanus, and a vestal virgin of distinguished sanctity. The fathers complied, and a decree was passed accordingly.

LXX. The Cyrenians presented a charge of rapine against Cæsius Cordus. Ancharius Priscus conducted the prosecution, and sentence of condemnation was pronounced. Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, who had melted down a silver statue of the emperor, and converted it to domestic uses, was accused on the law of violated majesty. Tiberius stopped the proceedings. Against this act of lenity Ateius Capito protested openly; contending, with an air of ancient liberty, that "the right of the senate, to hear and determine, ought not to be retrenched; especially when a crime of that magnitude called for vindictive justice. The prince, in his own case, might be slow to resent: but let him not be generous at the expense of the public." This language,

blunt as it was, gave no offence to Tiberius: he saw the drift of the speech, and, disregarding the tone with which it was uttered, persisted in his resolution. Capito brought disgrace on his name. Accomplished as he was in the science of laws both human and divine, he possessed, besides, a number of virtues that adorned his private character; but by this act of servile flattery he sullied the lustre of a distinguished name.

LXXI. A question that concerned a point of religion was the next subject of debate. The Roman knights had vowed a statue, for the recovery of Livia, to FORTUNE THE EQUESTRIAN. In what temple this should be placed was the doubt. At Rome there were various structures sacred to the goddess, but none under that specific title. Upon inquiry it was found that there was at Antium a temple with that particular denomination; and it being considered that the whole system of rites and ceremonies, and the several temples and images of the gods throughout Italy, were subject to the supreme authority of Rome, it was resolved that the votive present should be placed at Antium. This being a point of religious ceremony, Tiberius took the opportunity to determine the question, which had been for some time in suspense, concerning Servius Maluginensis, the priest of Jupiter. He produced and read a decree of the pontifical college, whereby it appeared that the priest of Jupiter, when his health required it, or when he obtained a dispensation from the supreme pontiff, might absent himself from the duties of his function two nights at most, provided it was not during the public ceremonies, nor more than twice in the course of the year. From this regulation, made by Augustus, it was evident that a year's absence, and of course a proconsular government, was incompatible with the sacerdotal function. The authority of Lucius Metellus, who, when high pontiff, would not suffer Aulus Posthumius, a priest of Jupiter, to depart from Rome, was also cited. It followed, that the province of Asia could not be granted to Maluginensis. It fell to the lot of the person of consular rank who stood next in seniority.

LXXII. During these transactions, Marcus Lepidus petitioned the senate for leave to repair and decorate, at his own expense, the basilica of Paulus,[1] that noble monument of the Æmilian family. The display of private munificence in public works, which embellished the city, was not yet fallen into disuse,

[1] It was built by Æmilius Paulus. Cicero calls it a glorious structure: *Nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius.*

In the reign of Augustus, without any objection from that emperor, Taurus, Philippus, and Balbus, with the spoils which they had taken from the enemy, or with the superfluity of their own immoderate wealth, added greatly to the ornaments of Rome, and, by consequence, to the honour of their families. Encouraged by this example, but with a fortune much inferior, Lepidus revived the glory of his ancestors. The Theatre of Pompey had been destroyed by fire; and the remaining branches of the family not being equal to the expense of so great a structure, Tiberius declared his intention to build a new edifice, with the original name. He congratulated the senate that the damage occasioned by the late fire was confined to that single building. For this, he said, they were obliged to the vigilance of Sejanus. The senate decreed a statue[1] to be placed in the Theatre of Pompey, in honour of the favourite. In a short time afterwards, when triumphal ornaments were granted to Junius Blæsus, the proconsul of Africa, Tiberius made no scruple to declare, that his motive for bestowing that high reward was to pay a compliment to Sejanus, as the proconsul was his uncle.

LXXIII. Blæsus, however, had fairly earned his honours. Tacfarinas, often repulsed, was never defeated, He found resources in the interior parts of Africa, and returned to the conflict with new vigour. He had at length the arrogance to send an embassy to Tiberius, demanding lands for himself and his army, or nothing should make an end of the war. Tiberius, it is said, was upon no occasion so little master of himself. "It was an insult to the imperial majesty, and the Roman name. Shall a deserter, a wandering vagabond, presume to treat on equal terms? Even Spartacus,[2] though he had defeated consular armies, and spread desolation with sword and fire through the realms of Italy, was not allowed to negotiate terms of peace, though the commonwealth, at that time, was well nigh exhausted by Sertorius,[3] and the Mithridatic war. Even then, no compromise was admitted; the dignity of the state was saved. And shall a flourishing empire descend so low as to compound with Tacfarinas, and, by granting lands, become the purchaser of peace at the hands of a freebooter and robber?" Stung by these reflections,

[1] Seneca says, with indignation, "Who could bear to see the statue of Sejanus placed over the ashes of Pompey? a base perfidious soldier among the monuments of a great commander!"

[2] Spartacus kindled up the servile war in Italy.

[3] Sertorius, and Mithridates king of Pontus, joined in a league against the Romans.

Tiberius ordered Blæsus to seduce the followers of Tacfarinas by promises of a free pardon to all who should lay down their arms; but as to their chief, he must strain every nerve to secure the person of that daring adventurer.

LXXIV. The promised amnesty reduced the numbers of the enemy; and Blæsus, adopting a new mode of war, turned the arts of the wily Numidian against himself. Unequal to the legions in a pitched battle, Tacfarinas depended altogether upon the rapidity of his motions: he divided his men into small parties; he showed himself in sudden incursions, fled before a regular force, and knew where to lie in ambush. The Romans accordingly marched in three columns, by as many different routes. In the quarter where the Africans ravaged the country near Leptis, and then fled for shelter to the Germantes, Cornelius Scipio, the proconsul's lieutenant, advanced with his division. In another quarter, where Cirta lay exposed to the Barbarians, the younger Blæsus, the proconsul's son, commanded a second detachment. In the intermediate part of the country, the commander-in-chief marched at the head of a chosen body of troops. At all convenient places he threw up intrenchments, and appointed garrisons, securing every station by a regular chain of posts.

The Barbarians found themselves counteracted on every side. Wherever they turned, the Romans were at hand, in front, in flank, and in the rear. Numbers were surrounded, and either put to the sword or taken prisoners. To spread the alarm, the Roman army was again subdivided into smaller parties, under the command of centurions of approved valour and experience. Nor was the campaign closed, as usual, at the end of summer. Instead of retiring to winter quarters in the old provinces, Blæsus kept the field; he increased the number of his posts and garrisons, and sent out detachments lightly armed, with guides acquainted with the course of the country. Tacfarinas could no longer stay at bay. He shifted his huts,[1] and wandered from place to place. At length his brother was taken prisoner, and Blæsus thought it time to close the campaign. His retreat was sudden and premature. The province was still open to incursions: and the flame of war, though suppressed, was not extinguished. Tiberius, however, considered the enemy as completely vanquished. Besides the honours already granted to Blæsus,

[1] Sallust says, the Numidian huts, called *mapalia* by the natives, were of an oblong form, with a curve on each side, somewhat resembling a ship.

he ordered that the legions should salute him by the title of IMPERATOR, according to the ancient custom of the Roman armies, in the pride of victory flushed with the generous ardour of warlike spirits. In the time of the republic, this was a frequent custom, insomuch that several, at the same time, without pre-eminence or distinction, enjoyed that military honour. It was often allowed by Augustus, and now by Tiberius, for the last time. With him the practice ceased altogether.

LXXV. Rome, in the course of this year, lost two illustrious citizens; the first was Asinius Saloninus, grandson both to Marcus Agrippa and Asinius Pollio, half-brother of Drusus, and, besides, the intended husband of the emperor's granddaughter. The second was Ateius Capito, already mentioned; a man, for his abilities, and his knowledge of the laws, of the first eminence in the state. From his birth he derived no advantage. His grandfather was a centurion under Sulla: his father rose to the rank of prætor. Capito was, with rapid speed, advanced by Augustus to the consular dignity, and by that promotion placed above his competitor, Antistius Labeo, who had grown into celebrity by his talents and his skill in jurisprudence. It was the peculiar felicity of that age to see flourishing together these two illustrious rivals, who, in peaceable times, were the ornaments of their country. The fame of Labeo rose on the surest foundation; he was a strenuous assertor of civil liberty, and for that reason the favourite of the people. Capito knew his approaches to the great, and by his flexibility became a favourite at the court of Augustus. Labeo was not suffered to rise above the prætorian rank; but that act of injustice raised his popularity: while, on the other hand, Capito obtained the consulship, and with it the public hatred.

LXXVI. In this year also, the sixty-fourth from the battle of Philippi, Junia,[1] niece to Cato, sister of Brutus, and the widow of Cassius, paid her debt to nature. Her will engrossed the public conversation. Possessed of immoderate riches, she left marks of her regard to almost all the eminent men at Rome, without mention of Tiberius. The omission gave no umbrage to the emperor. He considered it as the exercise of a civil right, and not only suffered her funeral panegyric to be spoken from the rostrum, but allowed the last ceremonies to be performed with the usual pomp and

[1] Junia was the daughter of Decimus Junius Silanus by Servilia, the sister of Cato of Utica.

magnificence. In the procession were seen the images of the most illustrious families, in number not less than twenty; the Manlii, the Quintii, and others of equal rank. Those of Brutus and Cassius[1] were not displayed; but for that reason they were present to every imagination, and with superior lustre eclipsed the splendour of that day.

[1] The constitution being overturned, the assertors of public liberty were not displayed; but, as Tacitus elsewhere says, the honour which was denied increased their glory: *Negatus honor gloriam intendit.*

BOOK IV

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These transactions include six years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
776	23	Caius Asinius Pollio, Caius Antistius Vetus.
777	24	Sergius Cornelius Cethegus, Lucius Visellius Varro.
778	25	Marcus Asinius Agrippa, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.
779	26	Cornelius Lentulus Gætulicus, Caius Calvisius Sabinus.
780	27	Marcus Licinius Crassus, Lucius Calpurnius Piso.
781	28	Appius Junius Silanus, Publius Silius Nerva.

I. THE consuls for the year[1] on which we are now entering were Caius Asinius, and Caius Antistius. Tiberius had reigned nine years. During that time a state of profound tranquillity prevailed at Rome, and the emperor saw the imperial family flourishing with undiminished lustre. The loss of Germanicus gave him no regret; on the contrary, he reckoned that event among the prosperous issues of his reign. But fortune now began to change the scene, and a train of disasters followed. Tiberius threw off the mask: he harassed the people by acts of cruelty, or, which was equally oppressive, by his authority encouraged the tyranny of others. Of this revolution Ælius Sejanus, commander of the prætorian guards, was the prime and efficient cause. The power and influence of that minister have been already mentioned. I shall here give the origin of the man, the features of his character, and the flagitious arts by which he aspired to the supreme power.

He was born at Vulsinii, the son of Seius Strabo, a Roman

[1] A.D. 23.

knight. He attached himself, in his early youth, to Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus. Even at that time he laboured under a suspicion of having prostituted his person to the infamous passions of Apicius,[1] a rich and prodigal voluptuary. By various arts he afterwards gained an entire ascendant over the affections of Tiberius, insomuch that the temper of that prince, to the rest of mankind dark and inscrutable, became to him alone unclouded, free, and complying. This influence, however, was not the effect of superior ability; since Sejanus in the end fell a victim to the policy of that very prince, whom he deceived at first. A phenomenon so very extraordinary can be ascribed to nothing less than the wrath of the gods, incensed against the Roman state. Whether the public suffered most by the elevation,[2] or the downfall, of that pernicious minister, it is difficult to determine. His frame of body was vigorous, robust, and patient of labour; his spirit bold and enterprising: in his own conduct a profound dissembler, and to others a sharp and dangerous accuser. With pride that swelled to arrogance, he had the meanness that could fawn and flatter; and, under the outward calm of moderation, he nourished in his heart the most unbounded ambition. Profusion, luxury, and largesses were often his means, but more frequently application to business, and indefatigable industry; virtues that take the name of vice, when they play an under part to inordinate passions and the lust of domination.

II. The commission over the prætorian bands had been always of a limited nature. Sejanus enlarged his powers to a degree unknown before. He had the address to collect into one camp the whole corps of the guards, till that time

[1] Seneca says of Apicius: "In that city, from which the teachers of philosophy were banished, this man, professing the science of the kitchen, corrupted the manners of the age, by his skill in cookery." Finding himself, after a long course of profusion and gluttony, much involved in debt, and, after satisfying all demands, not worth more than what may be called £100,000, he finished his days by a dose of poison. For the sake of an anecdote, perhaps little known, it may be proper to mention there is extant in the Latin language, a book, importing to be Apicius's Art of Cookery. La Bletterie relates as a certain fact, that Madame Dacier and her husband were almost killed by this book. They found in it a receipt for a particular *ragoût*, and being both inclined to dine classically, they were almost poisoned by their learned bill of fare.

[2] The pernicious consequences which attended the rise of Sejanus, will be seen in the sequel. His ruin was equally the cause of public calamity; since Tacitus tells us, that Tiberius, while he loved or feared this favourite minister, restrained his passions, but afterwards broke out with unbounded fury. *Annals*, vi. c. 51.

quartered in various parts of Rome. Being embodied, they received their orders with submission; habit and constant intercourse established a spirit of union, and, knowing their numbers, they grew formidable to their fellow-citizens. The pretext for this measure was, that the soldiery grew wanton in idleness, but, when encamped, they might be drawn forth, with better effect, in any sudden emergence, and, being confined within their intrenchments, at a distance from the vices of the metropolis, they would act with greater vigour whenever required. This plan being settled, Sejanus began his approaches to the affections of the soldiers: by affability and caresses, he glided into favour; he appointed the tribunes and centurions; he endeavoured to seduce the senators by corruption: he promoted his creatures, and, at his pleasure, bestowed honours and provinces. All this was done, not only with the consent, but with the most complying facility on the part of Tiberius, who now declared openly in favour of the minister, styling him, in private conversation, his associate in the cares of government, and using the same language even to the senate. Nor did he stop here; he allowed the images of his favourite to be worshipped in the theatre, in the forum, and at the headquarters of the legions, in the place appropriated [1] for the standards and the eagles.

III. As yet, however, the imperial family was in a flourishing state. To secure the succession there was no want of Cæsars. The emperor's son [2] was in the prime of manhood, and his grandsons in the flower of youth. These were obstacles to the views of Sejanus. To assail them with open force, were big with danger; and fraud requires delay, and intervals of guilt. He resolved to work by stratagem. Drusus, against whom Sejanus was inflamed by recent provocation, was marked out as the first victim. It happened that Drusus, impatient of a rival, and by nature fierce, raised his hand, in some sudden dispute, against Sejanus; and that haughty minister, advancing forward, received a blow on the face. Stung with indignation, he thought no expedient so sure, as the gaining of the younger Livia,[3] the wife of Drusus, to his interest. The

[1] Between the tents of the legions and the tribunes, a space of a hundred feet in breadth was left, which formed a large street, called PRINCIPIA, that ran across the whole camp, and divided it into two parts, the upper and lower.

[2] Drusus: and the three sons of Germanicus; Nero, Drusus, and Caligula.

[3] She was sister to Germanicus.

princess was sister to Germanicus; and though, in he younger days, she had no elegance, either of shape or fear ture, she was now grown up in the most perfect form of regular beauty. Sejanus made his advances with the ardour of a lover. Having triumphed over her honour, he found another step in guilt no difficult matter. A woman, who has sacrificed her virtue, soon resigns every other principle. Engaged in a course of adultery, she was led by degrees to embrace the project of murdering her husband, in order to marry her paramour, and mount with him to the imperial dignity.

In this manner a woman of illustrious rank, the niece of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, and the mother of children by Drusus, disgraced herself, her ancestors, and her posterity, by a vile connection with an adulterer from a municipal town, renouncing the honours which she possessed, for the uncertain prospect of flagitious grandeur. Eudemus, the confidential friend and physician[1] of the faithless wife, was drawn into the conspiracy. Under colour of his profession, this man had easy access to Livia. Sejanus listed him into his service; and that the harmony between himself and the adulteress might be undisturbed by jealousy, he repudiated his wife Apicata, by whom he had three children. But still the magnitude of the crime filled their minds with terror; they fluctuated between opposite counsels; they resolved, they hesitated; delay, and doubt, and confusion followed.

IV. In the beginning of this year, Drusus, the second son of Germanicus, put on the manly robe.[2] The honours, which had been decreed to his brother Nero, were renewed by a vote of the fathers. Tiberius, in a speech upon the occasion, commended the tender regard with which his son protected the children of Germanicus. The truth is, Drusus (though in high stations and among rivals sincerity is seldom found) had acquitted himself towards his nephews with all decent attention, at least without hostility. Amidst these transactions, the old project of visiting the provinces, often intimated, but never in earnest, was revived by Tiberius. For this expedition the ostensible reasons were, the number

[1] Pliny the elder gives a dark picture of the physicians of his time. They had their opportunities to administer poison, to make wills, and manage intrigues. *Quid enim venenorum fertilius? aut unde plures testamentorum insidiæ? Jam vero et adulteria in principium domibus, ut Eudemi in Livia Drusi Cæsaris:* lib. xxix. s. 8.

[2] He was then fourteen years of age.

of veterans entitled to their dismission from the service, and the necessity of recruiting the army with effective men. Of such as voluntarily offered the number, he said, was small, and even of those the greatest part were a set of distressed and profligate vagabonds, destitute of courage, and strangers to military discipline. He added a list of the Roman legions, specifying the provinces where they were stationed. A review of that estimate will not be useless, or unacceptable, since it will exhibit the national strength at that period, the kings in alliance with Rome, and the narrow limits of the empire,[1] compared with the extent to which they have been since enlarged.

V. In the seas[2] that on each side wash the coast of Italy, two fleets were stationed; one at Misenum, the other at Ravenna. The maritime parts of Gaul, adjacent to Italy, were guarded by the large galleys, which were taken at the battle of Actium, and sent by Augustus to Forojulium, well provided with able seamen. But the chief strength of the empire was on the Rhine,[3] consisting of eight legions, to bridle at once the Germans and the Gauls. Spain, lately subdued, was held in subjection by three legions. Juba[4] reigned in Mauritania, deriving his title from the favour of Rome. The rest of Africa was kept in awe by two legions. A like number served in Egypt. In that vast extent of country, which stretches from Syria to the Euphrates, bordering on the confines of Iberia, Albania, and other states under the protection of the Roman arms, four legions maintained the rights of the empire. Thrace was governed by Rhæmetalces and the sons of Cotys. The banks of the Danube were secured by four legions, two in Pannonia, and two in Mæsia. Two more were stationed in Dalmatia, in a situation, if a war broke out at their back, to support the other legions; or, if a sudden emergence required their presence, ready to advance by rapid marches into Italy. Rome at the same time had her own peculiar forces, namely,

[1] In the time of Tiberius, Syene, a city strongly garrisoned, at the farther extremity of Egypt, was the boundary of the Roman empire. Trajan enlarged the limits as far as the Red Sea.

[2] The two seas were *Mare Adriaticum*, the Adriatic, now the Gulf of Venice; *Mare Tyrrhenum*, now the Tuscan Sea. The former was also called *Mare superum*; the latter *Mare inferum*. Virgil says,

"An mare quod supra memorem, quodque alluit infra."

Misenum, now *Capo di Miseno*, was a promontory in the Tuscan Sea: Ravenna was a port in the Adriatic.

[3] In Upper and Lower Germany.

[4] Juba's father was king of Numidia. He attached himself to Pompey's party, and took a decided part against Julius Cæsar.

three city cohorts [1] and nine of the prætorian bands, raised for the most part in Etruria, Umbria, ancient Latium, and the colonies of the old republic. To this national strength must be added the naval armaments of the allies, placed at proper stations,[2] together with their infantry and cavalry, forming, in the whole, a body of troops, not inferior in number to the Roman army. But of the foreign auxiliaries it is impossible to speak with precision. They were shifted from place to place, with numbers now augmented, and now reduced, as occasion required; and, by consequence, an accurate estimate cannot be expected.

VI. To this survey of the empire if we add a view of the constitution, and the manner in which the government was administered by Tiberius, from the beginning of his reign to the present year, the fatal era of tyranny and oppression, the inquiry will not be foreign to our purpose. In the first place, not only the affairs of state, but all questions of importance between the citizens of Rome, were referred to the wisdom of the senate. The leading members of that assembly claimed and exercised full freedom of debate; and when they deviated into flattery, the prince was sure to reject the nauseous strain. In dispensing the honours of government, he had an eye to nobility of birth, to personal merit, and to talents as well civil as military. His choice, it was generally agreed, was made with judgment. The consuls and the prætors enjoyed the ancient honours of their rank and dignity. The subordinate magistrates exercised their functions without control. The laws, if we except those of violated majesty, flowed in their regular channel. The tributes and duties, whether of corn or money, were managed by commissioners chosen from the Roman knights. The revenues appropriated to the prince were conducted by men of distinguished probity, and frequently by such, as were known to Tiberius by their character only. Being once appointed, they were never removed. Several, it is well known, grew grey in the same employment. The people, it is true, often complained of the price of corn; but the grievance was not imputable to the emperor. To prevent the consequences of unproductive seasons, or losses at sea, he spared neither money nor attention. In the provinces no new burthens were imposed, and the old duties were

[1] We are told by Dio, that the establishment under Augustus was ten thousand prætorians, divided into ten cohorts, and six thousand in the city cohorts. The number, therefore, was reduced by Tiberius.

[2] Besides their fleets for the sea service, the Romans had always proper armaments on the Rhine and the Danube.

collected without cruelty or extortion. Corporal punishment was never inflicted, and confiscation of men's effects was a thing unknown.

VII. In Italy the land property of the emperor was inconsiderable. Good order prevailed among his slaves. His freedmen were few, and his household was managed with economy. In all questions of right between the emperor and individuals, the courts of justice were open, and the law decided. And yet to this equitable system he did not know how to add a gracious manner: the austerity of his countenance struck men with terror. He continued, however, in the practice of rigid, though not amiable, manners, till the death of Drusus.[1] While that prince survived, Sejanus thought it prudent to advance by slow degrees. He dreaded the resentment of a young man, who did not seek to disguise his passions, but complained aloud, "that the emperor, though he had a son to succeed him, preferred a stranger to share in the administration. How little was that upstart minister removed from being a colleague in the empire! The road of ambition is at first a steep ascent; but the difficulty once surmounted, the passions of designing men list in the enterprise, and tools and agents are ready at hand. The favourite is already master of a camp, and the soldiers wait his nod. Among the monuments of Pompey we behold his statue: the grandchildren of this new man will be allied in blood to the family of Drusus.[2] What remains, but humbly to hope that he will have the modesty to stop in his career, content with what he has already gained?" Such was the discourse of Drusus, not occasional but constant; not in private circles, but at large, and without reserve. His inmost secrets were also known: his wife had forfeited her honour, and was now a spy upon her husband.

VIII. In this posture of affairs, Sejanus thought he had no time to lose. He chose a poison, which, operating as a slow corrosive, might bring on the symptoms of a natural disorder. Lygdus, the eunuch (as was discovered eight years afterwards), administered the draught. While Drusus lay ill, Tiberius, never seeming to be in any degree alarmed, or, it may be, willing to make a display of magnanimity, went as usual to the senate. Even after the prince expired, and before the funeral ceremony was performed, he entered the assembly of the fathers. Perceiving the consuls, with dejected looks, seated

[1] Drusus, the son of Tiberius, cut off by Sejanus.
[2] The statue of Sejanus was placed in Pompey's theatre.

on the ordinary benches, like men who mourned for the public loss, he put them in mind of their dignity, and their proper station. The senate melted into tears: but Tiberius, superior to the weakness of nature, delivered an animated speech, in a flowing style, and a tone of firmness. "He was not," he said, "to be informed that his appearance might be thought unseasonable in the moment of recent affliction, when, according to the general custom, the mind, enfeebled with sorrow, can scarce endure the consolation of friends, and almost loathes the light of the sun. Those tender emotions were the condition of humanity, and, therefore, not to be condemned. For his part, he sought a manly remedy; in the embraces of the commonwealth, and in the bosom of the fathers, he came to lay down his sorrows. He lamented the condition of his mother, drooping under the infirmities of age, the tender years of his grandsons, and his own situation now in the decline of life. The children of Germanicus, in the present distress, were the only remaining hopes of the people. He desired that they might be brought before the fathers."

The consuls went forth to meet the princes. Having prepared their tender minds for so august a scene, they presented them to the emperor. Tiberius, taking them by the hand, addressed the senate: "These orphans, conscript fathers, I delivered into the care of their uncle; and, though he was blessed with issue, I desired that he would cherish them as his own, and train them up in a manner worthy of himself and of posterity. But Drusus is no more: I now turn to you, and, in the presence of the gods, in the hearing of my country, I implore you, take under your protection the great-grandchildren of Augustus; adopt the issue of an illustrious line; support them, raise them, mould them at your pleasure for the good of the state; perform at once my duty and your own. As for you, Nero, and you, Drusus, in this assembly you behold your fathers: born as you are in the highest station, your lot is such, that nothing good or evil can befall you, without affecting, at the same time, the interest of the commonwealth."

IX. This speech drew tears from the whole assembly: vows and supplications followed. Had Tiberius known where to stop, instead of adding what exceeded the bounds of probability, every heart would have been touched with sympathy, and every mind impressed with the glory of the prince. But by recurring to the stale and chimerical project, so often heard with derision, the project of abdicating the sovereignty,

and resigning the reins of government to the consuls, or any other person willing to undertake the task, he weakened the force of sentiments in themselves just and honourable. The solemnities which had been decreed to the memory of Germanicus, were renewed in honour of Drusus, with considerable additions, agreeable to the genius of flattery, always studious of novelty. The funeral ceremony was distinguished by a long train of illustrious images. In the procession were seen Æneas, the father of the Julian race; the Alban kings; Romulus, the founder of Rome; the Sabine nobility, with Attus Clausus[1] at their head, and from him the whole line of the Claudian family.

X. In this account of the death of Drusus, the best and most authentic historians have been my guides. A report, however, which gained credit at the time, and has not yet died away, ought not to be omitted. It was currently said, that Sejanus, having gained the person and the heart of Livia, proceeded to a fouler intrigue with Lygdus the eunuch, and, by an infamous amour, drew to his interest that tool of iniquity, who was one of the domestic attendants of Drusus, and, for his youth and the graces of his person, high in favour with his master. The time and place for administering the poison being settled by the conspirators, Sejanus had the hardihood to change his plan. He contrived, by secret insinuations, to charge Drusus with a plot against his father's life, and dared to whisper a caution to Tiberius, not to taste the first cup that should be offered to him at his son's table. Deceived by this stroke of perfidy, the old man received the cup, and presented it to his son. The prince, with the frankness and gaiety of youth, drank it off: but that alacrity served only to confirm the suspicions entertained by the emperor. His conclusion was, that Drusus, overwhelmed with fear and shame, was in haste to give himself the death which he had prepared for his father.

XI. A report of this kind, current among the populace, but unsupported by any good authority, cannot stand the test of examination. What man of plain common sense, not to speak of a consummute statesman like Tiberius, would present inevitable death to his only son, without so much as hearing him, and thus precipitately commit a fatal deed, never to be recalled? Would it not have been more natural to put the cupbearer to the torture? Why not inquire who mixed the

[1] Attus Clausus, by birth a Sabine, went in the train of followers to settle at Rome, B.C. 503.

liquor? Above all, is it probable that Tiberius, ever slow and indecisive, would at once forget the habits of his nature, and, in the case of an only son, a son too never charged with any crime, act with a degree of rashness, which he had never practised to the remotest stranger? The truth is, Sejanus was known to be capable of every species of villainy, however atrocious: the partiality of the emperor increased the number of his enemies; and, both the sovereign and the favourite being objects of public detestation, malignity itself could frame no tale so black, and even improbable, that men were not willing to believe.

The death of princes is always variously reported, and common fame is sure to add a tragic catastrophe. Some years afterwards, the particulars of the murder were brought to light by Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, and confirmed by Eudemus and Lygdus on the rack. In the number of historians who were envenomed against Tiberius, and with diligence collected anecdotes to wage eternal war against his memory, not one has gone so far as to impute to him a share in this foul transaction. The story, however, such as it is, I have represented in its native colours, willing to flatter myself that, by so glaring an instance, I may destroy the credit of fabulous narrations, and prevail with the reader, into whose hands this work may fall, not to prefer the fictions of romance, however greedily swallowed by vulgar credulity, to the precision of sober history.

XII. Tiberius, in a public speech, delivered the funeral panegyric of his son. The senate and the people attended in their mourning garments; but their grief was mere outward show, the effect of dissimulation, not of sentiment. They rejoiced in secret, conceiving that from this event the house of Germanicus would begin to flourish. But the dawn of happiness was soon overclouded. The exultation of the people, and the indiscretion of Agrippina, who had not the policy to suppress the emotions of her heart, accelerated her own ruin, and that of her sons. Emboldened by success, Sejanus was ready to go forward in guilt. He saw the murder of Drusus pass with impunity, and even without a sign of public regret. Successful villainy inspired him with new courage. He saw that the sons of Germanicus were the presumptive heirs of Tiberius, and for that reason began to plot their destruction. Being three in number, they could not all be taken off by poison, while a set of faithful attendants watched them with a vigilant eye, and the virtue of Agrippina was impregnable.

That very virtue was, therefore, to be turned against her. Sejanus called it pride and contumacy. By repeated invectives he roused the inveterate hatred of the elder Livia; and the younger of the name, so recently an accomplice in the murder of Drusus, was easily induced to join in a second conspiracy. They represented Agrippina to Tiberius as a woman proud of her children, intoxicated with popularity, and of a spirit to engage in any dangerous enterprise. The widow of Drusus knew how to choose fit agents for her purpose. Among her instruments of iniquity was Julius Posthumus, a man high in favour with the elder Livia. He had been for some time engaged in an adulterous commerce with Mutilia Prisca, and, through her influence, was graciously received at court. By his subtle practices, and the whispers conveyed by Prisca, the old woman, naturally fond of power, and jealous of every rival, was easily inflamed against her granddaughter. At the same time, such of Agrippina's attendants as had easy access to her presence, were instructed to choose, in conversation with their mistress, the topics most likely to exasperate a mind fierce with pride, and ready to take fire on every occasion.

XIII. Meanwhile, Tiberius, hoping to find in business some respite from the anxieties of his heart, attended to the administration of justice in all disputes between the citizens of Rome. He likewise heard petitions from the provinces and the allies. At his desire, the cities of Cibyra in Asia, and Ægium in Achaia, which had suffered by an earthquake, were exempted from their usual tribute for three years. Vibius Serenus, proconsul of the farther Spain, was found guilty of oppression in the course of his administration, and, being a man of savage manners, banished to the isle of Amorgos. Carsius Sacerdos, accused of having supplied Tacfarinas with corn, was tried and acquitted. Caius Gracchus was charged with the same crime, and in like manner declared innocent. He had been carried in his infancy to the isle of Cercina by Sempronius Gracchus, his father, who was condemned to banishment. In that place, amidst a crew of outlaws and abandoned fugitives, he grew up in ignorance. To gain a livelihood, he became a dealer in petty merchandise on the coast of Africa and Sicily. His obscurity, however, did not shelter him from the dangers of a higher station. Innocent as he was, if Ælius Lamia and Lucius Apronius, formerly proconsuls of Africa, had not espoused his cause, he must have sunk under the weight of the prosecution, a sacri-

fice to the splendid name of his family, and the misfortunes of his father.

XIV. In the course of the year, deputations from Greece, on the old subject of sanctuaries, were heard before the senate. The people of Samos claimed an ancient privilege for the temple of Juno; and those of Coos, for that of Æsculapius. The former relied on a decree of the Amphictyons,[1] the court of supreme authority, at the time when colonies from Greece were in possession of the maritime parts of Asia. The deputies from Coos had also their ancient precedents, besides a claim founded on their own peculiar merit. In the general massacre of the Roman citizens throughout Asia and the isles adjacent, committed by order of Mithridates,[2] they gave a refuge to numbers in the temple of Æsculapius. This business being over, the complaint against the licentiousness of stage-players, often urged by the prætors, and always without effect, was taken up by Tiberius. He stated, "that the people of that profession were guilty of seditious practices, and, in many instances, corrupted the morals of private families. The buffoonery of the Oscan farce, which in its origin afforded but little pleasure even to the dregs of the people, was now grown to such a height of depravity as well as credit, that the mischief called for the interposition of the senate." The players were banished out of Italy.

XV. Tiberius felt this year two severe strokes of affliction: he lost one of the twin sons of Drusus,[3] and also his intimate friend Lucilius Longus, a man connected with him in the closest friendship; in all scenes, either of good or adverse fortune, his faithful companion, and, of all the senators, the only one that followed him in his retreat to the isle of Rhodes. Though of no distinction, and in fact a new man, his funeral was performed with the pomp belonging to the censorial order;[4] and a statue was decreed to his memory in the forum of Augustus, at the public expense. All business was, at this time, still transacted in the senate. The forms of the constitution remained; and accordingly

[1] The assembly of the *Amphictyones* was the grand council, or national convention of Greece.

[2] While Rome was made a theatre of blood by Marius and Sulla, Mithridates, king of Pontus, committed a general massacre of the Roman citizens throughout Asia, B.C. 88.

[3] He was about four years old.

[4] The censorian funeral was the highest honour that could be paid to the deceased. The purple robe, and other insignia, distinguished it from a public funeral.

Lucilius Capito, who had been collector of the imperial revenues in Asia, was brought to his trial before the fathers, at the suit of the province. Tiberius thought proper to declare, "That the commission granted to the accused, extended only to the slaves and revenues of the prince. Should it appear that he assumed the prætorian authority, and, to support his usurpation, called in the aid of the military, he went beyond the line of his duty; and, in that case, the allegations of the province ought to be heard." The business came to a hearing, and Capito was condemned. The cities of Asia, to mark their sense of this act of justice, and their gratitude for the punishment of Caius Silanus in the preceding year, voted a statue to Tiberius, to Livia, and the senate. They applied to the fathers for their consent, and succeeded. Nero, in the name of the province, returned thanks to the senate and his grandfather. He was heard with pleasure by the whole audience. Germanicus was still present to their minds; and, in the son, men fancied that they saw and heard the father. The figure of the young prince was interesting. An air of modesty, united to the dignity of his person, charmed every eye; and the well-known animosity of Sejanus engaged all hearts in his favour.

XVI. About this time the office of high priest of Jupiter became vacant by the death of Servius Maluginensis. Tiberius, in a speech to the senate, proposed that they should proceed to the choice of a successor, and at the same time pass a new law to regulate that business for the future. The custom had been to name three patricians, descended from a marriage, contracted according to the rites of CONFARREATION.[1] Out of the number so proposed, one was to be elected. "But this mode was no longer in use. The ceremony of confarreation was grown obsolete; or, if observed, it was by a few families only. Of this alteration many causes might be assigned; and chiefly the inattention of both sexes to the interests of religion. The ceremonies, it is true, are attended with some difficulty; and for that reason they are

1 Three forms of contracting marriage prevailed at Rome. 1. When a woman cohabited with one man for the space of a year. 2. When the marriage was a kind of bargain and sale between the parties, which was called *coemptio*. 3. When the chief pontiff distributing flour in the presence of ten witnesses, joined the bride and bridegroom. This was called marriage by CONFARREATIO. Other marriages were easily dissolved; but that by confarreation required the same solemnities (*Diffarreatio*) to divorce the parties.

fallen into disuse. Besides this, the priest so chosen was no longer subject to paternal authority; and the woman, who gave him her hand in marriage, was entitled to the same exemption. To remedy these inconveniences, a law is necessary. Many customs, that held too much the rigour of antiquity, were new-modelled by Augustus in conformity to the polished manners of the times."

After due deliberation, it was thought advisable by the fathers to leave the priesthood on its old establishment, without innovation. With regard to the priestess, a new law took place. In her religious functions, it was declared, that she should be in the power of her husband only, subject in all other respects to the laws of her sex, without any privilege to distinguish her from other women. The son of Maluginensis succeeded to his father. In order to give new weight and consideration to the sacerdotal order, and to inspire the ministers of the altar with zeal for the sacred rites, a grant of two thousand great sesterces was ordered for Cornelia, the vestal virgin, who was at this time chosen superior of the order, in the room of Scantia. In compliment to Livia it was further decreed, that, whenever she visited the theatre, her seat should be among the vestal virgins.

XVII. In the consulship of Cornelius Cethegus and Viselius Varro [A.U.C. 777, A.D. 24], the pontiffs, and, after their example, the other orders of the priesthood, thought proper to blend with the solemn vows which they offered for the safety of the emperor, the names of Nero and Drusus. Zeal for the young princes was not altogether their motive: they had an indirect design to pay their court. But in that age the safe line of conduct was not easily settled. To abstain from flattery was dangerous; and to be lavish of it, provoked contempt, and even resentment. Tiberius, never friendly to the house of Germanicus, saw with indignation two boys exalted to a level with himself. He ordered the pontiffs to attend him. In the interview that followed, he desired to know whether, in what they had done, they complied either with the solicitations or the menaces of Agrippina. Being answered in the negative, he dismissed them with a reprimand, but in gentle terms, most of the order being either his relations, or the first men in Rome. Not content, however, with expressing his disapprobation in private, he desired, in a speech to the senate, that all might be upon their guard, not to inflame the minds of young men with ideas of power,

and, by consequence, with a spirit above their station. Sejanus was the prompter in this business. He had the ear of the emperor, and filled him with apprehensions that Rome was divided into factions, inflamed against each other with no less fury than if they were actually engaged in a civil war. There were those, he said, who called themselves the partisans of Agrippina: if not suppressed, they would in time become too powerful. To check the growing discord, there was nothing left but to cut off one or two of the most active leaders.

XVIII. The first blow was struck at Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus. Their connection with Germanicus was their crime; but Silius was obnoxious for various reasons. He had been, during a space of seven years, at the head of a powerful army: by his conduct in Germany he had gained triumphal ornaments; he conquered Sacrovir, and quelled the insurrection in Gaul. Falling from that elevation, his ruin would resound far and wide, and spread a general terror. His own indiscretion was thought at the time to have incensed Tiberius, and, by consequence, it provoked his fate. Success inspired him with vain-glory. He boasted, that the army under his command continued in firm fidelity, while sedition raised her standard in every other camp; and if the spirit of revolt had reached his legions, the imperial dignity would have tottered on the head of the prince. Tiberius took the alarm: he thought his own importance lessened, and his fortune, great as it was, unable to recompense such extraordinary services. He felt himself under obligations to his officer; and obligations (such is the nature of the human mind) are only then acknowledged, when it is in our power to requite them: if they exceed all measures, to be insolvent is painful, and gratitude gives way to hatred.

XIX. Sosia Galla, the wife of Silius, was closely connected with Agrippina, and, for that reason, detested by Tiberius. She and her husband were doomed to fall an immediate sacrifice. Sabinus was reserved for a future day. Against the two former, Varro, the consul, undertook the despicable part of public prosecutor. Pretending to adopt the resentments of his father, he became the servile agent of Sejanus. Silius requested that the trial might be deferred, till the consul, now turned accuser, should cease to be in office. Though the interval was short, Tiberius opposed the motion, alleging that men were frequently arraigned by the other magistrates; and why abridge the authority of the consul?

It is his duty to take care that the commonwealth may receive no injury. Such was the state-craft of Tiberius: to crimes invented by himself he gave the old republican names, and by that artifice amused the public.

The senate was summoned with regular solemnity, as if the proceeding was to be according to law; as if Varro was, in truth, acting the part of consul, and in the reign of Tiberius the constitution still remained in vigour. Silius made no defence. He broke silence, indeed, at different times, but merely to show that he saw in what quarter the arm of oppression was raised against him. The heads of the accusation were, that, in a dark conspiracy with Sacrovir, he concealed the machinations of that insurgent; that his victory was tarnished by cruelty, and that, with his connivance, acts of rapacity and oppression were committed by his wife. The last article was too well founded; but the prosecution went altogether on the crime of violated majesty. Silius saw that his doom was fixed, and to prevent final judgment, put an end to his life.

XX. The law, notwithstanding, laid hold of his effects: not however to make restitution to the Gauls; for the Gauls made no claim. The whole of what the unhappy victim had received from the bounty of Augustus, after an exact estimate made, was seized, and carried into the treasury of the prince. In this instance, Tiberius, for the first time, looked with the eye of avarice on the property of others. On the motion of Asinius Gallus, Sosia was ordered into exile. By that senator it was further proposed, that part of her effects should be confiscated, and the remainder given to her children. Manius Lepidus contended, that one fourth should go, as the law directed, to the prosecutors, and the residue to her children. This sentence prevailed. It is but justice to the character of Lepidus, to observe in this place, that, considering the times in which he lived, he appears to have been a man of ability, temperate, wise, and upright. The violent measures often proposed by others, always the result of servile adulation, were, by his address, frequently rejected, altered, or modified, with so much good sense and temper, that he preserved at once his credit at court, and the esteem of the public.

This happiness, so singular and so fairly enjoyed, arrests our attention, and naturally raises an inquiry whether the favour or antipathy of princes, like all other sublunary contingencies, is governed by the immutable laws of fate; and,

by consequence, the lot of man may be said to be determined in his natal hour. The question is intricate; but perhaps free-will and moral agency are still so far allowed, that each individual may chalk out the line of his own conduct, and, by steering between the opposite extremes of blunt austerity and abject meanness, pursue a middle course with safety and with honour. Messalinus Cotta, a man equal in point of birth to Manius Lepidus, but of a very different character, moved for a decree, declaring that all magistrates, however blameless in their own conduct, and even ignorant of the guilt of others, should, notwithstanding, be responsible for the unlawful acts committed in the provinces by their wives.

XXI. The business brought forward in the next place, was the charge against Calpurnius Piso,[1] that illustrious citizen, distinguished not more by the nobility of his birth, than by his unshaken virtue, who, as has been related, threatened a secession from Rome, in order to find, in some remote place, a shelter from the vices of the age, and the harpies of the law. It may be remembered, likewise, that in the cause against Urgulania, he scorned to yield to the weight and influence of the emperor's mother, but cited the defendant from the very palace of the prince. His conduct, at the time, was treated by Tiberius as the exercise of a civil right; but in a mind like his, that which at first made a slight impression, was sure to be embittered by reflection. Quintus Granius was the prosecutor of Piso. He exhibited an accusation for words spoken in private against the majesty of the emperor; for keeping poison in his house; and entering the senate with a concealed dagger. The two last articles, too gross to be believed, were thrown out of the case. Other allegations were heaped together to swell the charge; and Piso, it was determined, was to be brought to his trial: but a natural death put an end to the prosecution.

A new complaint was presented to the senate against Cassius Severus,[2] a man of mean extraction, void of principle, profligate in his manners, but an orator of considerable eloquence. He had been, by a judgment pronounced under the sanction of an oath, condemned to exile in the isle of Crete. Persisting there in his licentious practices, he rekindled the indignation of the fathers, and by new vices

1 Calpurnius Piso has been mentioned, much to his honour, ii. 34.
2 Cassius Severus was an orator of eminence, and a virulent libeller.

provoked new enemies. Stripped of all his effects, and interdicted from fire and water, he was removed to the isle of Seriphus,[1] where, in old age and misery, he languished on the rocks.

XXII. About this time Plautius Silvanus, one of the prætors, impelled by some secret motive, threw his wife Apronia out of the window of her apartment, and killed her on the spot. Being immediately seized by his father-in-law, Lucius Apronius, and conveyed to the presence of the emperor, he made answer, with an air of distraction, that, while he lay asleep, his wife committed that act of violence. Tiberius went directly to the house. He examined the apartment, and saw evident signs of a person who had struggled, but was overcome by force. He made his report to the senate, and commissioners were appointed to inquire and pronounce their judgment. Urgulania, the grandmother of Silvanus, sent a dagger to him as her best present. This, on account of her known intimacy with Livia, was supposed to proceed from Tiberius. The criminal, after attempting, but with irresolution, to apply the dagger to his breast, ordered his veins to be opened. In a short time afterwards Numantina, his former wife, was accused of having, by drugs and magic spells, distempered his brain. She was acquitted of the charge.

XXIII. The war with Tacfarinas, the Numidian, by which Rome had been long embroiled, was this year happily terminated. The former commanders, as soon as they had laid a foundation for the obtaining of triumphal ornaments, considered their business as finished, and gave the enemy time to breathe. There were at Rome no less than three statues decorated with laurel, and yet Tacfarinas ravaged the province. He was reinforced by the neighbouring Moors, who saw with indignation their new king Ptolemy, the son of Juba,[2] resign, with youthful inexperience, the reins of government to his freedmen. The malcontents of that nation went over to the banners of Tacfarinas, determined to try the fortune of war, rather than tamely submit to the tyranny of enfranchised slaves. The king of the Garamantes entered into a secret league with the Numidian. Not choosing to take the field at the head of his forces, he helped to carry on a war of depredation. His dominions were a

[1] Seriphus, a small island in the Ægean Sea.

[2] Ptolemy was the son of Juba, who was made king of Mauritania by Augustus.

depository for all their plunder. His troops went out in detached parties, and, as is usual in all distant commotions, were magnified by the voice of fame into a prodigious army. Even from the Roman province,[1] all who struggled with want, or by their crimes were rendered desperate, went over to Tacfarinas. A recent incident encouraged the revolt. In consequence of the success of Blæsus, Tiberius, thinking the war at an end, ordered the ninth legion to be recalled. Dolabella, the proconsul for the year, saw the inexpedience of the measure; but dreading the anger of Tiberius more than the incursions of the enemy, he did not venture, even for the defence of the province, to detain the troops.

XXIV. Tacfarinas, availing himself of this circumstance, spread a rumour round the country, that the Roman empire being invaded on every side, Africa, by degrees, was to be evacuated, and the remainder of the legions might be easily cut off, if all who preferred their liberty to ignominious bondage, would take up arms in defence of their country. He gained, by these artifices, a new accession of strength, and laid siege to the city of Thubuscum. Dolabella, with what force he could collect, marched to the relief of the place. The terror of the Roman name was on his side, and the affair was with an enemy who could never sustain the shock of a well-embodied infantry. He no sooner showed himself in force, than the Numidians abandoned the siege. Dolabella, at all convenient places, fortified his posts, and stationed garrisons to secure the country. Finding the Musulanians on the point of a revolt, he seized their chiefs, and ordered their heads to be struck off. Experience had taught him, that a regular army, encumbered with baggage, could give but a bad account of a wild and desultory enemy, who made war by sudden incursions, and avoided a decisive action: he therefore resolved to vary his operations, and having called to his aid the young king Ptolemy, at the head of a large body of his subjects, he divided his army into four detached parties, under the command of his lieutenants, and the military tribunes. A chosen band of Moors, conducted by officers of that nation, had orders to ravage the country. The proconsul marched himself in person, ready at hand to direct the motions of his army, and give vigour to the enterprise.

XXV. Intelligence was brought soon after, that the Numidians, depending upon the advantages of a situation encom-

[1] In general, when Africa occurs, Tacitus intends the Roman province.

passed by a depth of forest, had pitched their huts near the ruins of a castle, called Auzea, which they had formerly destroyed by fire. The cavalry and light cohorts, ignorant of their destination, were sent forward without delay. They made a forced march in the night, and at break of day arrived before the place. The Barbarians, scarce awake, were alarmed on every side with warlike shouts and the clangour of trumpets. Their horses were either fastened to stakes, or let loose to wander on the pasture grounds. The Romans advanced in order of battle, their infantry in close array, and the cavalry prepared for action. The Barbarians were taken by surprise, no arms at hand, no order, no concerted measure. They were attacked without delay, and like a herd of cattle mangled, butchered, taken. The Roman soldiers, fierce with resentment for all their toil and fatigue, rushed with fury against an enemy who had so often fled from their sword. The victorious troops were glutted with Numidian blood. The word was given through the ranks, that Tacfarinas was the proper object of their vengeance: his person was well known; his death, and nothing less, could end the war. That daring adventurer saw his guards fall on every side. His son was already in fetters, and he himself hemmed in by the Romans. In despair he rushed forward, where the shower of darts was thickest, and selling his life at the dearest rate, had the glory of dying in freedom. This event quieted the commotions in Africa.

XXVI. For these services Dolabella expected triumphal ornaments: but Tiberius, apprehending that Sejanus would think the honours, granted to his uncle Blæsus, tarnished by the success of a rival, refused to comply with the request. Blæsus gained no addition to his fame, while that of Dolabella grew brighter by injustice. With an inferior army, he had taken a number of prisoners, among whom were the leading chiefs of the nation: and, by the death of Tacfarinas, he put an end to the war. At his return from Africa, he gave a spectacle rarely seen at Rome, a train of ambassadors from the Garamantes! The people of that country, conscious of their guilt, and by the death of the Numidian chief thrown into consternation, sent their deputies to appease the resentment of the emperor. The services of King Ptolemy being stated to the senate, an ancient custom, long since fallen into disuse, was revived in honour of that monarch. The fathers sent a member of their body,

to present an ivory sceptre and a painted robe, the ancient gifts to kings, with instructions, at the same time, to salute young Ptolemy, by the titles of KING, ALLY, and FRIEND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

XXVII. During the same summer, a servile war was ready to break out in Italy; but, by a fortunate accident, the flame was soon extinguished. The incendiary, who excited the commotion, was formerly a soldier in the prætorian bands, by name Titus Curtisius. This man began his seditious practices in private cabals at Brundusium, and the adjacent towns. Having made his impression, he went the length of fixing up in public places seditious libels, inviting the agrarian slaves to issue from their woods and wilds, and take up arms in the cause of liberty. It happened, however, that three galleys, employed in the navigation of those seas, arrived providentially on the coast. Curtius Lupus, the quæstor, in whose province it was, according to ancient usage, to superintend the roads through the forests, was at that time in the neighbourhood. He ordered the mariners to be landed, and, putting himself at their head, crushed the conspiracy in the bud. Statius, a military tribune, had been, on the first alarm, despatched by Tiberius with a strong band of soldiers. He arrived in good time, and, having seized the chief conspirators with their leader, returned to Rome with his prisoners bound in chains. The capital, at that time, was far from being in a state of tranquillity. Men saw, with terror, a vast multitude of slaves increasing [1] beyond all proportion, while the number of freeborn citizens was visibly on the decline.

XXVIII. During the same consulship, a scene of horror, that gave a shock to nature, and marked the cruelty of the times, was acted in the face of the world. A father pleaded for his life, while the son stood forth the accuser. The name of each was Vibius Serenus. They appeared before the senate. The father had been banished. He was now dragged from his retreat, deformed with filth, and loaded with irons; a spectacle of misery. The son came forward in trim apparel, ease in his mien, and alacrity in his countenance. He charged the old man with a conspiracy against the life of the emperor, and with sending emissaries into Gaul to kindle the flame of rebellion: and thus the son acted in a double character, at once the accuser, and the witness. He added, that Cæcilius Cornutus, of prætorian rank, supplied the ac-

[1] The slaves, increasing in consequence of luxury, began to outnumber the freeborn citizens.

complices with money. Cornutus, weary of life, and knowing that a prosecution was a prelude to destruction, laid violent hands on himself. Serenus, on the contrary, with a spirit undismayed, fixed his eye on his son, and clanking his chains, exclaimed: "Restore me, just and vindictive gods, restore me to my place of banishment, far from the sight of men, who suffer such an outrage to humanity. For that parricide, may your vengeance, in due time, overtake his guilt." He pronounced Cornutus an innocent man, but destitute of courage, weak, and easily alarmed. He desired that the confederates in the plot might be named, and, by a minute inquiry, the truth, he said, would be brought to light. "For can it be, that, with only one accomplice, I should undertake to imbrue my hands in the blood of the emperor, and to overturn the government?"

XXIX. The informer gave in the names of Cneius Lentulus and Seius Tubero. The mention of those men threw Tiberius into confusion. They were both of illustrious rank, both his intimate friends. That Lentulus, in the evening of his days, and Tubero, drooping under bodily infirmity, should be charged with meditating an insurrection in Gaul, and a conspiracy against the state, made a deep impression on his spirits. Against them no further inquiry was made. The slaves of the aged father were examined on the rack, and, by their testimony, every allegation was refuted. The son, overwhelmed with a sense of his guilt, and terrified by the indignation of the populace, who threatened the dungeon, the Tarpeian rock, and all the pains and penalties of parricide, made his escape from Rome. He was retaken at Ravenna, and carried back to proceed in his accusation, and gratify the spleen of Tiberius, who hated the old man, and, upon this occasion, did not disguise his rancour. Vibius, it seems, soon after the condemnation of Libo, complained by letter to the emperor, that his services in that business had not been duly recompensed. The style of his remonstrance was more free and bold, than can with safety be addressed to the proud ear of power, at all times sensibly alive to every expression, and easily alarmed. At the distance of eight years Tiberius showed that he had been ruminating mischief. The intermediate time, he said, though no proof could be extorted from the slaves, was passed by the prisoner in a continued series of atrocious crimes.

XXX. The question being put, the majority was for a capital punishment, according to the rigour of ancient law. Tiberius,

to soften popular prejudice, opposed so harsh a sentence. Asinius Gallus moved that Serenus should be banished to the isle of Gyarus or Donusa. This also was opposed by the emperor. In those islands there was a dearth of water; and when life is granted, the means of supporting it ought to follow. The old man was remanded to the island of Amorgos. As Cornutus had despatched himself, a motion was made, that whenever the person accused of violated majesty prevented judgment by a voluntary death, the informers should be entitled to no reward.[1] The fathers inclined to that opinion; but Tiberius, in plain terms, without his usual ambiguity, showed himself the patron of the whole race of informers. "The course of justice," he said, "would be stopped, and, by such a decision, the commonwealth would be brought to the brink of ruin. It were better to abrogate all laws at once. If we must have laws, let us not remove the vigilance that gives them energy." In this manner that pernicious crew, the bane and scourge of society, who, in fact, have never been effectually restrained, were now let loose, with the wages of iniquity in view, to harass and destroy their fellow-citizens.

XXXI. Through the cloud of these tempestuous times a gleam of joy broke forth. Caius Cominius, a Roman knight, was convicted for being author of defamatory verses against the emperor; but at the intercession of his brother, a member of the senate, Tiberius pardoned the offence. This act of lenity, standing in contrast to a series of evil deeds, made men wonder, that he, who knew the fair renown that waits on the virtues of humanity, should persevere in the practice of cruelty and oppression. Want of discernment was not among the faults of Tiberius; nor was he misled by the applause of temporising courtiers. Between the praise which adulation offers, and that which flows from sentiment, a mind like his could easily distinguish. His own manner marked his sense of good and evil. Though close and guarded on most occasions, even to a degree of hesitation, it was remarkable that, when he meant a generous act, his language was fluent, clear, and unequivocal.

In a matter that came on soon after, against Publius Suilius, formerly quæstor under Germanicus, and now convicted of

[1] When the person accused was found guilty, the fourth part of his estate and effects went to the prosecutors; but if he prevented judgment by a voluntary death, his property descended to his heirs; and, in that case, the emperor paid his harpies out of the *fiscus*, the imperial exchequer.

bribery in a cause where he sat in judgment, the emperor, not content with a general sentence of banishment out of Italy, insisted that he ought to be confined to an island. This decision he urged in a tone of vehemence, averring, with the solemnity of an oath, that the interest of the commonwealth required it. And yet this proceeding, condemned at the time as harsh and violent, was, in a subsequent reign, allowed to be founded in justice. Suilius was recalled by Claudius. He then announced his real character; proud, imperious, corrupt, and venal; high in favour with the reigning prince, and using his influence for the worst of purposes. Catus Firmius was, in like manner, condemned, on a charge of having maliciously accused his sister on the law of majesty. It was this man, as has been related, who first deceived the unsuspecting Libo, and then betrayed him to his ruin. For that sacrifice of all truth and honour, Tiberius was not ungrateful. To reward his services, yet pretending to act with other motives, he overruled the sentence of banishment, but agreed that he should be expelled the senate.

XXXII. The transactions hitherto related, and those which are to follow, may, I am well aware, be thought of little importance, and beneath the dignity of history. But no man, it is presumed, will think of comparing these annals with the historians of the old republic. Those writers had for their subject, wars of the greatest magnitude; cities taken by storm; kings overthrown, or led in captivity to Rome: and when from those scenes of splendour they turned their attention to domestic occurrences, they had still an ample field before them; they had dissensions between the consuls and the tribunes; they had agrarian laws, the price of corn, and the populace and patrician order inflamed with mutual animosity. Those were objects that filled the imagination of the reader, and gave free scope to the genius of the writer. The work in which I am engaged, lies in a narrow compass; the labour is great, and glory there is none. A long and settled calm, scarce lifted to a tempest; wars no sooner begun than ended; a gloomy scene at home, and a prince without ambition, or even a wish to enlarge the boundaries of the empire: these are the scanty materials that lie before me. And yet materials like these are not to be undervalued; though slight in appearance, they still merit attention, since they are often the secret spring of the most important events.

XXXIII. If we consider the nature of civil government, we shall find, that, in all nations, the supreme authority is

vested either in the people, or the nobles, or a single ruler. A constitution compounded of these three single forms, may in theory be beautiful, but can never exist in fact; or, if it should, it will be but of short duration. At Rome, while the republic flourished, and the senate and the people gained alternate victories over each other, it was the business of the true politician to study the manners and temper of the multitude, in order to restrain within due bounds a tumultuous and discordant mass; and, on the other hand, he who best knew the senate, and the characters of the leading members, was deemed the most accomplished statesman of his time. At present, since a violent convulsion has overturned the old republic, and the government of Rome differs in nothing from a monarchy,[1] the objects of political knowledge are changed, and, for that reason, such transactions as it is my business to relate, will not be without their use. Few are qualified, by their own reflection, to mark the boundaries between vice and virtue. To separate the useful from that which leads to destruction, is not the talent of every man. The example of others is the school of wisdom.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that the detail into which I am obliged to enter, is in danger, while it gives lessons of prudence, of being dry and unentertaining. In other histories, the situation of countries, the events of war, and the exploits of illustrious generals, awaken curiosity, and enlarge the imagination. We have nothing before us, but acts of despotism, continual accusations, the treachery of friends, the ruin of innocence, and trial after trial ending always in the same tragic catastrophe. These, no doubt, will give to the present work a tedious uniformity, without an object to enliven attention, without an incident to prevent satiety. It may be further observed, that the ancient historian is safe from the severity of criticism: whether he favours the cause of Rome or Carthage, the reader is indifferent to both parties; whereas the descendants of those who, in the reign of Tiberius, were either put to death, or branded with infamy, are living at this hour; and besides, if the whole race were extinct, will there not be at all times a succession of men, who, from congenial manners, and sympathy in vice, will think the fidelity of history a satire on

[1] The forms of the republican government were still preserved; the magistrates retained their ancient names; *eadem magistratuum vocabula;* but the emperor presided over the whole military department, and his tribunitian power gave him the sole direction of all civil business.

themselves? Even the praise due to virtue is sure to give umbrage. The illustrious character is brought too near to the depravity of modern times. The contrast is too strong for tender eyes. But I return from this digression.

XXXIV. [A.U.C. 778, A.D. 25.] During the consulship of Cornelius Cossus and Asinius Agrippa, a new, and, till that time, unheard-of crime was laid to the charge of Cremutius Cordus. He had published a series of annals. In that work, after the encomium of Brutus, he styled Cassius the last of the Romans. For this sentiment a prosecution was commenced against the author by Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta, both known to be the creatures of Sejanus. That circumstance was of itself sufficient; but the stern countenance with which Tiberius heard the defence, was a fatal prognostic. With a spirit, however, prepared for the worst, and even resolved on death, Cordus spoke to the following effect. "The charge, conscript fathers, is for words only; so irreproachable is my conduct. And what are my words? Do they affect the emperor or his mother, the only persons included in the law of majesty? It is, however, my crime, that I have treated the memory of Brutus and Cassius with respect: and have not others done the same? In the number of writers, who composed the lives of those eminent men, is there one who has not done honour to their memory? Titus Livius, that admirable historian, not more distinguished by his eloquence than by his fidelity, was so lavish in praise of Pompey, that Augustus called him the *Pompeian:* and yet the friendship of that emperor was unalterable. Scipio, and Afranius, with this same Brutus, and this very Cassius, are mentioned by that immortal author, not indeed as RUFFIANS and PARRICIDES[1] (the appellations now in vogue); but as virtuous, upright, and illustrious Romans. In the works of Asinius Pollio their names are decorated with every praise. Messala Corvinus boasted that Cassius was his general. And yet those two distinguished writers flourished in the esteem of Augustus, and enjoyed both wealth and honours. Cicero dedicated an entire volume to the memory of Cato. What was the conduct of Cæsar the dictator? He contented himself with writing an answer, in effect, appealing to the

[1] Publius Valerius, afterwards styled PUBLICOLA, was the author of a law, by which any person whatever, who had the ambition to aim at the supreme power, so lately abolished, should forfeit his head and all his effects. Notwithstanding this law, Brutus and Cassius were called murderers and parricides.

tribunal of the public. The letters of Mark Antony, as well as the speeches of Brutus, abound with passages against Augustus, false indeed, but in a style of bitter invective. The verses of Bibaculus and Catullus, though keen lampoons on the family of the Cæsars, are in everybody's hands. Neither Julius Cæsar nor Augustus showed any resentment against these envenomed productions: on the contrary, they left them to make their way in the world. Was this their moderation, or superior wisdom? Perhaps it was the latter. Neglected calumny soon expires: show that you are hurt, and you give it the appearance of truth.

XXXV. "From Greece I draw no precedents. In that country not only liberty, but even licentiousness, was encouraged. He who felt the edge of satire, knew how to retaliate. Words were revenged by words. When public characters have passed away from the stage of life, and the applause of friendship, as well as the malice of enemies, is heard no more; it has ever been the prerogative of history to rejudge their actions. Brutus and Cassius are not now at the head of armies: they are not encamped on the plains of Philippi: can I assist their cause? Have I harangued the people, or incited them to take up arms? It is now more than sixty years since these two extraordinary men perished by the sword: from that time they have been seen in their busts and statues: those remains the very conquerors spared, and history has been just to their memory. Posterity allows to every man his true value and his proper honours. You may, if you will, by your judgment affect my life: but Brutus and Cassius will be still remembered, and my name may attend the triumph." Having thus delivered his sentiments, he left the senate, and by abstinence put an end to his days.

The fathers ordered his book to be burned by the ædiles; but to destroy it was not in their power. It was preserved in secret, and copies have been multiplied: so vain and senseless is the attempt, by an arbitrary act, to extinguish the light of truth, and defraud posterity of due information. Genius thrives under oppression: persecute the author, and you enhance the value of his work. Foreign tyrants, and all who have adopted their barbarous policy, have experienced this truth: by proscribing talents, they recorded their own disgrace, and gave the writer a passport to immortality.

XXXVI. The whole of this year was one continued series of prosecutions; insomuch that on one of the days of the

Latin festival,[1] when Drusus, in his character of præfect of Rome, ascended the tribunal, Calpurnius Salvianus took that opportunity to present an accusation against Sextus Marius. A proceeding so irregular drew down the censure of Tiberius. Salvianus was driven into banishment. A complaint against the inhabitants of the city of Cyzicus was presented to the senate, charging, that they had suffered the ceremonies in honour of Augustus to fall into contempt, and had moreover offered violence to several Roman citizens. For this offence they were deprived of the privileges, which had been granted to them for their fidelity in the war with Mithridates. That monarch laid siege to their city; but, by the fortitude of the people, not less than by the succour sent by Lucullus, he was obliged to abandon the place. Fonteius Capito, who had been proconsul of Asia, was acquitted of the charge alleged against him by the malice of that daring accuser, Vibius Serenus. And yet the author of so vile a calumny passed with impunity. He had the curses of the people, and the protection of the emperor. Informers, in proportion as they rose in guilt, became sacred characters. If any were punished, it was only such as were mere novices in guilt, obscure and petty villains, who had no talents for mischief.

XXXVII. Ambassadors, about this time, arrived from the farther Spain, praying leave, in imitation of the people of Asia, to build a temple to the emperor and his mother. Tiberius had strength of mind to despise the offerings of adulation: he knew, however, that his conduct on a former occasion had been taxed with the littleness of vain-glory. To clear himself from that aspersion, he made the following speech. "I am not, conscript fathers, now to learn that, when a similar petition came from Asia, I was accused of weakness and irresolution, for not giving a decided negative. The silence which I then observed, and the law which I have laid down to myself for the future, it is my intention now to explain. Augustus, it is well known, permitted a temple to be raised at Pergamus, in honour of himself and the city of Rome. His example has ever been the rule of my conduct. I yielded to the solicitations of Asia the

[1] The Latin festival was instituted by Tarquinius Superbus, and celebrated every year in the beginning of May. The consuls and other magistrates went forth in procession; and during their absence, a person of high rank was chosen to discharge the functions of consul, and preserve the peace of the city. (See *Annals*, vi. 11.) In conformity to this custom, we find Drusus acting on this occasion.

more willingly, as, with the veneration offered to myself, that of the senate was mixed and blended. That single act of compliance may, perhaps, require no apology: but to be deified throughout the provinces, and intrude my own image among the statues of the gods, what were it but vain presumption, the height of human arrogance? Erect more altars, and the homage paid to Augustus will be no longer an honour to his memory: by promiscuous use, it will tarnish in the eyes of mankind, and vanish into nothing.

XXXVIII. "As to myself, conscript fathers, I pretend to nothing above the condition of humanity: a mortal man, I have the duties of our common nature to perform. Raised to a painful pre-eminence, if I sustain the arduous character imposed upon me, the measure of my happiness is full. These are my sentiments: I avow them in your presence, and I hope they will reach posterity. Should future ages pronounce me not unworthy of my ancestors; should they think me vigilant for the public good, in danger firm, and, for the interest of all, ready to encounter personal animosities, that character will be the bright reward of all my labours. Those are the temples which I wish to raise: they are the truest temples, for they are fixed in the heart. It is there I would be worshipped, in the esteem and the affections of men, that best and most lasting monument. Piles of stone and marble structures, when the idol ceases to be adored, and the judgment of posterity rises to execration, are mere charnel-houses, that moulder into ruin.

"I therefore now address myself to the allies of the empire, to the citizens of Rome, and to the immortal gods; to the gods it is my prayer, that to the end of life they may grant the blessing of an undisturbed, a clear, a collected mind, with a just sense of laws both human and divine. Of mankind I request, that, when I am no more, they will do justice to my memory; and, with kind acknowledgments, record my name, and the actions of my life." In these sentiments he persisted ever after. Even in private conversation he never ceased to declaim against the abuse of religious honours. For this self-denial various motives were assigned. Some called it modesty; others, a sense of his own demerit; many imputed it to a degenerate spirit, insensible to all fair and honourable distinctions. The love of glory, they observed, has ever been the incentive of exalted minds. It was by this principle, that Hercules

and Bacchus enrolled themselves among the gods of Greece; and it was thus that Romulus was deified at Rome. Augustus made a right estimate of things, and, by consequence, aspired to rank himself with ancient worthies. With regard to other gratifications, princes are in a station, where to desire, is to have. But the passion for glory ought to be insatiable. The esteem of posterity is the true ambition of a prince. From the contempt of fame arises a contempt of virtue.

XXXIX. Sejanus, intoxicated with success, and hurried on by the importunity of the younger Livia,[1] who was grown impatient for the promised marriage, thought fit to open the business to the emperor. All applications, at that time, even when a personal interview took place, were presented to the prince in writing. The purport of the memorial was, that "the munificence of Augustus to the petitioner, and the favours added by Tiberius, had so engrossed all his faculties, that he was now accustomed, instead of supplicating the gods, to offer up his prayers to the prince. Of rank and splendour he had never been ambitious: a post of difficulty, where he watched day and night like a common sentinel, to guard the life of his sovereign, was the only honour he had ever sought. And yet a mark of the highest distinction had been conferred upon him. The emperor deemed him worthy of an alliance with the imperial house. His present hopes were built on that foundation. Having heard that Augustus, when the marriage of his daughter was in contemplation, doubted, for some time, whether he should not give her to a Roman knight; he presumed to offer his humble request, that Tiberius, if a new match was designed for Livia, would graciously think of a friend, who would bear in mind a due sense of the favour conferred upon him, but never claim an exemption from the toil and duty of his post. To shelter his family from the animosity of Agrippina was the object he had in view. He felt for his children; but as to himself, if he died in the service of his prince, he should die content and full of years."

XL. Tiberius expressed himself pleased with the style of affection which breathed through the memorial. He mentioned, in a cursory manner, the favours he had granted, but desired time for the consideration of a subject so entirely new and unexpected. Having weighed the business, he returned the following answer: "In all matters of delibera-

[1] She who conspired against her husband, Drusus.

tion, self-interest is the principle by which individuals decide for themselves: with princes it is otherwise. The opinions of the people claim their attention, and public fame must direct their conduct. To the request which had been made, an obvious answer presented itself to his pen: he might observe, that it was for Livia to determine, whether she would contract another marriage, or be content to remain the widow of Drusus. He might add, that she had a mother and a grandmother, more nearly connected than himself, and, for that reason, fitter to be consulted. But he would deal openly, and in terms of plain simplicity. And first, as to Agrippina; her resentments would break out with redoubled violence, if, by the marriage of Livia, she saw the imperial family divided into contending factions. Even at present, female jealousies made a scene of tumult and distraction. His grandsons were involved in their disputes. Should the marriage be allowed, perpetual discord might be the consequence.

"Do you imagine, Sejanus, that Livia, the widow first of Caius Cæsar, and since of Drusus, will act an humble part, and waste her life in the embraces of a Roman knight? Should I consent, what will be said by those who saw her father, her brother, and the ancestors of our family, invested with the highest honours of the state? But it seems you will not aspire above your present station. Remember that the magistrates, and the first men in Rome, who besiege your levee, and in everything defer to your judgment; remember, I say, that they now proclaim aloud, that you have already soared above the equestrian rank, and enjoy higher authority than was ever exercised by the favourites of my father. They declaim against you with envy, and they obliquely glance at me. But Augustus, you say, had thoughts of giving his daughter to one of the equestrian order. And if, overwhelmed by a weight of cares, yet sensible at the same time of the honour that would accrue to the favoured bridegroom, he mentioned occasionally Caius Proculeius, and some others, is it not well known that they were all of moderate principles; men who led a life of tranquillity, and took no part in the transactions of the state? And if Augustus had his doubts, is it for me to take a decided part? His final determination is the true precedent. He gave his daughter first to Agrippa, and afterwards to myself. These are the reflections which I thought proper to communicate to you. My friendship is without disguise. To the measures which you and Livia may

have concerted, no obstacle shall arise from me. But still there are other ties by which I would bind you to myself in closer union. I will not at present enlarge upon the subject. I shall only say, that I know no honour to which you are not entitled by your virtues, and your zeal for my interest. But what I think and feel on this head I shall take occasion to explain to the senate, or, it may be, in a full assembly of the people."

XLI. Alarmed by this answer, Sejanus dropped all thoughts of the marriage. A crowd of apprehensions rushed upon him. He feared the penetrating eye of malicious enemies; he dreaded the whispers of suspicion, and the clamours of the public. To prevent impressions to his disadvantage, he presented a second memorial, humbly requesting that the emperor would pay no regard to the suggestions of ill-designing men. Between two nice and difficult points, the favourite was now much embarrassed. If, for the sake of a more humble appearance, he determined to avoid for the future the great conflux of visitors who frequented his house, his power, in a short time, would be on its wane; and on the other hand, by receiving such a numerous train, he gave access to spies upon his conduct. A new expedient occurred to him. He resolved to persuade the emperor to withdraw from the city, and lead, in some delightful but remote situation, a life of ease and solitary pleasure. In this measure he saw many advantages. Access to the prince would depend on the minister; all letters conveyed by the soldiers would fall into his hands; and Tiberius, now in the vale of years, might be, when charmed with his retreat, and lulled to repose and indolence, more easily induced to resign the reins of government. In that retirement the favourite would disengage himself from the vain parade of crowded levees; envy would be appeased; and instead of the shadow of power, he might grasp the substance. To this end, Sejanus affected to disrelish the noise and bustle of the city; the people assembling in crowds gave him disgust; and the courtiers, who buzzed in the palace, brought nothing but fatigue and vain parade. He talked of the pleasures of rural solitude, where there was nothing but pure enjoyment, no little anxieties, no tedious languor, no intrigues of faction; a scene of tranquillity, where important plans of policy might be concerted at leisure.

XLII. It happened in this juncture that the trial of Votienus Montanus, a man famous for his wit and talents, was brought to a hearing. In the course of this business, Tiberius, with a

mind already balancing, came to a resolution to avoid, for the future, the assembly of the fathers, where he was so often mortified by grating expressions. Montanus was accused of words injurious to the emperor: Æmilius, a man in the military line, was a witness against him. To establish the charge, this man went into a minute detail, from little circumstances hoping to deduce a full conviction. Though ill heard by the fathers, he persisted, in spite of noise and frequent interruption, to relate every circumstance. Tiberius heard the sarcastic language with which his character was torn and mangled in private. He rose in a sudden transport of passion, declaring in a peremptory tone, that he would refute the calumny in that stage of the business, or institute a judicial proceeding for the purpose. The entreaties of his friends, seconded by the adulation of the fathers, were scarce sufficient to appease his anger. The judgment usual in cases of violated majesty was pronounced against Montanus. Want of clemency was the general objection to Tiberius; but the reproach, instead of mitigating, served only to inflame that vindictive temper. With a spirit exasperated, he took up the affair of Aquilia, convicted of adultery with Varius Ligur; and though Lentulus Gætulicus, consul elect, was of opinion that the penalties[1] of the Julian law would be an adequate punishment, she was ordered into exile. Apidius Merula had refused to swear on the acts of Augustus. For that offence Tiberius razed his name from the register of the senators.[2]

XLIII. The dispute then depending between the Lacedæmonians and the people of Messena, concerning the temple of the Limnatidian Diana, was brought to a hearing before the senate. Deputies were heard from both places. On the part of the Lacedæmonians it was contended, that the structure in question was built by their ancestors, within the territory of Sparta. For proof of the fact they cited extracts from history, and passages of ancient poetry. In the war with Philip of Macedon, they were deprived of their right by force of arms; but the same was restored by Julius Cæsar and Mark Antony. The Messenians, on the other hand, produced an ancient chart of Peloponnesus, divided among the

[1] There were two modes of expulsion from the city of Rome. One was *relegatio;* the other *exilium.* The former was a mere order of removal to a certain distance; but the person so punished did not forfeit his property, nor the freedom of the city. Banishment took away every right. Tiberius chose, on this occasion, to inflict the severest punishment.

[2] The *Album Senatorium* was a register of the senators published every year.

descendants of Hercules; by which it appeared, that the Dentheliate field, where the temple stood, fell to the lot of the king of Messena. Inscriptions, verifying the fact, were still to be seen in stone and tables of brass. If fragments of poetry and loose scraps of history were to be admitted, they had, in that kind, a fund of evidence more ample, and directly in point. It was not by an act of violence that Philip of Macedon transferred the possession from Sparta to the Messenians; his justice dictated that decision. Since that time, several judgments, all conspiring to the same effect, were pronounced by King Antigonus,[1] by Mummius, the Roman general, by the Milesians, in their capacity of public arbitrators, and finally by Atidius Geminus, then prætor of Achaia.[2] The Messenians carried their point.

The citizens of Segestum presented a petition, stating that the temple of Venus, on Mount Erix, had mouldered away, and therefore praying leave to build a new edifice on the same spot. Their account of the first foundation was so highly flattering to the pride of Tiberius, that, considering himself as a person related to the goddess, he undertook the care and the expense of the building.

A petition from the city of Marseilles came next into debate. The fact was shortly this: Vulcatius Moschus, banished by the laws of Rome, and admitted to the freedom of the city of Marseilles, bequeathed to that republic, which he considered as his native country, the whole of his property. To justify this proceeding, the Marseillians cited the case of Publius Rutilius, an exile from Rome, and afterwards naturalised by the people of Smyrna. The authority of the precedent was admitted, and the fathers pronounced in favour of the will.

XLIV. In the course of the year died Cneius Lentulus and Lucius Domitius, two citizens of distinguished eminence. The consular dignity, and the honour of triumphal ornaments, for a complete victory over the Gætulians, gave lustre to the name of Lentulus; but the true glory of his character arose from the dignity with which he supported himself, first in modest poverty, and afterwards in the possession of a splendid fortune, acquired with integrity, and enjoyed with moderation. Domitius[3] owed much of his consequence to his ancestors.

[1] Antigonus, king of Macedonia.

[2] When Greece was reduced to subjection, the Romans gave to the whole country the general name of *Achaia*.

[3] Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus. His son Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus married Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and by her was father of Nero.

His father, during the civil wars, remained master of the seas till he went over to Mark Antony, and, soon after deserting his party, followed the fortunes of Augustus. His grandfather fell in the battle of Pharsalia, fighting for the senate. Domitius, thus descended, was deemed worthy of the younger Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony, by his wife Octavia. He led the Roman legions beyond the Elbe, and penetrated farther into Germany than any former commander. His services were rewarded with triumphal ornaments.

Lucius Antonius, who likewise died this year, must not be omitted. He was descended from a line of ancestors, highly honoured, but unfortunate. His father, Julius Antonius, being put to death for his adulterous commerce with Julia, the son, at that time of tender years, and grand-nephew to Augustus, was sent out of the way to the city of Marseilles, where, under the pretence of pursuing his studies, he was detained in actual banishment. Funeral honours were paid to his memory, and his remains, by a decree of the senate, were deposited in the monument of the Octavian family.

XLV. While the same consuls continued in office, a deed of an atrocious nature was committed in the nethermost Spain by a peasant from the district of Termes. Lucius Piso, the prætor of the province, in a period of profound peace, was travelling through the country, unguarded, and without precaution, when a desperate ruffian attacked him on the road, and, at one blow, laid him dead on the spot. Trusting to the swiftness of his horse, the assassin made towards the forest, and there dismounting, pursued his way on foot over devious wilds and craggy steeps, eluding the vigilance and activity of the Romans. He did not, however, remain long concealed. His horse was found in the woods, and being led through the neighbouring villages, the name of the owner was soon discovered. The villain of course was apprehended. On the rack, and under the most excruciating torture, he refused to discover his accomplices. With a tone of firmness, and in his own language, "Your questions," he said, "are all in vain. Let my associates come; let them behold my sufferings and my constancy: not all the pangs you can inflict shall wrest the secret from me." On the following day, as they were again dragging him to the rack, he broke, with a sudden exertion, from the hands of the executioner, and dashing with violence against a stone, fell and expired. The murder of Piso was not thought to be the single

crime of this bold assassin: the inhabitants of Termes, it was generally believed, entered into a conspiracy to cut off a man who claimed restitution of the public money, which had been rescued from the collectors. Piso urged his demand with more rigour than suited the stubborn genius of a savage people.

XLVI. Lentulus Gætulicus and Caius Calvisius succeeded to the consulship [A.U.C. 779, A.D. 26]. During their administration, triumphal ornaments were decreed to Poppæus Sabinus, for his victory over the people of Thrace; a clan of freebooters, who led a savage life on hills and rugged cliffs, without laws, or any notion of civil policy. Rushing down from their mountains, they waged a desultory war with wild ferocity. Their motives to a revolt were strong and powerful. They saw the flower of their youth carried off to recruit the Roman armies, and of course their numbers much reduced. Men, who measured their obedience, even to their own kings, by the mere caprice of Barbarians, were not willing to submit to the Roman yoke. On former occasions, when they were willing to act as auxiliaries, they gave the command of their forces to chiefs of their own nation, under an express condition, that they should serve against the neighbouring states only, and not be obliged to fight the battles of Rome in distant regions. In the present juncture an idea prevailed amongst them, that they were to be exterminated from their native soil, and mixed with other troops in foreign nations.

Before they had recourse to arms, they sent a deputation to Sabinus, stating "their former friendship, and the passive disposition with which they had heretofore submitted to the Roman generals. They were willing to continue in the same sentiments, provided no new grievance gave them cause of complaint. But if the intention was to treat them as a vanquished people; if the yoke of slavery was prepared for their necks, they abounded with men and steel, and they had hearts devoted to liberty or death." Their ambassadors, after thus declaring themselves, pointed to their castles on the ridge of hills and rocks, where they had collected their families, their parents, and their wives. If the sword must be drawn, they threatened a campaign big with danger, in its nature difficult, fierce, and bloody.

XLVII. Sabinus, wishing to gain sufficient time for the assembling of his army, amused them with gentle answers. Meanwhile, Pomponius Labeo, with a legion from Mæsia,

and Rhæmetalces, who reigned over part of Thrace, came up with a body of his subjects, who still retained their fidelity, and formed a junction against the rebels. Sabinus, thus reinforced, went in quest of the enemy. The Barbarians had taken post in the woods and narrow defiles. The bold and warlike showed themselves in force on the declivity of the hills. The Roman general advanced in regular order of battle. The mountaineers were put to flight, but with inconsiderable loss. The nature of the place favoured their retreat. Sabinus encamped on the spot deserted by the enemy, and, having raised intrenchments, marched with a strong detachment to an adjacent hill, narrow at the top, but, by a level and continued ridge, extending to a stronghold where the Barbarians had collected a prodigious multitude, some provided with arms, but the greater part no better than an undisciplined rabble.

The bravest of the malcontents appeared on the outside of their lines, according to the custom of Barbarians, dancing in wild distortion, and howling savage songs. The Roman archers advanced to attack them. They poured in a volley of darts, and wounded numbers with impunity, till having approached too near, the besieged made a sally from the castle, and threw the Romans into disorder. An auxiliary cohort, which had been posted to advantage, came up to support the broken ranks. This body of reserve consisted of the Sicambrians, a wild ferocious people, who, like the Thracians, rushed to battle with the mingled uproar of a savage war-whoop, and the hideous clangour of their arms.

XLVIII. Sabinus pitched a new camp near the fortifications of the castle. In the former intrenchments he left the Thracians, who had joined the army under the command of Rhæmetalces, with orders to ravage the country, and, as long as daylight lasted, to plunder, burn, and destroy, but, during the night, to remain within their lines, taking care to station outposts and sentinels, to prevent a surprise. These directions were at first duly observed; but a relaxation of discipline soon took place. Enriched with booty, the men gave themselves up to riot and dissipation; no sentinels fixed, and no guard appointed, the time was spent in carousals, and their whole camp lay buried in sleep and wine. The mountaineers, having good intelligence from their scouts, formed two separate divisions;

one to fall on the roving freebooters, and the other, in the same moment, to storm the Romans in their intrenchments; not, indeed, with hopes of carrying the works, but chiefly to spread a double alarm, and cause a scene of wild confusion, in which the men, amidst a volley of darts, would be intent on their own immediate danger, and none would listen to the uproar of another battle. To augment the terror, both assaults began in the night. No impression was made on the legions: but the Thracian auxiliaries, stretched at ease in their intrenchments, or idly wandering about on the outside of the lines, were taken by surprise, and put to the sword without mercy. The slaughter raged with greater fury, as the mountaineers thought they were executing an act of vengeance on perfidious men, who deserted the common cause, and fought to enslave themselves and their country.

XLIX. On the following day Sabinus drew up his men on the open plain, expecting that the events of the preceding night would encourage the Barbarians to hazard a battle. Seeing that nothing could draw them from their works, or their fastnesses on the hills, he began a regular siege. A number of forts were thrown up with all expedition, and a fosse, with lines of circumvallation, enclosed a space of four miles round. To cut off all supplies of water and provisions, he advanced by degrees, and, raising new works, formed a close blockade on every side. From a high rampart the Romans were able to discharge a volley of stones, and darts, and firebrands. Thirst was the chief distress of the mountaineers. A single fountain was their only resource. The men who bore arms, and an infinite multitude incapable of service, were all involved in one general calamity. The distress was still increased by the famine that raged among the horses and cattle, which, without any kind of distinction, according to the custom of Barbarians, lay intermixed with the men. In one promiscuous heap were to be seen the carcasses of animals, and the bodies of soldiers who perished by the sword, or the anguish of thirst. Clotted gore, and stench, and contagion, filled the place. To complete their misery, internal discord, that worst of evils, added to the horror of the scene. Some were for laying down their arms; others, preferring self-destruction, proposed a general massacre; while a third party thought it better to sally out, and die sword in hand, fighting in the cause of liberty;

a brave and generous counsel, different, indeed, from the advice of their comrades, but worthy of heroic minds.

L. The expedient of surrendering at discretion was adopted by one of the leading chiefs. His name was Dinis; a man advanced in years, and by long experience convinced as well of the clemency as the terror of the Roman name. To submit, he said, was their only remedy; and accordingly he threw himself, his wife and children, on the mercy of the conqueror. He was followed by the weaker sex, and all who preferred slavery to a glorious death. Two other chiefs, by name Tarsa and Turesis, advised bolder measures. Between their opposite sentiments the young and vigorous were divided. To fall with falling liberty was the resolution of both; but they chose different modes. Tarsa declared for immediate death, the end of all hopes and fears; and, to lead the way, he plunged a poniard in his breast. Numbers followed his example. Turesis was still resolved to sally out: and, for that purpose, he waited for the advantage of the night. The Roman general received intelligence, and accordingly strengthened the guards at every post. Night came on, and brought with it utter darkness and tempestuous weather. With shouts and horrible howlings, followed at intervals by a profound and awful silence, the Barbarians kept the besiegers in a constant alarm. Sabinus rounded the watch, and at every post exhorted his men to be neither terrified by savage howlings, nor lulled into security by deceitful stillness. If taken by surprise, they would give to an insidious enemy every advantage. "Let each man continue fixed at his post, and let no darts be thrown at random, and, by consequence, without effect."

LI. The Barbarians, in different divisions, came rushing down from their hills. With massy stones, with clubs hardened by fire, and with trunks of trees, they attempted to batter a breach in the Roman palisade; they threw hurdles, faggots, and dead bodies, into the trenches; they laid bridges over the fosse, and applied scaling-ladders to the ramparts; they grasped hold of the works; they endeavoured to force their way, and fought hand to hand. The garrison drove them back with their javelins, beat them down with their bucklers, and overwhelmed them with huge heaps of stones. Both sides fought with obstinate bravery; the Romans, to complete a victory almost gained already, and to avoid the disgrace of suffering

it to be wrested from them. On the part of the Barbarians, despair was courage; the last struggle for life inspired them, and the shrieks of their wives and mothers roused them to deeds of valour.

The darkness of the night favoured equally the coward and the brave. Blows were given at random, and where they fell was uncertain; wounds were received, no man could tell from whom. Friends and enemies were mixed without distinction. The shouts of the Barbarians, reverberated from the neighbouring hills, sounded in the ear of the Romans, as if the uproar was at their backs. They thought the enemy had stormed the intrenchments, and they fled from their posts. The Barbarians, however, were not able to force the works. The number that entered was inconsiderable. At the dawn of day they beheld a melancholy spectacle; the bravest of their comrades either disabled by their wounds, or lying dead on the spot. Disheartened at the sight, they fled to their fortifications, and were at last compelled to surrender at discretion. The people in the neighbourhood made a voluntary submission. The few that still held out, were protected by the severity of the winter, which setting in, as is usual near Mount Hæmus, with intense rigour, the Roman general could neither attack them in their fastnesses, nor reduce them by a siege.

LII. At Rome, in the meantime, the imperial family was thrown into a state of distraction. As a prelude to the fate of Agrippina, a prosecution was commenced against Claudia Pulchra, her near relation. Domitius Afer was the prosecutor; a man who had lately discharged the office of prætor, but had not risen to any degree of eminence or consideration in the state. Aspiring, bold, and turbulent, he was now determined to advance himself by any means, however flagitious. The heads of his accusation were adultery with Furnius, a design to poison the emperor, and the secret practice of spells and magic incantations. The haughty spirit of Agrippina but ill could brook the danger of her friend. She rushed to the presence of Tiberius. Finding him in the act of offering a sacrifice to the manes of Augustus, she accosted him in a tone of vehemence. "The piety," she said, "which thus employs itself in slaying victims to the deceased emperor, agrees but ill with the hatred that persecutes his posterity. Those are senseless statues which you adore; they are not animated with the spirit of Augustus.

His descendants are living images of him; and yet even they, whose veins are warm with his celestial blood, stand trembling on the brink of peril. Why is Claudia Pulchra devoted to destruction? What has she committed? She has loved Agrippina, to excess has loved her; that is her only crime. Improvident woman! she might have remembered Sosia, undone and ruined for no other reason." Tiberius felt the reproach: it drew from that inscrutable breast a sudden burst of resentment. He told Agrippina, in a Greek verse, "You are hurt, because you do not reign." Pulchra and Furnius were both condemned. In the conduct of the prosecution Domitius Afer shone forth with such a flame of eloquence, that he ranked at once with the most celebrated orators, and, by the suffrage of Tiberius, was pronounced an original genius, depending on his own native energy. From that time, he pursued the career of eloquence, sometimes engaged on the side of the accused, often against them, and always doing more honour to his talents, than to his moral character. As age advanced upon him, the love of hearing himself talk continued, when ability was gone. He remained, with decayed faculties, a superannuated orator.

LIII. Agrippina, weakened by a fit of illness, but still retaining the pride of her character, received a visit from Tiberius. She remained for some time fixed in silence; tears only forced their way. At length, in terms of supplication, mixed with bitter reproaches, she desired him to consider, "that widowhood is a state of destitution. A second marriage might assuage her sorrows. The season of her youth was not entirely passed, and for a woman of honour there was no resource but in the conjugal state. There were at Rome citizens of illustrious rank, who would, with pride, take the widow and the children of Germanicus to their protection." Tiberius saw in this request a spirit of ambition, that looked proudly towards the imperial dignity. Unwilling, notwithstanding, to discover his jealousy, he heard her with calm indifference, and left her without an answer. For this anecdote, not to be found in the historians of the time, I am indebted to the younger Agrippina,[1] the mother of the emperor Nero, who, in the memoirs of her life, has related her own misfortunes and those of her family.

LIV. The violence of Agrippina's passions, and the im-

[1] She was the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina.

prudence of her conduct, exposed her to the malice of Sejanus, who now had laid the seed-plots of her destruction. He sent his agents to inform her, under a mask of friendship, that she would do well to beware of poison, and avoid eating at the emperor's table. To dissemble was not the talent of Agrippina. Invited by Tiberius, and placed near his person, she remained silent, pensive, with downcast eyes, abstaining from everything placed before her. Tiberius marked her behaviour, or perhaps the hint was previously given. To put her to the test, he praised the apples that stood near him, and helped her with his own hand. Agrippina was alarmed. Without so much as tasting the fruit, she gave it to the servants to be conveyed away. Tiberius, always master of himself, with seeming inadvertence overlooked her behaviour, but took an opportunity to say privately to his mother, "Should this woman be treated with severity, will anybody wonder, when she now imputes to me the guilt of dealing in poison?" A report prevailed soon after, that the fate of Agrippina was determined; but the emperor would not venture to act with open violence: he knew that the public eye was upon him, and resolved for that reason, to lie in wait for a clandestine murder.

LV. To check the murmurs of suspicion, and draw the public attention to other objects, Tiberius once more attended the debates of the fathers, and gave audience for several days to the ambassadors from different parts of Asia, all with ardour claiming a right to build, in their respective territories, the temple already mentioned. Eleven cities rivalled each other, not in power and opulence, but with equal zeal contending for the preference. They stated, with little variation, the antiquity of their origin, and their fidelity to Rome, in the various wars with Perseus, Aristonicus, and other eastern princes. The people of Hypæpes, the Trallians, Laodiceans, and Magnesians, were deemed unequal to the expense, and, for that reason, thrown out of the case. The inhabitants of Ilium boasted that Troy was the cradle of the Roman people, and on that foundation rested their pretensions. The citizens of Halicarnassus held the senate for some time in suspense. It was alleged on their behalf, that, during a series of twelve hundred years, they had not felt the shock of an earthquake, and they promised to build the edifice on a solid rock. The city of Pergamus made a merit of having already built a temple

in honour of Augustus; but that distinction was deemed sufficient. At Ephesus, where Diana was adored, and at Miletus, where Apollo was worshipped, a new object of veneration was deemed unnecessary.

The question was now reduced to the cities of Sardes and Smyrna. The former read a decree, in which they are acknowledged by the Etrurians as a kindred nation. By this document it appeared, that Tyrrhenus and Lydus, both sons of king Atys,[1] finding their country overstocked with inhabitants, agreed to form a separation. Lydus continued to occupy his native territory, and Tyrrhenus withdrew to settle a new colony. From that time the two nations were called by the names of their respective chiefs; in Asia, Lydians; Tyrrhenians in Italy. The Lydians multiplied their numbers with such increase, that they overflowed a second time. A migration passed over into Greece; and from Pelops, their leader, gave to the new territory the name of Peloponnesus. Besides these vouchers, the people of Sardes produced letters from some of the Roman generals, and also treaties of alliance during the wars in Macedonia. Nor did they forget to state the number of rivers that fertilised their soil, the temperature of their climate, and the plenty that covered the face of the country.

LVI. The deputies from Smyrna thought fit to grace their cause with the antiquity of their origin: but whether their city was founded by Tantalus, the son of Jupiter; by Theseus, the son of a god; or by one of the ancient Amazons, they left as a question of curiosity; relying more on their constant attachment to the Romans, whom they had assisted with a naval force, not only in their wars with foreign nations, but in those that involved all Italy. They thought it of moment to observe, that of all the cities in Asia, they were the first that built a temple in honour of the Roman name. This they had done in the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato, at a time when the republic was undoubtedly in a flourishing condition, but had not yet attained that meridian splendour, which afterwards followed the success of her arms. Carthage still subsisted, and the kings of Asia were unsubdued. For proof of still greater merit, the deputies appealed to the testimony of Lucius Sulla. When the legions under that commander, well nigh reduced to famine by the severity of the winter, and distressed for want of clothing, were in danger of being

[1] Atys, the son of Hercules and Omphale.

destroyed, their condition was no sooner known at Smyrna, than the people, then assembled in a public convention, with one generous impulse, threw off their clothes, and sent them to supply the necessities of the Roman army. The question was thereupon put by the senate, and the city of Smyrna prevailed. Vibius Marsus moved, that, in aid to Marcus Lepidus, who had obtained the province by lot, an officer extraordinary should be put in commission, to superintend the building of the temple. The delicacy of Lepidus not permitting him to choose his coadjutor, the names of such as were of prætorian rank were drawn by lot, and the chance fell on Valerius Naso.

LVII. In this juncture, Tiberius, bent on the measure which he had often ruminated, and as often procrastinated, set out for Campania, under the plausible pretence of dedicating a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and another to Augustus at Nola, but, in truth, determined never to return to Rome. Relying on the authority of eminent historians, I have ascribed the secret cause of this retreat to the artifice of Sejanus; but when it is considered, that, after the downfall of that minister, Tiberius passed the six following years in the same recluse manner, I am inclined to refer the whole to the workings of a dark and politic spirit, that wished to hide in solitude the lust and cruelty, which in his actions were too manifest to the world. At Rome there was a current opinion, that, towards the end of life, he was unwilling to exhibit to public view a tall emaciated figure, a body sinking under the weight of years, a bald head, a scrofulous face, and a number of blotches covered with medical applications. It is well known, that during his retreat at the isle of Rhodes, he shunned society, and passed his time in secret gratifications. According to some writers, it was the domineering spirit of his mother that drove him from Rome. To admit her to a share in the government was not in his nature: and to exclude her altogether was not in his power, since it was to her that he owed his elevation. Augustus, it is certain, at one point of time favoured Germanicus, the grandson of his sister, and even thought of raising him to the supreme authority; but, being governed by his wife, he gave her son the preference, and left Germanicus to be adopted by Tiberius. With these services Livia taxed her son; and what she had given, she considered as a deposit liable to be resumed.

LVIII. Tiberius departed from Rome with a slender

retinue. In his train were Cocceius Nerva, a senator of consular rank, celebrated for his legal knowledge; Sejanus, the favourite minister; and Curtius Atticus, a Roman knight. These were the only persons of rank. The rest were distinguished by nothing but their literature; mostly Greeks, men whose talents amused him in his hours of leisure. The professors of judicial astrology declared their opinion, that the position of the planets, under which Tiberius left the capital, made his return impossible. This prediction gained credit, and the death of the emperor being, by consequence, thought near at hand, numbers, who had been bold enough to circulate the rumour, brought on their own destruction. That the prince should remain, during the space of eleven years, a voluntary exile from the seat of government, was an event beyond the reach of human foresight. In the end, however, the art of such, as pretend to see into futurity, was discovered to be vain and frivolous. It was seen how nearly truth and falsehood are allied, and how much the facts, which happen to be foretold, are involved in darkness. That Tiberius would return no more, was a prophecy verified by the event; the rest was altogether visionary, since we find, that, long after that time, he appeared in the neighbourhood of Rome, sometimes on the adjacent shore, often in the suburbs, and died at last in the extremity of old age.

LIX. While the reports of the astrologers were scattered abroad, an accident, which put Tiberius in danger of his life, added to the credulity of the people, but, at the same time, raised Sejanus higher than ever in the affections and esteem of his master. It happened, that in a cave formed by nature, at a villa called SPELUNCA,[1] between the gulf of Amyclé and the hills of FONDI, Tiberius was at a banquet with a party of his friends, when the stones at the entrance gave way on a sudden, and crushed some of the attendants. The guests were alarmed, and fled for safety. Sejanus, to protect his master, fell on his knee, and with his whole force sustained the impending weight. In that attitude he was found by the soldiers, who came to relieve the prince. From that time the power of the minister knew no bounds. A man, who, in the moment of danger, could show so much zeal for his master, and so little attention to himself, was heard with affection and unlimited confidence. His

[1] This was in Campania, on the sea-coast.

counsels, however pernicious, were received as the dictates of truth and honour.

Towards the children of Germanicus, Sejanus affected to act with the integrity of a judge, while in secret he was their inveterate enemy. He suborned a band of accusers; and Nero, then presumptive heir to the empire, was the first devoted victim. The young prince, unhackneyed in the ways of men, modest in his deportment, and in his manners amiable, had not the prudence that knows how to temporise and bend to occasions. The freedmen, and others about his person, eager to grasp at power, encouraged him to act with firmness, and a spirit suited to his rank. Such behaviour, they told him, would gratify the wishes of the people; the army desired it, and the pride of Sejanus would soon be crestfallen, though at present he triumphed over the worn out faculties of a superannuated emperor, and the careless disposition of a young and inexperienced prince.

LX. Roused by these discourses, Nero began to throw off all reserve. Guilt was foreign to his heart; but expressions of resentment fell from him, inconsiderate, rash, and unguarded. His words were caught up by spies about his person, and reported with aggravation. Against the malice of insidious men the prince had no opportunity to defend himself. He lived in constant anxiety, and every day brought some new alarm. Some of the domestics avoided his presence; others paid a formal salute, and coldly passed away; the greatest part entered into talk, and abruptly broke off the conversation; while the creatures of Sejanus, affecting to be free and easy, added mockery to their arrogance.

The emperor received the prince with a stern countenance, or an ambiguous smile. Whether Nero spoke, or suppressed his thoughts, every word was misconstrued, and even silence was a crime. The night itself gave him no respite from his cares, no retreat from danger. His waking moments, his repose, his sighs, his very dreams, informed against him: his wife [1] carried the tale to her mother Livia, and the last whispered everything to Sejanus. By that dark politician even Drusus, the brother of Nero, was drawn into the conspiracy. To dazzle the imagination of a stripling, the splendour of empire, and the sure succession, when the ruin of the elder brother was completed, were held

[1] Julia, the daughter of Drusus, son of Tiberius, by his wife Livia.

forth as bright temptations. The spirit of contention, common between brothers, was with Drusus an additional motive; and the partiality of Agrippina for her eldest son inflamed a young man, who was by nature violent and ambitious. Sejanus, in the meantime, while he seemed to cherish Drusus, was busily employed in schemes to undermine him. He knew the haughty temper of the prince, and from the violence of his passions expected to derive every advantage.

LXI. Towards the end of the year died two illustrious citizens,[1] Asinius Agrippa, and Quintus Haterius. The former was of an honourable but not ancient family. His own character reflected lustre on his ancestors. Haterius was descended from a race of senators. His eloquence, while he lived, was in the highest celebrity; but his writings, published since his death, are not regarded as monuments of genius. Warm and rapid, he succeeded more through happiness than care. Diligence and depth of thinking, which give the last finishing to other works, and stamp their value with posterity, were not the talent of Haterius. His flowing period, and that harmonious cadence which charmed in the living orator, are now no longer heard. His page remains a dead letter, without grace or energy.

LXII. In the next consulship [A.U.C. 780, A.D. 27], which was that of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnius, an unforeseen disaster, no sooner begun than ended, laid a scene of ruin equal to the havoc of the most destructive war. A man of the name of Atilius, the son of a freedman, undertook at Fidena to build an amphitheatre for the exhibition of gladiators. The foundation was slight, and the superstructure not sufficiently braced; the work of a man, who had neither the pride of wealth, nor the ambition to make himself of consequence in a municipal town. The profit that might probably arise from such a scheme, was all he had in view. The people, under the austerity of a rigid and unsocial government, deprived of their usual diversions, were eager for the novelty of a public spectacle; and the place being at no great distance from Rome, a vast conflux of men and women, old and young, crowded together. The consequence was, that the building, overloaded with spectators, gave way at once. All who were

[1] Asinius Agrippa, grandson to the famous Asinius Pollio, the friend of Augustus.

under the roof, besides a prodigious multitude that stood round the place, were crushed under the ruins. The condition of those who perished instantly, was the happiest. They escaped the pangs of death, while the maimed and lacerated lingered in torment, beholding, as long as daylight lasted, their wives and children in equal agony, and, during the night, pierced to the heart by their shrieks and groans. A calamity so fatal was soon known round the country. Crowds from all quarters went to view the melancholy scene. One lamented a brother, another his near relation; children wept for their parents, and almost all for their friends. Such as by their avocations had been led a different way, were given up for lost. The real sufferers were still unknown, and, in that dreadful state of suspense, every bosom panted with doubt and fear.

LXIII. The ruins were no sooner removed, than the crowd rushed in to examine the place. They gathered round the dead bodies; they clasped them in their arms; they imprinted kisses, and often mistook the person. Disfigured faces, parity of age, and similitude of form and feature, occasioned great confusion. Claims were made, a tender contest followed, and errors were acknowledged. The number of killed or maimed was not less than fifty thousand. The senate provided by a decree, that, for the future, no man whose fortune was under four hundred thousand sesterces should presume to exhibit a spectacle of gladiators, and that, till the foundation was examined, no amphitheatre should be erected. Atilius, the builder, was condemned to banishment. The grandees of Rome displayed their humanity on this occasion; they threw open their doors, they ordered medicines to be distributed, and the physicians attended with assiduity in every quarter. The city of Rome recalled, in that juncture, an image of ancient manners, when, after a battle bravely fought, the sick and wounded were received with open arms, and relieved by the generosity of their country.

LXIV. While the public mind was still bleeding for the late calamity, a dreadful fire laid waste a great part of the city. Mount Cælius[1] was reduced to ashes. The populace began to murmur. The year, they said, was big with disasters, and the prince departed from Rome under an evil constellation. Such is the logic of the multitude: what happens by chance, they impute to design. To appease

[1] One of the seven hills of Rome.

their discontent, Tiberius ordered a distribution of money in proportion to the damage of individuals. For this act of liberality, the senate passed a vote of thanks, and the people were loud in praise of munificence so seasonably applied, and granted indiscriminately. No man had occasion to make interest; it was enough that he was a sufferer. The fathers came to a resolution, that mount Cælius, where a statue of Tiberius, in the house of Junius the senator, escaped the fury of the flames, should for the future be called mount AUGUSTUS. A prodigy of a similar nature happened in ancient times. The statue of Claudia Quinctia was saved twice from a general conflagration, and, on that account, placed and dedicated in the temple of the mother of the gods. The Claudian family was ever after considered as peculiarly favoured by heaven, and the spot where the gods were lately so propitious to Tiberius, was declared to be consecrated ground.

LXV. It will not perhaps be improper to mention in this place, that the mount of which we have been speaking, was, in the early ages of Rome, covered with a grove of oaks, and for that reason called QUERQUETULANUS. It took afterwards the name of Cælius from Cæles Vibenna, an Etrurian chief, who marched at the head of his countrymen, to assist the Romans, and for that service had the spot assigned to him as a canton for himself and his people. Whether this was the act of Tarquinius Priscus, or some other Roman king, is not settled by the historians. Thus much is certain; the number transplanted was so great, that their new habitation extended from the mount along the plain beneath, as far as the spot where the forum stands at present. From those settlers the TUSCAN STREET derives its name.

LXVI. Though the sufferings of the people, in their late distress, were alleviated by the bounty of the prince, and the humanity of the great, there was still an evil, against which no remedy could be found. The crew of informers rose in credit every day, and covered the city with consternation. Quintilius Varus, the son of Claudia Pulchra, and nearly related to the emperor, was marked out as a victim. His large possessions tempted Domitius Afer, who had already ruined the mother. The blow now aimed at the son, was no more than was expected from a man, who had lived in indigence, and, having squandered the wages of his late iniquity, was ready to find a new quarry

for his avarice. But that a man like Publius Dolabella, nobly descended, and related to Varus, should become an instrument in the destruction of his own family, was matter of wonder. The senate stopped the progress of the mischief. They resolved that the cause should stand over till the emperor's return to Rome. Procrastination was the only refuge of the unhappy.

LXVII. Tiberius, in the meantime, dedicated the two temples in Campania which served him as a pretext for quitting the city of Rome. That business finished, he issued an edict, warning the neighbouring cities not to intrude upon his privacy. For better security, he placed a guard at proper stations, to prevent all access to his person. These precautions, however, did not content him. Hating the municipal towns, weary of the colonies, and sick of everything on the continent, he passed over to Capreæ,[1] a small island, separated from the promontory of Surrentum by an arm of the sea, not more than three miles broad. Defended there from all intrusion, and delighted with the solitude of the place, he sequestered himself from the world, seeing, as may be imagined, many circumstances suited to his humour. Not a single port in the channel; the stations but few, and those accessible only to small vessels; no part of the island, where men could land unobserved by the sentinels; the climate inviting; in the winter, a soft and genial air, under the shelter of a mountain, that repels the inclemency of the winds; in the summer, the heat allayed by the western breeze; the sea presenting a smooth expanse, and opening a view of the bay of Naples, with a beautiful landscape on its borders: all these conspired to please the taste and genius of Tiberius. The scene, indeed, has lost much of its beauty, the fiery eruptions of Mount Vesuvius[2] having, since that time, changed the face of the country.

If we may believe an old tradition, a colony from Greece was formerly settled on the opposite coast of Italy, and the Teleboi were in possession of the isle of Capreæ. Be that as it may, Tiberius chose for his residence twelve different villas, all magnificent and well fortified. Tired of public business, he now resigned himself to his favourite gratifications, amidst his solitary vices still engendering mischief. The habit of nourishing dark suspicions, and

[1] The isle of Capreæ has the whole circuit of the bay of Naples in view.
[2] The eruption of Vesuvius happened in the reign of Titus, A.D. 79.

believing every whisperer, still adhered to him. At Rome, Sejanus knew how to practise on such a temper; but in this retreat he governed him with unbounded influence. Having gained the ascendant, he thought it time to fall on Agrippina and her son Nero, not, as heretofore, with covered malice, but with open and avowed hostility. He gave them a guard under colour of attending their persons, but in fact to be spies on their actions. Every circumstance was noted; their public and their private discourse, their messengers, their visitors, all were closely watched, and a journal kept of petty occurrences. The agents of Sejanus, by order of their master, advised them both to fly for protection to the German army, or to take sanctuary under the statue of Augustus in the public forum, and there implore the protection of the senate and the people. The advice was rejected; but the project, as if their own, and ripe for execution, was imputed to them as a crime.

LXVIII. Junius Silanus and Silius Nerva were the next consuls. The year [A.U.C. 781, A.D. 28] began with a transaction of the blackest dye. Titius Sabinus, a Roman knight of high distinction, was seized with violence, and dragged to the prison. His steady attachment to the house of Germanicus was his only crime. After the death of that unfortunate prince, he continued firm to Agrippina and her children; at her house a constant visitor; in public a sure attendant, and, of the whole number that formerly paid their court, the only friend at last. His constancy was applauded by every honest mind, and censured by the vile and profligate. Four men of prætorian rank entered into a conspiracy to work his ruin. Their names were Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and Marcus Opsius. They had all attained the prætorian rank, and now aspired to the consulship. The road to that dignity they knew was open to none but the creatures of Sejanus, and to the favour of that minister guilt was the only recommendation. The conspirators settled among themselves, that Latiaris, who had some connection with Sabinus, should undertake to lay the snare, while the rest lay in wait for evidence, determined, as soon as their materials were collected, to begin their scene of iniquity, and stand forth as witnesses.

Latiaris accordingly made his approaches to Sabinus: he talked at first on trite and common topics, artfully making a transition to the fidelity of Sabinus, who did not, like others,

follow the fortunes of a noble house, while fortune smiled, and, in the hour of adversity sound his retreat with the rest of the sneaking train. He made honourable mention of Germanicus, and spoke of Agrippina in pathetic terms. Sabinus, with a mind enfeebled by misfortunes, and now softened by compassion, burst into a flood of tears. To emotions of tenderness resentment succeeded. He talked, with indignation, of the cruelty of Sejanus, of his pride, his arrogance, and his daring ambition. The emperor himself did not escape. From this time, like men who had unbosomed their secrets to each other, Latiaris and Sabinus joined in the closest union. They cultivated each other's friendship. Sabinus sought the company of his new confederate; he frequented his house, and without reserve, in the fullest confidence, disclosed his inmost thoughts.

LXIX. The conspirators held it necessary, that the conversation of Sabinus should be heard by more than one. A place for this purpose, secure and solitary, was to be chosen. To listen behind doors, were to hazard a discovery; they might be seen or overheard, or some trifling accident might give the alarm. The scene of action at length was fixed. They chose the cavity between the roof of the house and the ceiling of the room. In that vile lurking-hole, with an execrable design, three Roman senators lay concealed, their ears applied to chinks and crannies, listening to conversation, and by fraud collecting evidence. To complete this plan of iniquity, Latiaris met Sabinus in the street, and, under pretence of communicating secret intelligence, decoyed him to the house, and to the very room where the infamous eavesdroppers lay in ambush. In that recess Latiaris entered into conversation; he recalled past grievances; he stated recent calamities, and opened a train of evils still to come. Sabinus went over the same ground, more animated than before, and more in the detail. When griefs, which have been long pent up, once find a vent, men love to discharge the load that weighs upon the heart. From the materials thus collected, the conspirators drew up an accusation in form, and sent it to the emperor, with a memorial to their own disgrace and infamy, setting forth the whole of their conduct. Rome was never at any period so distracted with anxiety and terror. Men were afraid of knowing each other; society was at a pause; relations, friends, and strangers, stood at gaze; no public meeting, no private confidence; things inanimate had ears, and roofs and walls were deemed informers.

LXX. On the calends of January, Tiberius despatched a letter

to the senate, in which, after expressing, as usual in the beginning of the year, his prayers and vows for the commonwealth, he fell with severity on Sabinus. He charged him with a plot against his sovereign, and with corrupting, for that purpose, several of the imperial freedmen. He concluded, in terms neither dark nor ambiguous, demanding vengeance on the offender. Judgment of death was pronounced accordingly. Sabinus was seized, and dragged through the streets to immediate execution. Muffled in his robe, his voice almost stifled, he presented to the gazing multitude a tragic spectacle. He cried out with what power of utterance he could: "Behold the bloody opening of the year! With victims like myself Sejanus must be glutted!" He continued to struggle and throw his eyes around. Wherever he looked, to whatever side he directed his voice, the people shrunk back dismayed; they fled, they disappeared: the public places and the forum were abandoned; the streets became a desert. In their confusion some returned to the same spot, as if willing to behold the horrid scene, alarmed for themselves, and dreading the crime of being terrified.

The general murmur was: "Will there never be a day unpolluted with blood? Amidst the rites and ceremonies of a season sacred to religion, when all business is at a stand, and the use of profane words is by law prohibited, we hear the clank of chains; we see the halter, and the murder of a fellow-citizen. The innovation, monstrous as it is, is a deliberate act, the policy of Tiberius. He means to make cruelty systematic. By this unheard-of outrage, he gives public notice to the magistrates, that on the first day of the year they are to open, not only the temples and the altars, but also the dungeons and the charnel-house." Tiberius, in a short time after, sent despatches to the senate, commending the zeal of the fathers in bringing to condign punishment an enemy of the state. He added, that his life was embittered with anxiety, and the secret machinations of insidious enemies kept him in a constant alarm. Though he mentioned no one by name, his malice was understood to glance at Nero and Agrippina.

LXXI. The plan of this work professes to give the transactions of the year in chronological order. If that rule did not restrain me, I should here be tempted to anticipate the time, and, to gratify indignation, relate the vengeance that overtook Latiaris, Opsius, and the other actors in that horrible tragedy. Some of them were reserved for the reign of Caligula; but, even in the present period, the sword of justice was not suffered

to remain inactive. The fact was, Tiberius made it a rule to protect his instruments of cruelty; but it was also in his nature to be satiated with the arts of flagitious men: new tools of corruption listed in his service; and his former agents, worn out in guilt, neglected and despised, were cashiered at once, and left to the resentment of their enemies. But I forbear; the punishment that befell the murderers of Sabinus, and other miscreants equally detestable, shall be seen in its proper place.

The emperor's letter above-mentioned being read in the senate, Asinius Gallus,[1] whose sons were nephews to Agrippina, moved an address, requesting the prince to reveal his secret disquietude, that the wisdom of the fathers might remove all cause of complaint. Dissimulation was the darling practice of Tiberius, and he placed it in the rank of virtues. Hating detection, and jealous of prying eyes, he was now enraged against the man who seemed to have fathomed his latent meaning. Sejanus appeased his anger, not out of friendship to Gallus, but to leave Tiberius to the workings of his own gloomy temper. The favourite had studied the genius of his master. He knew that he could think with phlegm, slow to resolve, yet gathering rancour, and, in the end, sure to break out with fiercer vengeance.

About this time died Julia,[2] the granddaughter of Augustus, during that prince's reign convicted of adultery, and banished to the isle of Trimetus, near the coast of Apulia. At that place she languished in exile during a space of three and twenty years, a wretched dependant on the bounty of Livia, who first cut off the grandsons of Augustus, in their day of splendour, and then made a show of compassion for the rest of the family, who were suffered to survive in misery.

LXXII. In the course of this year the Frisians, a people dwelling beyond the Rhine,[3] broke out into open acts of hostility. The cause of the insurrection was not the restless spirit of a nation impatient of the yoke; they were driven to despair by Roman avarice. A moderate tribute, such as suited the poverty of the people, consisting of raw hides for the use of

[1] Asinius Gallus married Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa by Pomponia, the granddaughter of Atticus, after she was divorced from Tiberius. Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was also the daughter of Agrippa by Julia, the daughter of Augustus; and being half-sister to the wife of Asinius Gallus, she was, of course, aunt to his children.

[2] She was guilty of adultery with Silanus.

[3] The Frisians inhabited along the sea-coast, between the Rhine and the Ems.

the legions, had been formerly imposed by Drusus.[1] To specify the exact size and quality of the hide was an idea that never entered into the head of any man, till Olennius, the first centurion of a legion, being appointed governor over the Frisians, collected a quantity of the hides of forest bulls, and made them the standard both of weight and dimension. To any other nation this would have been a grievous burden, but was altogether impracticable in Germany, where the cattle, running wild in large tracts of forest, are of prodigious size, while the breed for domestic uses is remarkably small. The Frisians groaned under this oppressive demand. They gave up first their cattle, next their lands; and finally were obliged to see their wives and children carried into slavery by way of commutation. Discontent and bitter resentment filled the breasts of injured men. They applied for redress, but without effect. In despair they took up arms; they seized the tax-gatherers, and hung them upon gibbets. Olennius made his escape. He fled for refuge to a castle known by the name of FLEVUM, at that time garrisoned by a strong party of the Romans and auxiliaries, who were stationed in that quarter for the defence of the country bordering on the German Ocean.

LXXIII. Intelligence of this revolt no sooner reached Lucius Apronius, at that time proprætor of the Lower Germany, than he drew together from the upper Rhine a detachment of the legionary veterans, with the flower of the allied horse and infantry. Having now two armies, he sailed down the Rhine, and made a descent on the territory of the Frisians, then employed in a close blockade of Flevum castle. To defend their country against the invaders, the Barbarians thought proper, on the approach of the Romans, to abandon the siege. The estuaries in that country, formed by the influx of the sea, are a grand obstacle to military operations. Apronius ordered bridges to be prepared, and causeways to be thrown over the marshes. Meanwhile the fords and shallows being discovered, he sent the cavalry of the Caninefates and the German infantry that served under him, with orders to pass over, and take post in the rear of the enemy. The Frisians, drawn up in order of battle, gave them a warm reception. The whole detachment, with the legionary horse sent to support the ranks, was put to the rout. Apronius despatched three light cohorts; two more followed, and, in a short time, the whole cavalry of the auxiliaries; a force suffi-

[1] Drusus, the father of Germanicus.

cient, had they made one joint attack; but coming up in separate divisions, and at different times, they were neither able to rally the broken ranks, nor, in the general panic, to make head against the enemy.

In this distress, Cethegus Labeo, who commanded the fifth legion, received orders to advance with the remainder of the allies. That officer soon found himself pressed on every side. He sent messenger after messenger to call forth the whole strength of the army. His own legion being the fifth, rushed forward to his assistance. A sharp engagement followed. The Barbarians, at length, gave ground; and the auxiliary cohorts, faint with fatigue, and disabled by their wounds, were rescued from the sword of the enemy. The Roman general neither pursued the fugitives, nor stayed to bury the slain, though a number of tribunes and officers of rank, with centurians of distinguished bravery, lay dead on the field of battle. By deserters intelligence was afterwards brought, that no less that nine hundred Romans were surrounded in the forest called BADUHENNA, and after a gallant defence, which lasted till the dawn of day, were to a man cut to pieces. Another body, consisting of no less than four hundred, threw themselves into a strong mansion belonging to Cruptorix, a German chief, who had formerly served in the Roman army; but this whole party, afraid of treachery, and dreading nothing so much as being delivered into the hands of the enemy, turned their swords against each other, and perished by mutual slaughter.

LXXIV. The name of the Frisians was, by consequence, celebrated throughout Germany. Tiberius, with his usual closeness, endeavoured to conceal the loss, aware that a war would call for a new commander, and that important trust he was unwilling to commit to any person whatever. As to the senate; events that happened on the remote frontiers of the empire, made little impression on that assembly. Domestic grievances were more interesting; every man trembled for himself, and flattery was his only resource. With this spirit the fathers, at a time when matters of moment demanded their attention, made it their first business to decree an altar to Clemency, and another to Friendship; both to be decorated with the statues of Tiberius and Sejanus. They voted, at the same time, an humble address, requesting that the prince and his minister would condescend to show themselves to the people of Rome. Neither of them entered the city, nor even approached the suburbs.

To leave their island on a sailing-party and exhibit themselves on the coast of Campania, was a sufficient favour.

To enjoy that transient view, all degrees and orders of men, the senators, the Roman knights, and the populace, pressed forward in crowds. The favourite attracted the attention of all, but was difficult of access. To gain admission to his presence was the work of cabal, intrigue, or connection in guilt. Sejanus felt his natural arrogance inflamed and pampered by a scene of servility so openly displayed before him. He saw a whole people crouching in bondage. At Rome the infamy was not so visible. In a great and populous city, where all are in motion, the sycophant may creep unnoticed to pay his homage. In a vast conflux, numbers are constantly passing and repassing; but their business, their pursuits, whence they come, and whither they are going, no man knows. On the margin of the sea the case was different. Without distinction of rank, the nobles and the populace lay in the fields, or on the shore, humbly waiting, night and day, to court the smiles of the porter at the great man's gate, or to bear the insolence of slaves in office. Even that importunity was at length prohibited. The whole herd returned to Rome; some, who had not been honoured with a word or a smile, sinking into the lowest dejection of spirits; others elate with joy, for they had seen the favourite, and did not then suspect how soon that fatal connection was to overwhelm them all in ruin.

LXXV. The year closed with the marriage of Agrippina, one of the daughters of Germanicus. Tiberius gave her away in person to Cneius Domitius, but ordered the nuptial ceremony to be performed at Rome. Domitius was descended from a splendid line of ancestors, and, besides, allied to the house of Cæsar. He was the grandson of Octavia, and of course grandnephew to Augustus. By this consideration Tiberius was determined in his choice.

BOOK V

CONTENTS

I. *The death and character of the empress Livia.*—II. *Tiberius grows more oppressive than ever, and Sejanus rises to greater power.*—III. *Tiberius, by a letter to the senate, accuses Agrippina and her son Nero—The populace in a tumultuous manner surround the senate-house—The fathers proceed no further in the business—Sejanus incensed against their conduct.*—V. *Tiberius writes in an angry style to the senate, and reserves the affair of Agrippina for his own judgment—The apology of the senate.*[1]

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VI. *The speech of an illustrious senator, whose name is lost: his fortitude, and manner of dying.*—VIII. *P. Vitellius and Pomponius Secundus accused, but not brought to trial.—Vitellius dies broken-hearted—Pomponius out-lived Tiberius.*—IX. *A son and daughter of Sejanus, the last of his family, put to death by order of the senate.*—X. *A counterfeit Drusus in Greece.—The impostor detected by Poppæus Sabinus.*—XI. *Dissensions between the two consuls.*

These transactions include three years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
782	29	L. Rubellius Geminus, C. Fusius Geminus.
783	30	Marcus Vinicius, L. Cassius Longinus.
784	31	Tiberius 5th time, L. Ælius Sejanus.
About the middle of May in the same year for three months.		Cornelius Sulla, Sexteidius Catullinus.
From the middle of August in the same year		Memmius Regulus, Fulcinius Trio.

I. DURING the consulship of Rubellius Geminus, and Fusius,[2] who bore the same surname, died, in an advanced old age, the emperor's mother Livia,[3] styled Julia Augusta. Illustrious by her descent from the house of Claudius, she was further ennobled by adoption into the Livian and the Julian families. She was first married to Tiberius Nero, and by him was the mother of two sons. Her husband, when the city of Perusia was obliged to surrender to the arms of Augustus, made his escape, and wandered from place to place, till the peace between Sextus Pompeius and the

[1] See editorial note, p. 242.

[2] A.D. 29.

[3] Augustus by his last will adopted her into the Julian family, under the additional name of AUGUSTA.

triumvirate restored him to his country. Enamoured of the graceful form and beauty of Livia, Augustus obliged her husband to resign her to his embraces. Whether she had consented to the change, is uncertain; but the passion of the emperor was so ardent, that, without waiting till she was delivered of the fruit of her womb, he conveyed her, pregnant as she was, to his own house. By this second marriage she had no issue; but Agrippina and Germanicus[1] being joined in wedlock, Livia became allied to the house of Cæsar, and the issue of that match were the common great-grandchildren of Augustus and herself. Her domestic conduct was formed on the model of primitive manners: but by a graceful ease, unknown to her sex in the time of the republic, she had the address to soften the rigour of ancient virtue. A wife of amiable manners, yet a proud and imperious mother, she united in herself the opposite qualities that suited the specious arts of Augustus, and the dark dissimulation of her son. The rites of sepulture[2] were performed without pomp or magnificence. Her will remained for a long time unexecuted. The funeral oration was delivered from the rostrum by her great-grandson Caius Cæsar, afterwards Caligula, the emperor.

II. Tiberius did not attend to pay the last melancholy duties to his mother. He continued to riot in voluptuous pleasures, but the weight of business was his apology to the senate. Public honours were, with great profusion, decreed to her memory: Tiberius, under the mask of moderation, retrenched the greatest part, expressly forbidding the forms of religious worship. On that point he knew the sentiments of his mother; it was her desire not to be deified. In the same letter that conveyed his directions to the senate, he passed a censure on the levity of female friendship; by that remark obliquely glancing at Fusius the consul, who owed his elevation to the partiality of Livia. The fact was, Fusius had brilliant talents. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of recommending himself to the softer sex. His con-

[1] Germanicus, the son of Drusus, was grandson to Livia; and Agrippina, his wife, was granddaughter to Augustus.

[2] Tiberius, from the day of his accession to the imperial dignity, considered his mother as a woman of a politic and artificial character, proud, fierce, and overbearing: in appearance, plotting to aggrandise her son; in secret, wishing for nothing so much as to gratify her own ambition. She lived three years after Tiberius retired to the isle of Capreæ, and, during that time, never had more than one short interview. In her last illness Tiberius did not condescend to visit her. He signified an inclination to attend the funeral ceremony; but he promised, only to deceive.

versation sparkled with wit. In his lively sallies he did not spare even Tiberius himself, forgetting that the raillery which plays with the foibles of the great, is long remembered, and seldom forgiven.

III. From this time may be dated the era of a furious, headlong, and despotic government. The rage of Tiberius knew no bounds. While his mother lived, his passions were rebuked, and in some degree controlled. He had been from his infancy in the habit of submitting to her judgment; and to counteract her authority was more than Sejanus dared to undertake. By the death of Livia all restraint was thrown off. The prince and his minister broke out with unbridled fury. A letter was despatched to the senate, in bitter terms arraigning the conduct of Agrippina and her son Nero. The charge was generally supposed to have been framed, and even forwarded to Rome, during the life of Livia, but, by her influence, for that time suppressed. The violence of the proceeding, so soon after her death, gave rise to the opinion entertained by the populace. The letter was conceived in a style of exquisite malice, containing, however, against the grandson no imputation of treason, no plot to levy war against the state. The crimes objected to him were unlawful pleasures, and a life of riot and debauchery. Agrippina's character was proof against the shafts of malice. Her haughty carriage and unconquerable pride were the only allegations that could be urged against her. The fathers sat in profound silence, covered with atonishment. At length that class of men, who by fair and honourable means had nothing to hope, seized the opportunity to convert to their own private advantage the troubles and misfortunes of their country. A motion was made that the contents of the letter should be taken into consideration. Cotta Messalinus,[1] the most forward of the party, a man ever ready to join in any profligate vote, seconded the motion; but the leading members of the senate, particularly the magistrates, remained in a state of doubt and perplexity. They saw no ground for proceeding in a business of so high a nature, communicated indeed with acrimony, but wanting precision, and ending abruptly, without any clear or definite purpose.

IV. Junius Rusticus, who had been appointed by the emperor to register[2] the acts of the fathers, was, at that time,

[1] Cotta Messalinus was the son of Messala Corvinus, the famous orator, who was highly commended by Quintilian. The son inherited a portion of his father's eloquence, but none of his virtues.

[2] Suetonius assures us, that Julius Cæsar ordered acts of the senate, as

present in the assembly. From the nature of his employment he was supposed to be in the secrets of his master. He rose on a sudden, under the impulse of some emotion unfelt before: magnanimity it was not, since he had never, upon any occasion, discovered one generous sentiment: perhaps he was deceived by his own political speculations, in the hurry of a confused and tumultuous judgment anticipating future mischief, but not attending to the combination of circumstances, that formed the present crisis. Whatever might be his motive, this man joined the moderate party, and advised the consul to adjourn the debate. He observed, that, in affairs of the greatest moment, the slightest cause often produces events altogether new and unexpected. Grant an interval of time, and the passions of a superannuated emperor may relent. The populace, in the meantime, bearing aloft the images of Nero and Agrippina, surrounded the senate-house. They offered up their prayers for the safety of the emperor, and with one voice pronounced the letter a wicked forgery, fabricated without the knowledge of Tiberius; a black contrivance to ruin the imperial family. The senate came to no resolution.

When the assembly was adjourned, a number of fictitious speeches, purporting to have been delivered by consular senators, in a strain of bitter invective against Sejanus, were immediately written and dispersed among the people. In those productions, the several authors, unknown and safe in their obscurity, gave free scope to their talents, and poured forth their virulence with unbounded freedom. The artifice served to exasperate the minister. He charged the fathers with disaffection; "they paid no attention to the remonstrances of the prince: the people were ripe for tumult and insurrections. A new council of state was set up, and the decrees of that mock assembly were published with an air of authority. What now remains for the discontented but to unsheath the sword, and choose for their leaders, and even proclaim as emperors, the very persons whose images had been displayed as the banners of sedition and revolt?"

V. Tiberius was fired with indignation. He renewed his complaints against Agrippina and her son, and, in a proclamation, reprimanded the licentious spirit of the populace. He complained to the fathers in terms of keen reproach, that the

well as of the people, to be daily committed to writing, and published, which had never been done before his time. These records were, in the modern phrase, the JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE.

authority of the prince was eluded, and by the artifice of a single senator despised and set at nought. He desired that the whole business, unprejudiced by their proceedings, should be reserved for his own decision. The fathers, without further debate, sent despatches to the emperor, assuring him, that, though they had not pronounced final judgment, having no commission for that purpose, they were, notwithstanding, ready to prove their zeal, and would have inflicted a capital punishment, if the prince himself had not abridged their authority.

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[*There is a lacuna here in the MSS. The beginning of the sixth, as well as the end of the fifth, book, are lost; the latter ended with the death of Sejanus. The numbering, however, of the early editors is retained here, for reference purposes. The lost sections dealt with events extending over many months.*—E. H. B.]

VI. In the course of those prosecutions, no less than four and forty speeches were made before the senate; some of them dictated by fear, and others by servile adulation, the epidemic vice of the times. Amidst the general wreck, a senator of distinguished eminence, and superior dignity of mind, finding himself doomed to destruction, called a meeting of his friends, and spoke to the following effect:—"There was a time, when no human prudence could foresee, that the friendship, which subsisted between Sejanus and me, would either prove a reproach to him, or a calamity to myself. A reverse of fortune has changed the scene. And yet, even at this day, the great person who chose Sejanus for his colleague, and even for his son-in-law, does not condemn his own partiality. Numbers there were, who courted the minister in his meridian splendour, but in the moment of his decline turned against him, with treachery and base ingratitude. The first was their servility; the last was their crime. Which of the two evils is the worst, to suffer, on the one hand, for a faithful attachment, or, on the other, to blacken the character of the man whom we have loved, I shall not decide. For myself, I will not poorly wait to feel either the cruelty or the compassion of any man. While I yet am free, while I enjoy the congratulations of my own conscience, I will act as becomes a man, and outstrip the malice of my enemies. To you, my friends, this is my last request: Pursue me not with tears and vain regret: consider death as an escape from the

miseries of life; and add my name to those heroic spirits, who chose to die with glory, rather than survive to see the ruin of their country."

VII. After this discourse, he passed a considerable part of the day in calm serenity, receiving the visits of his friends, and taking leave of such as chose to depart. With a large circle round him, while all eyes beheld with admiration the undaunted courage, which appeared in his countenance, and gave reason to hope that his end was not so near, he fell upon the point of his sword, which he had concealed under his mantle. Tiberius waged no war against his memory. To Blæsus, when that officer could no longer speak for himself, he behaved with inveterate rancour; but this upright citizen was allowed to sleep in peace.

VIII. Publius Vitellius[1] and Pomponius Secundus were soon after cited to appear before the senate. Vitellius had been entrusted with the care of the public treasury, and the military chest. He was charged with a design to surrender both for the service of the conspirators, with intent to overturn the government. The allegation against Pomponius was, his intimacy with Ælius Gallus, who immediately after the execution of Sejanus, fled to the gardens of the accused, deeming that place his safest sanctuary. This charge was supported by Confidius, a man of prætorian rank. In this distress, those two eminent men had no resource but the magnanimity of their brothers, who generously stood forth and gave security for their appearance. Vitellius, harassed out by various delays, and at length weary of alternate hopes and fears, called for a penknife, as if going to write, and opened his veins, but with so slight a wound, that he continued to linger for some time longer. He died of a broken heart. Pomponius, who was distinguished no less by his genius, than by the gaiety and elegance of his manners, supported himself in adversity with undaunted spirit, and survived Tiberius.

IX. The fury of the populace began to subside, the blood already spilt having well nigh appeased their indignation. The fathers, however, did not relent. Two children of Sejanus, a son and a daughter, still survived the massacre of their family. They were both seized by order of the senate, and dragged to prison. The son was grown up to years of discretion; but the daughter, as yet a tender infant, was insensible

[1] P. Vitellius was the faithful companion of Germanicus, in Germany and Asia.

of her sad condition. She was hurried through the streets, asking in a tone of simplicity, "What fault she had committed? Whither they were leading her? Tell her her offence, and she would be guilty of the like no more: they might chastise her, and she would promise to be good." A virgin sentenced to capital punishment was, at that time, a thing unheard of at Rome: but we are told by writers of good authority, that, to satisfy the forms of law, a detestable artifice was employed. The executioner deflowered her first, and strangled her afterwards. Her brother suffered at the same time. Their bodies were thrown into the *Gemoniæ*, or the common charnel, where the vilest malefactors were exposed.

X. About this time a report was spread through Greece and Asia, that Drusus, the son of Germanicus, had been seen in the islands called the Cyclades, and afterwards on the continent. A young man, it seems, about the age of Drusus, assumed the name of that unfortunate prince. The emperor's freedmen encouraged the impostor, intending to favour him at first, and betray him in the end. A name so celebrated as that of Drusus drew together a large conflux of the common people. The genius of the Greeks, fond of novelty, and at all times addicted to the marvellous, helped to propagate the story. The prince, they said, had escaped from his confinement, and was then on his way to head the armies of Asia, formerly commanded by his father. With that force he intended to make himself master of Egypt, or of Syria. Such was the tale dressed up by the lively genius of the Greeks. What they invented, they were willing to believe. The hero of this romance had his train of followers, and the wishes of the multitude favoured his cause. The impostor, flushed with success, began to anticipate his future grandeur.

Meanwhile, Poppæus Sabinus, the proconsular governor of Macedonia and Greece, but engaged at that time in the former province, received an account of this wild attempt. He resolved to crush the adventurer without delay, and accordingly, having passed the two bays of Toronis and Thermes, he crossed over to Eubœa, an island in the Ægean Sea. From that place he sailed to Piræum, on the coast of Athens, and thence to Corinth and the adjoining isthmus. He there embarked on the opposite sea, and steered his course to Nicopolis, a Roman colony, where he was informed that the impostor, when interrogated by persons of skill and judgment, declared himself the son of Marcus Silanus. After this discovery, the number of his adherents falling off,

he went on board a vessel, with intent, as he himself gave out, to pass over into Italy. Sabinus sent this account to Tiberius. The affair ended here: of its origin, progress, or final issue, nothing further has reached our knowledge.

Towards the close of the year, warm dissensions broke out between the two consuls. Their animosities, which had been festering for some time, were now gathered to a head. Trio was by nature restless, bold, and turbulent. He had been formerly exercised in the practice of the bar, and thence more ready to provoke hostilities. He charged his colleague with too much lenity towards the accomplices of Sejanus. Regulus was a man of moderation; if not insulted, modest; if provoked, neither stupid, nor unwilling to resent an injury. Not content with refuting his adversary, he threatened to arraign him, as an accomplice in the late conspiracy. The fathers interposed their good offices to compromise a quarrel, which was likely to end in the ruin of both; but the ill-will between the two consuls was not to be appeased. They continued at variance, provoking and threatening each other during the rest of the year.

BOOK VI

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I. *The secret and libidinous passions of Tiberius in his solitary retreat at Capreæ.*—II. *The rage and violence of prosecutions—The statues of the younger Livia demolished, and the effects of Sejanus confiscated.*—IV. *Latinius Latiaris accused and condemned.*—V. *Cotta Messalinus saved by appealing to the emperor.*—VI. *Remarkable expressions in a letter from Tiberius, painting the horrors of his mind.*—VIII. *A spirited and noble defence made by Marcus Terentius.*—IX. *Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Scaurus Mamercus, and others, accused: the hearing reserved for the emperor.*—X. *A woman suffers for shedding tears for her son—The death of Lucius Piso, governor of Rome, and his excellent character.*—XI. *The office of præfect, or governor of Rome; its origin, and progress.*—XII. *Debates about the Sibylline books, and the restrictions to be observed in admitting them.*—XIII. *Seditions on account of the scarcity of corn.*—XIV. *Roman knights charged with conspiracy, condemned, and executed.*—XV. *Two daughters of Germanicus married to Lucius Cassius and Marcus Vinicius.*—XVI. *Prosecutions against usurers, and new regulations to repress them—By the liberality of Tiberius, public credit restored.*—XVIII. *Accusations on the law of majesty—A number of the confederates of Sejanus executed at once.*—XX. *Caius Cæsar (otherwise Caligula) married to Claudia—His manners, dissimulation, and character—Tiberius foretells the reign of Galba.*—*He studied the arts of prognostication under* THRASULLUS—*A remarkable story relating to that astrologer.*—XXIII. *The tragic death of Drusus, son of Germanicus, and the violent end of his mother Agrippina.*—XXVI. *Voluntary death of* NERVA, *the great lawyer, and his reasons—The fate of other illustrious men.*—XXVIII. *A phœnix seen in Egypt, with an account of that miraculous bird.*—XXIX. *Various accusations and executions.*—XXXI. *Deputies from the Parthian nobility, requesting a new king—Tiberius sends two, one after the other—The command in the east given to Lucius Vitellius: his character.*—XXXIII. *War between the Parthians and Armenians—Artabanus driven from his throne by the Parthians: he seeks refuge in Scythia—*TIRIDATES *placed on the throne by the conduct of Vitellius.*—XXXVIII. *Violent prosecutions at Rome, and numbers suffer—The death and will of Fulcinius Trio.*—XXXIX. *Death and character of Poppæus Sabinus.*—XL. *Vibulenus Agrippa poisons himself in the senate—Tigranes, formerly king of Armenia, is put to death; and also several others—Æmilia Lepida puts an end to her life.*—XLI. *Revolt of the Clitæans, a people of Cappadocia; and their defeat—Tiridates deposed by the Parthians, and Artabanus once more restored.*—XLV. *A dreadful fire at Rome, and part of the Circus consumed—The munificence of Tiberius on that occasion.*—XLVI. *Deliberations of Tiberius about naming a*

successor—His knowledge of Caligula's character, and his prophetic words about his violent death.—XLVII. *The seeds of new prosecutions laid at Rome.*—XLVIII. *The noble speech of Lucius Arruntius, and his voluntary death.*—L. *The last illness, dissimulation, and death of Tiberius.*—LI. *His origin, progress, and character.*

These transactions include near six years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
785	32	Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus.
786	33	Ser. Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla.
787	34	Paulus Fabius Persicus, Lucius Vitellius.
788	35	C. Cestius Gallius, M. Servilius Nonianus.
789	36	Sext. Papinius Allenius, Quintus Plautius.
790	37	Cneius Acerronius Proculus, Caius Pontius Nigrinus.

I. Cneius Domitius[1] and Camillus Scribonianus succeeded to the consulship [A.U.C. 785, A.D. 32]. They had not been long in office, when Tiberius crossed the narrow sea that divides the isle of Capreæ from Surrentum, and sailing along the coast of Campania, made his approach towards Rome, in doubt whether to enter the city; or, perhaps, because he had determined otherwise, choosing to raise expectations, which he never meant to gratify. He went on shore at various places; visited his gardens on the banks of the Tiber, and, at length, having amused the people with false appearances, went back to hide himself, his vices, and sensualities, amidst the rocks of Capreæ. In that place he gave a loose to his inordinate appetites, a tyrant even in his pleasures. With the pride of eastern despotism, he seized the young men of ingenuous birth, and forced them to yield to his brutal gratifications. Elegance of shape and beauty of feature were not his only incentives. The blush of modesty served as a provocative; and to stain the honour of respectable families, gave a zest to his enjoyments. New modes of sensuality were invented, and new terms for scandalous refinements in lascivious pleasure. Then, for the first time, were introduced into the Roman language the words Sellarii and Spintriæ; two words of the vilest import, signifying at once the place of clandestine vice, and the unnatural experiments of infamous prostitution. Slaves were employed to provide objects of desire, with full com-

[1] Domitius, commonly called Domitius Ænobarbus, is the person whom we have seen (iv. 75) married to Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus. Suetonius draws his character in the blackest colours.

mission to allure the venal with presents, and to conquer the reluctant by threats and violence. If friends interposed in the defence of youth and innocence, if a parent attempted to protect his child, ruffian force was exercised. Compulsion and captivity followed. Like slaves by conquest, all were at the mercy of a detestable crew, whose business it was to pander for the passions of their master.

II. At Rome, in the meantime, the guilt of the younger Livia,[1] as if she had not been sufficiently punished, was resumed with warmth and violence. The senate thundered forth decrees against her memory, and her very statues. The property of Sejanus was ordered to be removed from the public treasury, to the coffers of the prince; as if, in either place, it would not have been equally at his disposal. The Scipios, the Silani, and the Cassii were the authors of this alteration. They proposed the measure, and enforced it with their best ability, but with little variance either in the language, or the argument.

Togonius Gallus had the ill-timed ambition to mix his name, however obscure and insignificant, with men of the highest rank. He made himself ridiculous: and malignity, for that reason, was willing to listen to him. He proposed that out of a number of senators, chosen by the prince, twenty should be drawn by lot, to serve under arms, as a guard to Tiberius whenever he should choose to honour the senate with his presence. This extravagant motion sprung from the folly of a man, who was weak enough to believe that the emperor was in earnest, when he desired, by letter, that one of the consuls should be sent to guard him on his way from Capreæ to Rome. Tiberius, according to his custom, mingling a vein of irony with serious business, thanked the fathers for this mark of their care. He desired to know, "who were to be elected into the body-guard, and who rejected? Was it to be an office for life, or by rotation? Were they to be draughted from the younger part of the senate, or to consist of such as had passed through the gradations of the magistracy? Must they be actually magistrates, or men in a private station? And again, when the senators, sword in hand, were drawn up rank and file in the porch of the senate-house, what kind of scene would that motley appearance present to the people? A life, which must be thus defended, was not

[1] This is Livia, who conspired with Sejanus against the life of Drusus, her husband.

worth his care." In this strain of raillery he replied to Togonius, adding nothing harsh, and not a word of serious tendency to over-rule the motion.

III. Junius Gallio[1] was not let off on the same easy terms. He had given his opinion that the soldiers of the prætorian band, having served the requisite time, should enjoy the privilege of sitting on the fourteen rows[2] of the theatre, appropriated to the Roman knights. Against the mover of this innovation, Tiberius launched out with vehemence, and, though absent, with all the ardour of a personal expostulation. He asked, "what business has Gallio to interfere with the military line? Why intermeddle with those, whose duty it is to receive their orders, and the reward of their service, from the emperor only? A new plan of policy, unknown to the wisdom of Augustus, has been broached by the superior genius of this able statesman! Perhaps, it was the project of a man, bred in the school of Sejanus, with a view to kindle the flame of discord, and, under colour of dispensing military honours, to seduce the affections of the army, to the ruin of discipline and all good order." Such were the wages earned by flattery. Gallio intended to pay his court, and, for his attempt, was expelled the senate, and banished out of Italy. He retired to Lesbos; but it being suggested, that, in the charming scenes of that delightful island, what was intended as a punishment, would be, in fact, a pleasing recompense, he was brought back to Rome, and ordered into close confinement in the house of a civil magistrate.

In the letter which directed this proceeding, Tiberius marked out Sextius Paconianus, of prætorian rank, as another victim. The fathers received, with pleasure, the condemnation of a man, whom they knew to be of a bold and turbulent spirit, willing to embark in any scheme of iniquity, and infamous for the pernicious talent of worming himself into the secrets of others. When Sejanus began to meditate the destruction of Caligula, he chose this man for his confidential agent. That dark conspiracy being now laid open, every breast was fired with indignation; and if the miscreant had not prevented his fate, by offering to make

[1] The brother of Seneca.

[2] Roscius Otho, tribune of the people, was the author of a law, called *Lex Roscia*, by which fourteen rows in the theatre, next to the patrician order, were assigned to the Roman knights, with an express provision, that no freedman, nor even the son of a freedman, should be admitted into the equestrian order.

important discoveries, the senate was ready to adjudge him to instant death.

IV. The person, against whom he informed, was the well-known Latinius Latiaris. The accuser and the accused were objects of public execration: and the spectacle, which they both presented, diffused a universal satisfaction. Latiaris, the reader will remember, was the chief instrument in the ruin of Sabinus. Of the several actors in that foul transaction, he was the first that paid the forfeit of his crimes. In the course of this day's debate, Haterius Agrippa attacked the consuls of the preceding year. "After mutual accusations, why did they now remain silent? Fear, and their own consciences, have made them compromise all matters in dispute. They are joined in bonds of the strictest union. But the senate heard their mutual accusations, and ought now to institute a serious inquiry." Regulus replied, that in due time it was his intention to bring the business forward, but he waited for the presence of the emperor. Trio observed, that their hostilities were nothing more than the jealousy that often happens between colleagues in office; but such petty disputes ought not to be revived. This did not satisfy Agrippa. He still persisted, till Sanguinius Maximus, of consular rank, rose to allay the ferment. He entreated the fathers to be cautious how they multiplied the cares of the emperor. To be ingenious in framing new complaints, was not their province. They might rely on the wisdom of Tiberius, comprehensive as they knew it to be, and equal to the task of remedying every evil. In consequence of this conciliating speech, Regulus remained in full security, and the ruin of Trio was deferred to a further day. As to Haterius Agrippa, the violence of his conduct made him more than ever an object of the public hatred. Too indolent for a life of business, he passed his days in sleep, and his nights in riot and debauchery. His vices made him an enervated sluggard, and, at the same time, screened him from the cruelty of a jealous and unforgiving tyrant. And yet this man, amidst the joys of wine, and in the harlot's lap, had the malevolence to plan the ruin of the most illustrious citizens.

V. Messalinus Cotta, the ready author of the most sanguinary measures, was the next person accused. This prosecution called forth a multitude of enemies. All were eager to have their full blow at a man long known and detested. The charge against him was, that, to fix on Caius Cæsar [1] the

[1] Caligula.

imputation of unnatural vices, he had called the young prince by the female name of Caia, and, at a banquet given by the pontiffs, in honour of the birthday of Livia, he called that feast a funeral entertainment. It was further alleged, that, in a law-suit with Manius Lepidus, and Lucius Arruntius, he complained of the weight and influence of his adversaries, but said at the same time, "Let them boast of their interest with the senate; my little friend Tiberius will outweigh them all." In support of this charge, the first men in Rome were willing witnesses. Cotta knew how to baffle his enemies. He removed the cause by appeal to the emperor. Tiberius, in a letter to the senate, made the apology of Cotta: he stated the friendship which had long subsisted between them, and the obligations, by which he himself was bound. He concluded with a request, that words casually spoken, and sallies of vivacity in the moments of convivial mirth, might not be converted into crimes.

VI. The letter, sent by Tiberius on this occasion, is too remarkable to be here omitted. His words were as follows: "What to write, conscript fathers; in what terms to express myself, or what to refrain from writing, is a matter of such perplexity, that if I know how to decide, may the just gods, and the goddesses of vengeance, doom me to die in pangs worse than those under which I linger every day." We have here the features of the inward man. His crimes retaliated upon him with the keenest retribution; so true is the saying of the great philosopher,[1] the oracle of ancient wisdom, that if the minds of tyrants were laid open to our view, we should see them gashed and mangled with the whips and stings of horror and remorse. By blows and stripes the flesh is made to quiver, and, in like manner, cruelty and inordinate passions, malice and evil deeds, become internal executioners, and with unceasing torture goad and lacerate the heart. Of this truth Tiberius is a melancholy instance. Neither the imperial dignity, nor the gloom of solitude, nor the rocks of Capreæ, could shield him from himself. He lived on the rack of guilt, and his wounded spirit groaned in agony.

VII. Cæcilianus, the senator, had taken an active part in the prosecution of Messalinus Cotta. For that offence Tiberius left him to the discretion of the fathers, who thought fit to inflict the pains and penalties, which they had pronounced against Aruseius and Sanguinius, the two informers against Lucius Arruntius. The decision was honourable to Cotta; a

[1] Socrates.

man, it is true, of illustrious birth, but beggared by his vices, and for the profligacy of his manners universally abhorred. The redress, which he now obtained, placed him on a level with the unblemished excellence that distinguished the character of Arruntius.

Quintus Servæus and Minutius Thermus were, in the next place, both arraigned. The former was of prætorian rank, and had been the companion of Germanicus in all his expeditions; the latter was a Roman knight, who had enjoyed the friendship of Sejanus, but with reserve and moderation. Their misfortunes excited compassion. Tiberius declared against them both. He called them the principal agents in that dark conspiracy, and, for proof of the fact, desired that Cestius, a member of the senate, would give in evidence what he had written to the emperor. Cestius became their accuser.

Among the calamities of that black period, the most trying grievance was the degenerate spirit, with which the first men in the senate submitted to the drudgery of common informers; some without a blush, in the face of day; and others by clandestine artifices. The contagion was epidemic. Near relations, aliens in blood, friends and strangers, known and unknown, were, without distinction, all involved in one common danger. The fact recently committed, and the tale revived, were equally destructive. Words alone were sufficient, whether spoken in the forum, or amidst the pleasures of the table, was immaterial. Whatever the occasion or the subject, everything was a constructive crime. Informers struggled, as it were in a race, who should be first to ruin his man; some to secure themselves; the greater part infected by the general corruption of the times.

Minutius and Servæus were both condemned, but saved themselves by giving evidence against others. They accused Julius Africanus, a native of Gaul, and Seius Quadratus, of whose origin no account remains. Of the various dangers that threatened numbers, and the execution of others, I am aware that no accurate account is to be found in the historians of the time. The writer sunk under the weight of his materials, and, feeling himself oppressed by the repetition of tragic events, was unwilling to fatigue his readers with the uniformity of blood and horror. It has happened, however, that, in the researches which I have made, several facts have come to light untouched, it is true, by the pen of others, yet not unworthy of being recorded.

VIII. In that dangerous crisis, when the creatures of Sejanus,

denying their connections, were making from the wreck, Marcus Terentius, a Roman knight, had the spirit to avow his friendship in a speech to the following effect: "In my situation, conscript fathers, I know the danger of owning myself the friend of Sejanus; and I know that to disclaim him altogether would be the best mode of defence. Be it as it may, I am willing to declare my sentiments. I was the friend of that minister: I sought his patronage, and I gloried in it. I saw him associated with his father in the command of the prætorian bands: I saw him afterwards, not only at the head of the military department, but invested with the whole civil authority. His friends and relations rose to honours; and to be in his good graces, was a sure road to the favour of the prince. On the other hand, all, on whom the minister frowned, were either crushed by the weight of power, or left to languish in obscurity. I forbear to mention names. Speaking in my own defence, I plead the cause of all who, like myself, were connected with the favourite, and, like myself, were unconscious of his last designs.

"In paying court to Sejanus, it was not the Vulsinian citizen, whom we endeavoured to conciliate: it was a branch of the Claudian and the Julian families; it was the son-in-law of Cæsar; it was his colleague in the consulship; it was his vicegerent in the administration, to whom our homage was offered. Is it the pleasure of the emperor to raise a favourite above his fellow-citizens, it is not for us to estimate the merit of the man, nor ours to weigh the motives that determine the choice. The supreme power is in the hands of the prince; committed to him by the gods: and submission is the virtue of every citizen. Of the mysteries of state we see no more than what he is willing to reveal: we see who is raised to dignities, and who has power to distribute the rewards and the terrors of government. That the rays of majesty were collected, and fell on Sejanus, no man will deny. The sentiments of the prince are to us impenetrable. The secret springs of action it is not in our power to discover; the attempt were dangerous, and may deceive the ablest statesman.

"When I speak of Sejanus, conscript fathers, I do not speak of the minister, fallen from the height of power, undone and ruined. I speak of Sejanus, sixteen years in the meridian of his glory. During that time, a Satrius Secundus and a Pomponius commanded our respect. And if his freedmen, or the porter at his gate, condescended to be gracious, we considered it as the highest honour. But to come to the point:

Shall this be the defence of all who followed the fortunes of Sejanus? By no means, conscript fathers; draw the line yourselves; let the enemies of the commonwealth, and the conspirators against the prince, be delivered up to public justice; but let the offices of friendship remain inviolate; and let the principle which justifies the choice of the prince, be at least an apology for the subject."

IX. The firmness of this speech, and the spirit of the man, who could boldly utter what others only dared to think, made such an impression, that the prosecutors, for their former crimes added to their present malignity, were either driven into banishment, or condemned to death. Tiberius soon after sent an accusation against Sextus Vestilius, of prætorian rank, and formerly high in favour with Drusus, the emperor's brother. Tiberius, for that reason, had received him with open arms, and ranked him in the number of his intimate friends. The crime now laid to his charge was a satirical piece against Caligula, for which Vestilius, the real, or the supposed author, was excluded from the emperor's table. In despair, he opened a vein, but with the trembling hand of age. The wound was slight, and he tied it up again, in order to try the effect of a petition. Having received an obdurate answer, he once more made use of his weapon, and bled to death.

The next prosecution was intended to make a sweep of a great number at once. Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Mamercus Scaurus, and Sabinus Calvisius, were grouped together in a charge of violated majesty. Vinicianus was added to his father Pollio. They were all men of the first rank, and some of them invested with the highest civil honours. The senate was struck with terror. Few in that assembly stood detached, either in point of friendship or alliance, from the persons accused. It happened that the evidence of Celsus, a tribune of the city cohorts, and one of the prosecutors, acquitted Appius, Silanus, and Calvisius. The trial of Pollio, Vinicianus, and Scaurus, was put off, by order of Tiberius, till he himself should think proper to attend in person. In the meantime, some pointed expressions in his letter plainly showed, that Scaurus was the chief object of his resentment.

X. Not even the softer sex could find a shelter from the calamity of the times. Women, it is true, could not be charged with designs to overturn the government; but natural affection was made a crime, and the parental tear was treason. Vitia, the mother of Fufius Geminus, wept

for her son, and for that offence, at an advanced age, she was put to death. Such were the horrible proceedings of the senate. Tiberius in his island was no less vindictive. By his order, Vescularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus, his two earliest friends, who had followed him to the isle of Rhodes, and still adhered to him in the isle of Capreæ, were hurried to execution. In the ruin of Libo, the first had been the active agent of the emperor; and in the plot, by which Sejanus wrought the downfall of Curtius Atticus, Marinus was the principal actor. The public saw, with pleasure, that the authors of destruction perished by their own pernicious arts.

About this time Lucius Piso, the præfect of Rome, paid his debt to nature. He had lived his days with honour, and what was rare in that black period, though high in rank and authority, he died by mere decay. A man of principle, and never, of his own motion, the author of harsh or violent measures; he was able frequently to prevent or mitigate destructive counsels. Piso the censor, as already mentioned, was his father. The son lived to the age of fourscore. By his services in the wars of Thrace he obtained triumphal ornaments; but his truest triumph, the glory of his character, arose from the wisdom, with which he acted as governor of Rome, tempering, with wonderful address, the rigour of an office, odious on account of its novelty, and rendered, by its duration, a galling yoke to the people.

XI. The origin of this institution may be traced in the early ages of Rome. While the monarchy continued, and afterwards under the consular government, that the city might not be left, during the absence of the king or consuls, in a state of anarchy, a civil magistrate was invested with the whole executive authority. By Romulus, we are told, Romulius Denter was appointed; Numa Marcius, by Tullus Hostilius; and Spurius Lucretius, by Tarquin the Proud. That precedent was followed by the consuls; and, even at this day, we find an image of the custom in the temporary magistrate, who, during the Latin festivals, discharges the functions of the consul. In the time of the civil wars, Augustus delegated the supreme authority, both at Rome and throughout Italy, to Cilnius Mæcenas, a Roman knight. When the success of his arms made him master of the empire, finding an unwieldy government on his hands, and a slow and feeble remedy from the laws, he chose a person

of consular rank, to restrain, by speedy justice, the slaves within due bounds, and to control the licentious spirit of the citizens, ever turbulent, and, if not overawed, prone to innovation. The first that rose to this important post was Messala Corvinus, who found himself unequal to the task, and resigned in a few days. Taurus Statilius succeeded, and, notwithstanding his advanced age, acquitted himself with honour and ability. Lucius Piso was the next in office. During a series of twenty years, he discharged the duties of that difficult station with such an even tenor, and such constant dignity, that, by a decree of the senate, he was honoured with a public funeral.

XII. A report relating to a book of the Sibyls,[1] was presented to the senate by Quinctilianus, a tribune of the people. Caninius Gallus, who was of the college of fifteen, considered this book as the undoubted composition of the Cumæan prophetess; and, as such, desired that, by a decree, it might be enrolled in the proper archives. The question was put, and carried without opposition. Tiberius, by letter, condemned the whole proceeding. The youth of Quinctilianus, he admitted, might be an apology for his ignorance of ancient customs; but he observed, and not without asperity, that it ill became a man like Gallus, versed in the science of laws and religious ceremonies, to adopt the performance of an uncertain author, without having first obtained the sanction of the quindecemviral college, and without so much as reading it, as had been the practice, at a meeting of the pontiffs. Besides this, the vote was passed by surprise in a thin meeting of the senate. He added further, that since the world abounded with spurious productions, falsely ascribed to the venerable name of the ancient Sibyl, it had been the wisdom of Augustus to fix a stated day, on or before which all papers of the kind were to be deposited with the prætors, and none, after the limited time, to remain in private hands. For this regulation there was an ancient precedent. After the social war, when the Capitol was destroyed by fire, diligent search was made at Samos, at Ilium, at Erythræ, in Africa, Sicily, and all the Roman colonies, in order to collect the Sibylline

[1] The Sibylline books perished in the conflagration that destroyed the Capitol, not during the social war, as said by mistake in the original, but in the civil war between Marius and Sulla. Those books had been always considered as a sacred deposit, containing prophetic accounts of the grandeur of Rome, and the certain means of propitiating the gods, when portents and prodigies gave notice of some impending calamity.

verses, whether the production of a single prophetess, or of a greater number; and the sacerdotal order had directions, as far as human sagacity could distinguish, to separate the fictitious from the genuine composition. In consequence of this letter, the book in question was referred to the college of fifteen, called the QUINDECEMVIRI.

XIII. During the same consulship, the distress occasioned by a dearth of corn, well nigh excited a popular insurrection. For several days the clamour in the theatre was outrageous beyond all former example. Tiberius wrote to the senate, and, in terms of keen reproach, censured the inactivity of the magistrates, who suffered the mutinous spirit of the populace to rage without control; he stated the quantity of grain imported annually by his orders, and the provinces from which he drew his supplies, far exceeding the importation formerly made by Augustus. To restore the public tranquillity, the senate passed a decree in the style and spirit of the old republic. The consuls followed it with an edict of equal rigour. The emperor took no part in the business; but his silence gained him no popularity; he flattered himself with hopes that it would pass for the moderation of a republican prince; but it was deemed the sullen pride of a tyrant.

XIV. Towards the end of the year, three Roman knights, by name, Geminius, Celsus, and Pompeius, were charged with a conspiracy, and condemned to suffer. Geminius had been a man of pleasure, and great prodigality. His taste for expense and luxury recommended him to the friendship of Sejanus, but a friendship merely convivial, leading to no serious connection. Junius Celsus, at that time one of the tribunes, as he lay fettered in prison, contrived to lengthen out his chain, so as to wind it round his neck, and strangle himself.

About the same time, Rubrius Fabatus, who had fled from the city, with intent to seek among the Parthians a refuge from the disasters of the time, was apprehended by a centurion, near the straits of Sicily, and brought back to Rome. Being questioned, he was not able, with any colour of probability, to account for his sudden departure on so long a journey. He escaped, however, though not by an act of clemency. He continued to live in safety, not pardoned, but forgotten.

XV. Servius Galba and Lucius Sylla were the next consuls.[1]

[1] A.D. 33.

Tiberius saw his granddaughters[1] in the season of life, that made it proper to dispose of them in marriage. On that subject he had deliberated for some time. His choice, at length, fixed on Lucius Cassius and Marcus Vinicius. Vinicius was born at a small municipal town, known by the name of Cales. His father and grandfather were of consular rank; but the family, before their time, never rose higher than the equestrian order. Their descendant united to his amiable manners a vein of pleasing eloquence. Cassius was born at Rome, of a plebeian, but respected family. He was educated under the strict tuition of his father, but succeeded more through happiness than care and industry. To these two the daughters of Germanicus were given in marriage; Drusilla to Cassius, and Julia to Vinicius. Tiberius, in his letters to the senate, made honourable mention of the young men, but in the style of reserve. He touched on his long absence from the capital, and, after glossing it over with vain and frivolous reasons, talked in a more serious tone of the weight of government, and the animosities which he was obliged to encounter. He desired that Macro, præfect of the prætorian guards, with a small number of tribunes and centurions, might have directions to guard his person, as often as he should attend the senate. A decree was passed in the amplest form, according to his desire, without limitation of rank or number. Tiberius, notwithstanding, never appeared in the assembly of the fathers, nor even entered the walls of Rome. He made feigned approaches, still retreating through devious roads, suspecting the people, and flying from his country.

XVI. The practice of usury was a grievance that distressed the whole community. Against such as sought to increase their wealth by placing out money at exorbitant interest, actions were commenced. The money-lenders were accused under a law enacted by Julius Cæsar, whereby the terms of lending on land security, throughout Italy, were defined and settled; a wise and salutary law, but fallen into disuse, the public good, as is too often the case, giving way to private advantage. Usury, it must be admitted, was an early canker of the commonwealth, the frequent cause of tumult and sedition. Laws were made to repress the mischief, while yet the manners were pure and uncorrupted. In the

[1] As Germanicus was adopted by Tiberius, his daughters were, consequently, the grandchildren of Tiberius.

first ages of the commonwealth, interest of money was arbitrary, depending on the will and pleasure of the opulent; but, by a law of the twelve tables, it was reduced to one for the hundred. More was declared illegal. In process of time a new regulation, proposed by the tribunes, lowered it to one half; and, finally, it was abolished altogether. It began however to revive, and, to suppress its growth, new sanctions were established by the authority of the people: but fraud found new expedients, often checked, and as often re-appearing in different shapes. In the reign of Tiberius, at the point of time now in question, the complaint was brought before Gracchus the prætor, who was empowered, by virtue of his office, to hear and determine. That magistrate, however, seeing numbers involved in the question, submitted the whole to the consideration of the senate. In that order few were exempt from the general vice. Alarmed for themselves, and wishing to obtain a general immunity, the fathers referred the business to the emperor. Tiberius complied with their request. A year and six months were granted, that men in that time might adjust and settle their accounts, according to law.

XVII. The want of current money brought on a new scene of distress. Creditors pressed to have their accounts balanced, and judgment was signed against such as stood indebted. Their effects were sold, and all the specie was either carried to the public treasury, or swallowed up in the coffers of the prince. To alleviate this inconvenience, the senate ordered, by a decree, that two-thirds of each man's debt should be secured on lands in Italy. But still the creditors claimed the whole of their demand, and the debtor, by consequence, was reduced to the brink of ruin. He wished to save his honour; the necessity pressed; meetings were held, supplications were tried, but the law took its course. The tribunal of the prætor resounded with complaints, and noise, and lamentations. The project of obliging the debtor to sell his lands, and the creditors to purchase, instead of healing the mischief, made it worse. The usurers lay in wait to buy at a reduced price, and, for that purpose, hoarded up their money. The value of lands sunk in proportion to the number of estates on sale, and the debtor was left without resource. Whole families were ruined; their credit was destroyed, and every prospect vanished. Tiberius interposed with seasonable relief. He opened a fund of one hundred thousand great sesterces,

as a public loan, for three years, free from interest, on condition that the borrower, for the security of the state, should mortgage lands of double the value. By this salutary aid public credit was revived. The money, which had lain in private hands, began to circulate; and the order of the senate, directing the sale of land property, fell into disuse. Like most plans of reformation, it was embraced at first with ardour; but the novelty ceased, and the scheme ended in nothing.

XVIII. The rage of prosecutions, from which Rome had an interval of rest, broke out again with collected fury. The first that suffered was Confidius Proculus, on a charge of violated majesty. On his birthday, while he was celebrating that annual festival, he was seized, in the moment of joy, and conducted to the senate-house, where he was tried, condemned, and hurried away to execution. His sister, Sancia, was interdicted from fire and water. The prosecutor, who appeared against her, was Quintus Pomponius, a fierce and turbulent spirit. To curry favour with the prince, and thereby save his brother, Pomponius Secundus, was the pretence with which this man endeavoured to palliate his iniquity. The senate proceeded next against Pompeia Macrina. She was condemned to banishment. Her husband, Argolicus, and Laco, her father-in-law, both of distinguished rank in Achaia, had, before this time, fallen victims to the cruelty of Tiberius. Macrina's father, an illustrious Roman knight, and her brother, who was of prætorian rank, to avoid a similar sentence, put an end to their lives. The crime alleged against them was, that their ancestor, Theophanes of Mitylene, had been the confidential friend of Pompey the Great; and that divine honours were paid to the memory of Theophanes by the flattering genius of the Greek nation.

XIX. Sextus Marius, who held the largest possessions in Spain, was the next victim. Incest with his own daughter was the imputed crime: he was precipitated down the Tarpeian rock. That the avarice of Tiberius was the motive for this act of violence, was seen beyond the possibility of a doubt, when the gold-mines of the unfortunate Spaniard, which were forfeited to the public, were known to be seized by the emperor for his own use. He was now so far plunged in blood, that executions served only to whet his cruelty. At one blow, he ordered all, who were detained in prison for their supposed connection with Sejanus,

to be put to instant death. A dreadful carnage followed: neither sex nor age was spared; the noble and ignoble perished without distinction; dead bodies in mangled heaps, or scattered up and down, presented a tragic spectacle. Neither friend, nor relation, dared to approach: none were permitted to soothe the pangs of death, to weep over the deceased, or to bid the last farewell. Guards were stationed to watch the looks of afflicted friends, and to catch intelligence from their tears, till, at length, the putrid bodies were thrown into the Tiber, to drive at the mercy of the winds and waves. Some were carried away by the current; others were thrown on shore: but to burn or bury them was allowed to no man. All were struck with terror, and the last office of humanity was suppressed. Cruelty went on increasing, and every sentiment of the heart was smothered in silence.

XX. About this time, Caligula, who paid close attendance on his grandfather in the isle of Capreæ, was married to Claudia, the daughter of Marcus Silanus. This young prince had the art to conceal, under a veil of modesty, the most detestable of human characters. Neither the condemnation of his mother, nor the banishment of his brother, could extort from him one word of compassion. He studied the humours of Tiberius; he watched the whim of the day, and set his features accordingly, in dress and language the mimic of his grandfather. Hence the shrewd remark of Passienus, the famous orator: "There never was a better slave, nor a more detestable master." A prophetic expression that fell from Tiberius concerning Galba, who was this year in the office of consul, may not unaptly be inserted in this place. Having called him to an audience, in order to penetrate his inmost thoughts, he tried him on various topics, and, at length, told him in Greek, "You too, Galba, at a future day, will have a taste of sovereign power;" alluding to his elevation late in life, and the shortness of his reign. To look into the seeds of time was the early study of Tiberius. In the isle of Rhodes, judicial astrology was his favourite pursuit. In the acquisition of that science, he there employed his leisure, under Thrasullus, whose abilities he tried in the following manner.

XXI. Whenever he chose to consult an astrologer, he retired with him to the top of the house, attended by a single freedman, selected for the purpose, illiterate, but of great bodily strength. This man conducted the soothsayer, whose talents were to be tried, along the ridge of the cliff,

on which the mansion stood; and as he returned, if the emperor suspected fraud, or vain affectation of knowledge, he threw the impostor headlong into the sea. Tiberius was, by these means, left at ease, and no witness survived to tell the story. Thrasullus was put to the same test. Being led along the precipice, he answered a number of questions; and not only promised imperial splendour to Tiberius, but opened a scene of future events, in a manner that filled his imagination with astonishment. Tiberius desired to know, "whether he had cast his own nativity? Could he foresee what was to happen in the course of the year? nay, on that very day?" Thrasullus consulted the position of the heavens, and the aspect of the planets: he was struck with fear; he paused; he hesitated; he sunk into profound meditation; terror and amazement shook his frame. Breaking silence at last, "I perceive," he said, "the crisis of my fate; this very moment may be my last." Tiberius clasped him in his arms, congratulating him both on his knowledge, and his escape from danger. From that moment, he considered the predictions of Thrasullus as the oracles of truth, and the astrologer was ranked in the number of the prince's confidential friends.

XXII. When I reflect on this fact, and others of a similar nature, I find my judgment so much on the balance, that, whether human affairs are governed by fate and immutable necessity, or left to the wild rotation of chance, I am not able to decide. Among the philosophers of antiquity, and the followers of their different sects among the moderns, two opposite opinions have prevailed. According to the system of one party, "in all that relates to man, his formation, his progress, and his end, the gods have no concern; and by consequence, calamity is often the good man's portion, while vice enjoys the pleasures and advantages of the world." In opposition to this hypothesis, another school maintains, "that the immutable law of fate is perfectly consistent with the events of the moral world; that law," they tell us, "does not depend on the course of wandering planets, but is fixed in the first principles of things, supported and preserved by a chain of natural causes. Man, notwithstanding, is left at liberty to choose his sphere of action; but the choice once made, the consequences follow in a regular course, fixed, certain, and inevitable." By this sect we are further taught, "that good and evil are not always what vulgar error has so defined; on the contrary,

many, whom we see struggling with adversity, are yet perfectly happy; while others, in all the pride and affluence of fortune, are truly wretched. The former, by their fortitude, tower above the ills of life; and the latter, by their indiscretion, poison their own felicity."

Sublime as this theory may be, there is still a third opinion, which has taken root in the human mind, and cannot be eradicated. According to this doctrine, the colour of our lives is fixed in the first moment of our existence; and, though what is foretold, and the events that follow, may often vary, the fallacy is not to be imputed to the art itself, but to the vanity of pretenders to a science, respected by antiquity, and in modern times established by undoubted proof. In fact, the reign of Nero was foretold by the son of this very Thrasullus: but this, to avoid a long digression, shall be reserved for its proper place.

XXIII. During the same consulship, the death of Asinius Gallus became publicly known. That he died by famine, no man doubted; but whether through compulsion, or wilful abstinence, is uncertain. Application was made for leave to perform his funeral obsequies; nor did Tiberius blush to grant as a favour, what was the common right of man. He regretted, however, that a criminal, before he could be convicted in his presence, had escaped the hand of justice; as if in three years, since the charge was laid, there was not sufficient time to proceed against a man of consular rank, and the father of consuls.

The death of Drusus followed. By order of Tiberius he was to be starved to death. By chewing the weeds that served for his bed, the unhappy prince lingered nine days in misery. At the time when Macro received his orders to act with vigour against Sejanus, Tiberius, as some writers assert, gave directions, if that desperate minister had recourse to arms, that Drusus, confined in the palace, should be produced to the people, and proclaimed emperor. In consequence of this report, an opinion prevailed, that the prince was on the point of being reconciled to his grandson and his daughter-in-law. But to relent was not in the temper of Tiberius: he was supposed to be mercifully inclined, and he chose rather to display his cruelty.

XXIV. The death of Drusus was not sufficient to satisfy the vengeance of Tiberius. He persecuted the memory of the prince with unextinguished hatred; he imputed to him unnatural passions, and represented him as a person

who had not only lost all family affection, but, being possessed of an aspiring genius, was actually employed in concerting measures to overturn the government. He ordered a day-book to be read before the fathers, in which the words and actions of Drusus were carefully recorded. In the annals of history is there anything to match this black, this horrible inquisition? For a length of time spies of state were appointed to keep a register of words, to interpret looks, and note the groans that issued from the heart. That the grandfather could countenance a plot so black and detestable; that he could listen to the whispered tale; read a clandestine journal, and not only read it in secret, but produce it in the face of day; appears too atrocious to be believed, if the fact was not authenticated by the letters of Aetius the centurion, and Didymus the freedman. In the narrative left by those men, we find the names of the slaves employed about the prince's person. One struck him, as he came forth from his chamber; another overpowered him with terror and dismay.

The centurion, as if brutality were a merit, boasts of his savage expressions. He relates the words of the prince, in the last ebb of life, spoken against Tiberius, at first, perhaps, in a feigned delirium, but when his end drew near, in a tone of solemn imprecation, imploring the gods, that he who imbrued his hands in the blood of his daughter-in-law; who murdered his nephew; who destroyed his grandchildren, and in his own family laid a scene of slaughter; might not escape the punishment due to his crimes. "Reserve him," he said, "reserve him, gods! for your own just vengeance: let him fall a terrible example to the present age, and to all posterity." The fathers, affecting to shudder at imprecations so eager and emphatic, interrupted the reading; but they felt the impression at their hearts. With horror and astonishment they beheld a tyrant, who, with close hypocrisy, had hitherto concealed his crimes, but was now so hardened, that, without shame or remorse, he could throw open the prison-walls, and show his grandson under the centurion's lash, exposed to common ruffians, and, in the agony of famine, begging a wretched pittance to support expiring nature, but begging it in vain.

XXV. The grief occasioned by the melancholy death of Drusus, had not subsided, when the public received another shock from the tragic end of Agrippina. The fall of

Sejanus afforded a gleam of hope, which, it may be conjectured, helped to support her spirits for some time; but when she saw no alteration of measures, worn out and tired of life, she resolved to close the scene. Her death was said to be voluntary; but if it be true that all nourishment was withheld from her, it is evident that an artful tale was fabricated, to give the appearance of suicide to a cruel and barbarous murder. Even after her decease, Tiberius continued still implacable. He loaded her memory with the foulest imputations; he charged her with incontinence; he pronounced Asinius Gallus her adulterer; and when she lost her paramour, life, he said, was no longer worth her care. But the character of Agrippina was invulnerable. It is true, that a mind like hers could not brook an equal. Ambition was her ruling passion; and in her views of grandeur the soft desires of her sex were lost. Tiberius added, as a circumstance worthy of being recorded, that she died on the anniversary of the day that freed the world from Sejanus two years before. That she was not strangled and thrown into the common charnel-house, he thought fit to celebrate as an act of clemency. The senate thanked him for that tender indulgence, and ordained, by a decree, that the fifteenth before the calends of November (the day on which Sejanus and Agrippina both expired) should be observed as a solemn festival, with annual offerings on the altar of Jupiter.

XXVI. Soon after these transactions, Cocceius Nerva, the constant companion of the prince, a man distinguished by his knowledge of laws, both human and divine, possessing a splendid fortune, and still in the vigour of health, grew weary of life, and formed a resolution to lay the burden down. Tiberius, on the first intelligence, paid him a visit: he entered into close conversation; he desired to know his motives; he expostulated, tried the force of entreaty, and declared, without reserve, that if a man, so high in favour, without any apparent reason, put an end to his life, it would be a stab to the emperor's peace of mind, and a stain indelible to his reputation. Nerva declined the subject. He persisted in wilful abstinence, and shortly after closed his days. From those who best knew his character and way of thinking, we learn the reasons of his conduct. He saw the cloud that was ready to burst on the commonwealth, and struck, at once, with fear and indignation, he resolved, while yet his honour was un-

blemished, to escape with glory from the horrors of the times.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the death of Agrippina drew after it the ruin of Plancina. She was formerly the wife of Cneius Piso. The reader will remember the savage joy with which she heard of the death of Germanicus. When her husband perished, the influence of Livia, and, still more, the enmity of Agrippina, screened her from the punishment due to her crimes. But court favour and private animosity were at an end, and justice took its course. The charge against her was founded on facts of public notoriety. In despair she laid violent hands on herself, and suffered, at last, the slow, but just reward of a flagitious life.

XXVII. Amidst the tragic events that covered the city of Rome with one general face of mourning, a new cause of discontent arose from the marriage of Julia (the daughter of Drusus, and lately the wife of Nero) with Rubellius Blandus, whose grandfather, a native of Tibur, and never of higher distinction than the equestrian rank, was fresh in the memory of men still living. Towards the end of the year, the funeral of Ælius Lamia was celebrated with all the honours of the censorian order. He had been for some time the nominal governor of Syria, and having resigned that imaginary title, was made præfect of Rome. Illustrious by his birth, he lived to a vigorous old age; and not being suffered to proceed to the province of Syria, he derived from that very restraint an additional dignity.

The death of Pomponius Flaccus, proprætor of Syria, which happened soon after the decease of Lamia, produced a letter from Tiberius to the senate, remonstrating, that officers of rank, who by their talents were fit to be at the head of armies, declined the service; and, by consequence, the emperor was reduced to the necessity of requesting, that the fathers would use their influence, to induce men of consular rank to undertake the office. He forgot, however, that ten years before, Arruntius was appointed to the government of Spain, but, during that whole time, was never permitted to leave the city.

In the course of this year died Manius Lepidus, whose wisdom and moderation have been already mentioned. To say anything of the nobility of his birth were superfluous, since it is well known, that the house of the Æmilii, from whom he derived his pedigree, produced a race of eminent citizens. If any of the family degenerated from the virtue

of their ancestors, they continued, notwithstanding, to support the splendour of an ancient and illustrious race.

XXVIII. Paulus Fabius and Lucius Vitellius[1] succeeded to the consulship.[2] In the course of the year, the miraculous bird, known to the world by the name of the phœnix, after disappearing for a series of ages, revisited Egypt. A phenomenon so very extraordinary could not fail to produce abundance of curious speculation. The learning of Egypt was displayed, and Greece exhausted her ingenuity. The facts, about which there seems to be a concurrence of opinions, with other circumstances, in their nature doubtful, yet worthy of notice, will not be unwelcome to the reader.

That the phœnix is sacred to the sun, and differs from the rest of the feathered species, in the form of its head, and the tincture of its plumage, are points settled by the naturalists. Of its longevity, the accounts are various. The common persuasion is, that it lives five hundred years, though by some writers the date is extended to fourteen hundred and sixty-one. The several eras, when the phœnix has been seen, are fixed by tradition. The first, we are told, was in the reign of Sesostris; the second, in that of Amasis; and in the period when Ptolemy, the third of the Macedonian race, was seated on the throne of Egypt, another phœnix directed its flight towards Heliopolis, attended by a group of various birds, all attracted by the novelty, and gazing with wonder at so beautiful an appearance. For the truth of this account, we do not presume to answer. The facts lie too remote; and covered, as they are, with the mists of antiquity, all further argument is suspended.

From the reign of Ptolemy to Tiberius, the intermediate space is not quite two hundred and fifty years. From that circumstance it has been inferred by many that the last phœnix was neither of the genuine kind, nor came from the woods of Arabia. The instinctive qualities of the species were not observed to direct its motions. It is the genius, we are told, of the true phœnix, when its course of years is finished, and the approach of death is felt, to build a nest in its native clime, and there deposit the principles of life, from which a new progeny arises. The first care of the young bird, as soon as fledged, and able to trust to its wings, is to perform the obsequies of his father. But this duty is not undertaken rashly. He collects a quantity of myrrh, and, to try his strength, makes

[1] The father of Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

[2] A.D. 34.

frequent excursions with a load on his back. When he has made his experiment through a long tract of air, and gains sufficient confidence in his own vigour, he takes up the body of his father, and flies with it to the altar of the sun, where he leaves it to be consumed in flames of fragrance. Such is the account of this extraordinary bird. It has, no doubt, a mixture of fable; but that the phœnix, from time to time, appears in Egypt, seems to be a fact sufficiently ascertained.

XXIX. Rome continued to stream with the blood of eminent citizens. Pomponius Labeo, who had been, as already mentioned, governor of Mysia, opened his veins and bled to death. His wife Paxæa had the spirit to follow his example. Suicide was the only refuge from the hand of the executioner. Those who waited for the sentence of the law, incurred a forfeiture, and were, besides, deprived of the rites of sepulture; while to such as died by their own hand, funeral ceremonies were allowed, and their wills were valid. Such was the reward of despatch! Self-destruction was made the interest of mankind. On the subject of Labeo's death, Tiberius wrote to the senate. He observed, "that in ancient times, when all ties of friendship were to be dissolved, it was the custom to give notice to the discarded party, that his visits were no longer agreeable. In that manner he had acted with Labeo: all connection was at an end. But that unhappy man, finding himself charged with the iniquity of his government, and pressed by the weight of other crimes, made a show of injured innocence, with intent to throw the odium of his death on the emperor. The example was fatal to his wife. She took the alarm, and perished with her husband. She might have quelled her fears; for, though her guilt was manifest, she might have lived in safety."

A new prosecution was commenced against Mamercus Scaurus, a distinguished senator, famous as well for his eloquence as the nobility of his birth, but a libertine in his conduct. He had been connected with Sejanus, but on that account no danger threatened him. The enmity of Macro, who practised the wiles of Sejanus, but with deeper policy, was the cause of his ruin. A tragedy, written by Scaurus, was the ground of the charge. Some lines were cited from the piece, and, by a strained construction, said to point obliquely at Tiberius. But to make sure work, Servilius and Cornelius, two informers by profession,

accused him of adultery with the younger Livia, and of secret practices in the magic art. Scaurus, with a spirit worthy of the ancient Æmilii, from whom he was descended, resolved not to linger for a public sentence. His wife Sexitia exhorted him to an act of bravery, and died herself, with the courage which she recommended.

XXX. Amidst these acts of violence, the informers, in their turn, were abandoned to their fate. Servilius and Cornelius, who, by their conduct to Scaurus, had brought on themselves the public detestation, were charged with taking a bribe, to compound a prosecution commenced by themselves against Varius Ligur. They were both interdicted from fire and water, and transported to the islands. A similar fate attended Abudius Rufo. This man had discharged the office of ædile, and also served, at the head of a legion, under Lentulus Gætulicus. He turned informer against his commanding officer, alleging that he had projected a match between his daughter and one of the sons of Sejanus. He construed this into a crime, and, for the attempt, was banished from Rome. At the time when this prosecution was set on foot, Gætulicus commanded the legions in Upper Germany. Distinguished by his clemency, and without rigour maintaining military descipline, he was the idol of the soldiers. By his interest with his father-in-law, Lucius Apronius, he was also high in credit with the other army, which was stationed at a small distance. In this situation it is said, not without probability, that he had the courage to despatch a letter to Tiberius, to the following effect: "The proposed alliance with Sejanus did not originate with himself: the emperor had recommended it. The meanest citizen is liable to error, no less than the prince. To mistake with impunity cannot be the prerogative of the emperor, and, at the same, a crime in others. For himself, his fidelity remained inviolate, and if no snare was laid for his ruin, nothing could shake his principles. Should a successor be sent to supersede him in the command, he should understand it as the prologue to a sentence of condemnation. But there were conditions, on which something like a treaty between both parties might be settled: he desired to remain unmolested in the government of the province, and Tiberius might give the law to the rest of the Roman world." Incredible as this anecdote may appear, it gains an air of authenticity, when it is considered, that, of all the favourites of Sejanus, Gætulicus

was the only person who had the secret to preserve his life, and live in the good graces of the prince. The truth is, Tiberius knew that he had incurred the public hatred. Worn out with age and infirmities, he was wise enough to reflect, that fame and the opinion of mankind, rather than the exercise of power, must for the future be the pillars of his government.

XXXI. In the consulship of Caius Cestius and Marcus Servilius,[1] a deputation from the Parthian nobility, without the concurrence or privity of Artabanus, their king, arrived at Rome. While the arms of Germanicus filled the east with terror, that monarch continued to adhere with good faith to the Romans, and to rule his own dominions with equity and moderation. He broke out afterwards with open violence; to Rome, proud and arrogant; to his people, fierce and unrelenting. The prosperous events of war with the neighbouring nations inspired him with the pride and insolence of victory. He saw Tiberius, in the decline of life, a feeble prince, disarmed, and powerless. Armenia was the object of his ambition. Artaxias, king of the country, was no sooner dead, than he placed his eldest son, Arsaces, on the vacant throne. His arrogance did not stop there. By his ambassadors he demanded, in haughty and imperious terms, immediate restitution of the treasures left by Vonones in Syria and Cilicia. He laid claim, besides, to all the territories, formerly belonging to the Persians and Macedonians. He added, in a style of vainglory, that whatever was possessed by Cyrus, and afterwards by Alexander, was his undoubted right, and he was determined to recover the same by force of arms.

The Parthians, in the meantime, by the advice of Sinnaces, a man of great opulence and noble birth, sent their secret embassy to Rome. The measure was supported by Abdus,[2] the eunuch. In the eastern nations the loss of manhood is no degradation: on the contrary, it leads to power and preferment. With those two leading chiefs the grandees of Parthia entered into a conspiracy. But still to wear the regal diadem, one only of the race of the Arsacides could be found. The greatest part of that family was cut off by Artabanus, and the survivors were too young to govern. The Parthians, therefore, desired that Tiberius would send

[1] A.D. 35.

[2] The custom of advancing eunuchs to the highest stations, has been, in all ages, a custom with the princes of the east.

Phraates, son of the king of that name, to mount the throne of his ancestors. That title and the sanction of Rome would be sufficient. Let a prince of the house of Arsaces, under the protection of Tiberius, show himself on the banks of the Euphrates, and nothing more was necessary; a revolution would be the certain consequence.

XXXII. The enterprise was agreeable to the wishes of Tiberius. He despatched Phraates, enriched with presents, and every mark of splendour suited to the royal dignity. But still it was his fixed plan not to depart from his former resolution to work by stratagem, and, if possible, to avoid a war. The secret transpired at the Parthian court. Artabanus was thrown into a state of violent perplexity. Revenge and fear took possession of him by turns. In the idea of an eastern monarch, indecision is the mark of a servile mind. Vigour and sudden enterprise are attributes of the royal character. In the present juncture, those notions gave way, and his interest conquered prejudices. He invited Abdus to a banquet, and, by a slow poison, rendered him unfit for action. With Sinnaces he thought it best to dissemble. He loaded him with presents, and by employing him in state affairs, left him no leisure for clandestine machinations. Meanwhile Phraates arrived in Syria. Willing to conform to the customs of the east, he threw off the dress and manners of the Romans. The transition, however, was too violent; and his constitution proving unequal to so sudden a change, he was carried off by a fit of illness. Tiberius was unwilling to relinquish a measure which he had once approved. He named Tiridates, descended from the same stock with Phraates, as a fit rival to contend with Artabanus.

In order to recover the kingdom of Armenia, he entered into an alliance with Mithridates, a prince of the Iberian line, having beforehand contrived to reconcile him to his brother Pharasmanes, then the reigning monarch of Iberia. An important scene was now opening in the east. To conduct the whole, Tiberius gave the command to Lucius Vitellius.[1] The character of this officer is well known. He showed himself in his true colours to the people of Rome, insomuch that his memory is held in detestation. In the east, however, his conduct was irreproachable. He acted in the province with the integrity of an ancient Roman. After his return he renounced that character

[1] He was consul in the preceding year.

altogether, a ready apostate from every virtue. His dread of Caligula, and his intimacy with Claudius, transformed him into an abject slave. He is now remembered as a model of the vilest adulation. What was praiseworthy in the beginning of his days, changed to infamy in his riper years. The virtues of youth gave way to the vices of age.

XXXIII. Mithridates was the first of the petty kings of Asia who took a decisive part. He drew his brother Pharasmanes into the league, and engaged that monarch to employ both force and stratagem to promote the enterprise. By their agents they bribed the servants of Arsaces to end their master's life by poison. The Iberians, in the meantime, entered Armenia with a numerous army, and took possession of the city of Artaxata. On the first intelligence Artabanus despatched his son Orodes, at the head of the Parthian forces, to oppose the enemy, and, in the meantime, sent out his officers to negotiate for a body of auxiliaries. Pharasmanes, on his part, spared no pains to reinforce his army. He engaged the Albanians in his service. He listed the Sermatians; but a part of that people, called the Sceptucians, were willing, according to the custom of the nation, to be hired by any of the powers at war, the ready mercenaries in every quarrel. They were at that time actually engaged on both sides, and of course divided against themselves. The Iberians, having secured the defiles and narrow passes of the country, poured down from the Caspian mountains a large body of their Sarmatian auxiliaries, and soon overran all Armenia. The Parthians were not able to advance. The enemy was in force at every post, one only road excepted, and that, extending between the Caspian Sea and the mountains of Albania, was impassable in the summer months. In that season of the year the Etesian[1] winds blow constantly one way, and, driving the waves before them, lay the country under water. In the winter, the wind from the south rolls the flood back into the deep, and leaves the country a dry and naked shore.

XXXIV. While Orodes saw his succours cut off, Pharasmanes with augmented numbers advanced against him. He offered battle, but the enemy declined the conflict. The Iberian rode up to the intrenchments; he endeavoured to provoke the enemy; he cut off their forage, and invested their camp. The Parthians, not used to brook dishonour, gathered

[1] The Etesian wind, or the *North-East*, begins in the beginning of July, and blows during the dog-days.

in a body round the prince, and demanded the decision of the sword. Their main strength consisted in their cavalry. Pharasmanes added to his horse a large body of infantry. His own subjects, and the forces from Albania, dwelling chiefly in wilds and forests, were inured, by their mode of life, to labour and fatigue. If we may believe the account which they give of their origin, they are descended from the people of Thessaly, who followed Jason when that adventurer, having issue by Medea, returned to Colchis, on the death of Æetes, to take possession of the vacant throne. Concerning the Greek hero, and the oracle of Phryxus,[1] various traditions are current amongst them. For the last their veneration is such, that in their sacrifices a ram is never offered as a victim, the people conceiving that Phryxus was conveyed across the sea by an animal of that species, or in a ship with that figure at the head. The two armies were drawn out in order of battle. Orodes, to animate the valour of his men, called to mind the glory of the eastern empire, and the race of the Arsacidæ. "They were now to cope with a band of mercenaries; led by an Iberian chief, of mean extraction, ignoble, and obscure." In the opposite army, Pharasmanes pressed every topic that could inflame the ardour of his troops. "They were men that never yielded to the Parthian yoke: they fought now for conquest: the more bold the enterprise, the greater would be their glory. If they gave ground, or turned their backs on the enemy, shame and ruin would pursue them. Look round," he said, "and view both armies. Behold on our side a dreadful front of war; on that of the enemy an unwarlike band of Medes, gay in their apparel, and glittering with gold. Here we have men and steel; there cowards, and booty to reward our valour."

XXXV. In the Sarmatian ranks it was not the general only that harangued the men. By mutual exhortations, according to their custom, they roused each other's valour. They resolved to reserve their darts, and rush on to a close engagement. The field of battle presented an attack in different forms. The Parthians, skilled alike in the onset and the retreat, endeavoured to open their ranks, in order to gain room for the discharge of their arrows. The Sarmatians threw their bows aside, determined with their swords and pikes to decide the fortune of the day. In one place was

[1] Phryxus was the first that sailed to Colchis in pursuit of riches. Jason went afterwards on the same errand, which was called the *Golden Fleece.*

seen an engagement of the cavalry; they advanced to the charge; they wheeled about; they charged with sudden velocity. In another quarter the infantry fought hand to hand, and buckler to buckler. They attacked, and were repulsed; they wounded, and were wounded. The Iberians and Albanians grappled with the enemy; they pulled them by main force from their horses; they distracted them by two different modes of engaging. Their cavalry rushed on, and their infantry stood close embodied. The two adverse generals, Orodes and Pharasmanes, exerted every effort. They rushed into the heat of the action; they encouraged the brave; they rallied the broken ranks, and signalised themselves in every part of the field. Conspicuous to all, at length they knew each other. At the sight, with instinctive fury, their horses at full speed, they rushed forward to the charge, bellowing revenge, and darting their javelins. Pharasmanes, with a well-directed weapon, pierced the helmet of Orodes; but, hurried on by the fury of his horse, he was not able to pursue his advantage. Orodes was sheltered by his guards, who fled to his assistance. A report that he was slain spread through the ranks. The spirit of the Parthians began to droop, and victory declared for the Iberians.

XXXVI. Artabanus, to repair the loss, marched with the whole strength of his kingdom. The Iberians knew the course of the country, and by their valour gained a second victory. The Parthian, notwithstanding, kept the field till such time as Vitellius advanced with his legions, intending, as was industriously given out, to enter Mesopotamia. To avoid a war with Rome, the Parthian king abandoned Armenia, and returned to his own dominions. From that time his ruin may be dated. Vitellius carried on a correspondence with the leading men of Parthia, and, to incite them to a revolt, represented Artabanus as a king, cruel in time of peace, and in war disastrous to the whole nation. Sinnaces, at the head, as already mentioned, of a powerful faction, drew to his interest his father, Abdageses, and other malcontents, who were now, by the unprosperous events of war, determined to throw off the mask. A great number through fear, and not from principle, hitherto inactive, went over to the disaffected. Artabanus found himself deserted on every side. He had only one expedient left. He chose for his body-guard a band of mercenaries, men void of honour, the outcast of their country, to good and evil, vice and virtue, alike indifferent, and for their hire ready to

perpetrate every crime. With these attendants the fugitive monarch sought the frontiers of Scythia. His ruined cause, he still hoped, would find support from the Carmanians, and the people of Hyrcania, with whom he was connected by ties of affinity. He relied, moreover, on the fickle temper of the Parthians. A wavering and inconstant people, always disgusted with the reigning prince, and, after his expulsion, prone to repent, might act towards himself with the same versatility, and once more declare in his favour.

XXXVII. The throne being in this manner vacant, and the Parthians, in their rage for innovation, appearing ready to embrace a new master, Vitellius thought it time to fire the ambition of Tiridates, and, to support him in the enterprise, marched with the auxiliaries, and the strength of his legions, to the banks of the Euphrates. In order to propitiate the river-god,[1] preparations were made for a solemn sacrifice. The Roman, according to the rites of his country, offered a swine, a ram, and a bull: a horse was the victim slain by Tiridates. While they were thus employed, the people of the country came in with an account that the Euphrates, without any fall of rain, swelled miraculously above its banks, and the waves with a rapid motion turning round in circling eddies, the foam on the surface presented the form of a diadem. This was deemed a favourable omen. By others, who judged with more penetration, the prognostic was seen in a different light. According to their interpretation, it promised success at first, and a speedy reverse of fortune. In support of this opinion it was observed, that the earth and heavens hold forth unerring signals; but the omens, collected from the appearance of rivers, were, like the element from which they spring, always uncertain. They appear and vanish in a moment.

A bridge of boats being prepared, the whole army passed over the Euphrates. While they lay encamped, Ornospades, at the head of a large body of cavalry, amounting to several thousands, came in as an auxiliary. This man was a native of Parthia, formerly banished from his country; but for his services under Tiberius, during the war in Dalmatia, admitted to the privileges of a Roman citizen. Being afterwards reconciled to his native prince, he rose to the first honours of the state, and was appointed governor of that

[1] Rivers were supposed to have their presiding deity, and were therefore worshipped by the Persians and the Oriental nations as well as by the Romans.

whole region which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, for that reason called MESOPOTAMIA. Sinnaces, in a short time after, joined the army with a strong reinforcement. Abdageses, the pillar of the party, delivered up the royal treasure, and the richest ornaments of the crown. Vitellius considered the business as finished. The Roman eagles appeared on the banks of the Euphrates, and more was unnecessary. He gave his best advice to Tiridates, and the authors of the revolution. Addressing himself to the prince, "Remember," he said, "that you are the grandson of Phraates, and that you have been trained up by Tiberius: let that reflection be ever present to your mind: it will animate you in the career of glory." He exhorted the grandees of Parthia to pay obedience to their king, and due respect to the Roman name. By being faithful to both, they would at once fulfil their engagements, and maintain their honour. Having made this arrangement, he returned with his legions into Syria.

XXXVIII. In relating these transactions, I have thrown together, in one connected series, the business of two campaigns; in order, by a view of Asiatic affairs, to relieve the attention of the reader, and give the mind some respite from domestic misery. From the death of Sejanus, three years had elapsed, and yet neither time nor supplications, nor even a deluge of blood, could soften the cruelty of Tiberius. Things that mitigate the resentment of others, made no impression on that unforgiving temper. Crimes of an ancient date were revived as recent facts, and charges without proof passed for demonstrations of guilt. The band of informers joined in a league against Fulcinius Trio. That citizen, knowing that his fate was determined, put an end to his life. In his will he spoke in the bitterest terms of Macro, and the emperor's freedmen. Nor did he spare Tiberius. His understanding, he said, was reduced by years and infirmity to a state of dotage, and his long absence was no better than banishment from his country. These reflections the heirs of Trio wished to suppress; but Tiberius ordered the will to be read in public: perhaps to show the world that he could allow full liberty of thinking, and despise the censure that pointed at himself; perhaps, having been for many years blind to the villainy of Sejanus, he chose, at last, that invectives of every sort should be brought to light, to the end that truth, always warped by flattery, might reach his ear, though undisguised, and at the expense of his reputation. About the same time died by his own hand Granius Martianus, a

member of the senate, who found himself attacked by Caius Gracchus on the law of violated majesty. Tatius Granius, who had served the office of prætor, was prosecuted in like manner, and condemned to suffer death.

XXXIX. The same fate attended Trebellienus Rufus and Sextius Paconianus: the former despatched himself, and the latter for some sarcastic verses against the emperor, the production of his prison-hours, was strangled in the jail. Of all these tragic scenes Tiberius had the earliest intelligence; not, as before, by messengers that crossed the sea to the isle of Capreæ; he heard the news in the very neighbourhood of Rome, hovering about the city at so small a distance, that often on the same day, or, at most, a single night intervening, the consuls received his answers to their despatches, and his final orders for immediate vengeance. He placed himself in a situation so near the theatre of horror, that he could almost see the blood that streamed in every family, and hear the stroke of the executioner.

Towards the end of the year died Poppæus Sabinus, a man of humble birth, but, by the partiality of two emperors, raised to the consulship, and distinguished by triumphal honours. During a series of four and twenty years, the government of considerable provinces was committed to his care, not for any extraordinary talents, but because he had a capacity of a level for business, and not above it.

XL. The next consulship was that of Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papinius. In the course of this year[1] Lucius Aruseius and others died under the hand of the executioner: their fate, however cruel, passed unheeded among the common occurrences of the time. Scenes of blood were grown familiar, and made no impression. And yet the fate of Vibulenus Agrippa was attended with circumstances that struck a general panic. His trial came on before the senate. As soon as the prosecutors closed their case, he swallowed a deadly poison which he had concealed under his robe, and instantly expired. He was seized notwithstanding, and in that condition dragged to a dungeon, where the lictor fastened his cord[2] round the neck of a dead man. Even Tigranes,[3] who had formerly swayed the sceptre of Armenia, suffered without distinction. The title of royalty did not exempt him from the lot of a common citizen.

[1] A.D. 36.

[2] This was done, that, under colour of dying by the hands of the executioner, his goods might be confiscated.

[3] Josephus mentions this fact. He says, Tigranes was grandson to Herod.

Caius Galba,[1] of consular rank, and the two Blæsi, embraced a voluntary death; Galba, because, by letters from Tiberius, written in terms of acrimony, he was excluded from the usual mode of obtaining a province by lot; and the Blæsi, because the order of priesthood, which had been promised in their day of prosperity, was, since they were no longer in favour, withheld from them, and to those vacant dignities others were appointed. A step so decisive they considered as nothing less than a signal to die; and they obeyed.

Æmilia Lepida, whose marriage with Drusus has been mentioned, remained, during the life of Lepidus her father, in perfect security, but detested by the public. Her protector being now no more, the informers seized their opportunity, and accused her of adultery with a slave. Of her guilt no doubt was entertained. She made no defence, but executed justice on herself.

XLI. About this time the Cliteans, a people subject to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, mpatient of being taxed according to the system practised in the Roman provinces, made a secession to the heights of mount Tauris. Being there possessed of the advantage-ground, they were able to defend themselves against their sovereign, and his unwarlike troops. To quell the insurgents, Vitellius, governor of Syria, despatched Marcus Trebellius, at the head of four thousand legionary soldiers, and a select detachment of auxiliaries. The Barbarians had taken post on two hills; the least was called CADRA, and the other DAVARA. Trebellius enclosed both with lines of circumvallation. All who dared to sally out were put to the sword; the rest were reduced by thirst and famine.

Meanwhile, Tiridates was well nigh established on the throne of Parthia. The cities of Nicephorium, Anthemusia, and other places, originally settled by the Macedonians, and from their founders deriving names of Greek termination, opened their gates to the new monarch. Halus and Artemita, two Parthian cities, followed the example; the people everywhere vying with each other in demonstrations of joy. A revolution, by which Artabanus, a tyrant bred among the Scythians, was driven from the throne, gave universal satisfaction to the Parthians. They knew that Tiridates had been educated among the Romans, and, from his arts of civilisation, expected a mild and equitable government.

[1] Caius Galba was brother to Galba, afterwards emperor.

XLII. The inhabitants of Seleucia declared for the new king in a style of flattery that exceeded all their neighbours. Seleucia is a fortified city of considerable strength. The barbarity of Parthian manners never gained admission amongst them. Being a colony planted by Seleucus, they still retained the institutions of their Grecian founder. A body of three hundred, chosen for their wealth or superior wisdom, gave the form of a senate. The people have their share in the government. When both orders act with a spirit of union, they are too strong for the Parthians. If they clash among themselves, and one faction looks abroad for support, the foreign prince, who arrives as the friend of a party, becomes the oppressor of all. In the reign of Artabanus this fatal consequence was actually felt. That monarch threw the whole weight into the scale of the nobles, and the people, by consequence, were surrendered as the slaves of a violent aristocracy. This form of government was agreeable to the ideas of eastern despotism. A regular democracy holds too much of civil liberty, while the domination of the few differs but little from absolute monarchy.

The reception of Tiridates at Seleucia, was splendid beyond all example. To the homage which the practice of ages had established, new honours were added by the inventive genius of flattery. Amidst the applause and acclamations of the people, reproaches loud and vehement were thrown out against Artabanus, a man related, by the maternal line only, to the house of the Arsacidæ, and, by his actions, a disgrace to the name. Tiridates sided with the people of Seleucia, and restored the democracy. A day for his coronation was still to be fixed. While that business was in agitation, despatches arrived from Hiero and Phraates, two leading men, and governors of extensive provinces. They desired that the ceremony might be deferred for a few days. A request from men of their importance came with weight, and was accordingly followed. The court, in the meantime, removed to Ctesiphon, the capital of the empire, and the seat of government. New delays were thrown in the way by the two grandees, and the business of the coronation was protracted from time to time. At length the regent of the country, called the SURENA, proceeded, according to the national custom, to solemnise the inauguration of the king. In the presence of a numerous assembly, and amidst the shouts and accla-

mations of the people, he invested Tiridates with the regal diadem.

XLIII. If, after this ceremony, Tiridates had penetrated at once into the heart of the kingdom, and shown himself to the interior provinces, by that decisive step the minds of such as wavered had been fixed, and the prince had mounted the throne with the consent of the nation. He stayed imprudently to amuse himself with the siege of a castle, in which were lodged the concubines of Artabanus, with all the royal treasure. The delay gave time for treachery and revolt. Phraates, Hiero, and others of the nobility, who were not present at the coronation, turned their thoughts, with their usual love of innovation, towards the deposed king. For this conduct their motives were various. Some acted from their fears, and others from their ill-will to Abdageses, who had gained the supreme authority at court, and the entire ascendant over the new monarch. The malcontents went in quest of Artabanus. He was found in Hyrcania, covered with wretchedness, and with his bow and arrow procuring his daily sustenance. On the first appearance of his friends, he was seized with terror, suspecting nothing less than treachery, and a design against his life. Being assured of their fidelity, and their resolution to restore him to his dominions, he felt his hopes revived: and whence, he said, this sudden change? Hiero gave the answer: "Tiridates is no better than a boy; nor is the royal dignity vested in a prince descended from the line of the Arsacidæ. Enervated by the luxuries of Rome, the stripling contents himself with the shadow of authority, while the whole power of the state is in the hands of Abdageses."

XLIV. The politic king, formed during a long reign in the school of experience, knew that men, whose friendship is fallacious, may notwithstanding be believed, when they avow their hatred. Without loss of time he raised a supply of men among the Scythians, and marched forward with intent to give no time either to the arts of his enemies, or the natural levity of his friends. The sordid habit in which he was found, he still continued to wear; hoping, by his wretched appearance, to make an impression on the passions of the multitude. He omitted nothing that could serve his cause; by fraud, by entreaty, by every artifice, he tried to allure the wavering, and to animate the brave. By rapid marches he soon reached the neighbourhood of Seleucia, at the head of a powerful army.

Tiridates, alarmed at the news of his approach, and, soon after, terrified at his actual presence, began to deliberate about the measures in that exigence fittest to be pursued. Should he try the issue of a battle, or draw the war into length? In his councils there was nothing like decision. The officers of warlike spirit were for a sudden blow, while the rash levies of Artabanus, out of heart, fatigued by their march, and not yet united by principle, had as yet no affection for a king whom they had so lately deposed. Traitors yesterday, they were no better than pretended friends. Abdageses was of a contrary opinion. To retreat into Mesopotamia was, in his judgment, the safest measure. Having gained the opposite side of the river, Tiridates might there stand at bay, till the Armenians, the Elymæans, and other nations in the rear, had time to take the field. Succours might be expected from the Roman general. When their forces were all assembled, it would then be time to hazard a battle. This measure was adopted. Abdageses was high in authority, and the unwarlike genius of Tiridates shrunk from danger. Their retreat had the appearance of an army put to the rout. The consequences were fatal. The Arabs were the first to abandon Tiridates: a general defection followed. Some betook themselves to their native home, and others went over to the standard of Artabanus. Tiridates, with a handful of men, passed into Syria, and by his conduct made the apology of all who deserted his cause. None had reason to blush for betraying a man who betrayed himself.

XLV. In the course of this year a dreadful fire broke out at Rome, and laid mount Aventine, with part of the adjoining circus, in ashes. Tiberius had the address to turn this calamity to his own glory. He ordered the value of the houses and insulated mansions,[1] which were destroyed, to be paid to the respective owners. The sum amounted to no less than one hundred thousand great sesterces. The munificence of the prince was more applauded, as building for his own use was not his taste. The temple of Augustus, and Pompey's Theatre, were his only public structures. When both were finished, he did not so much as think of dedicating them; perhaps to show his contempt of fame; perhaps, because old age had sunk his vigour. To estimate the damage sustained by each individual, his four sons-in-law were appointed, namely, Cneius Domitius, Cassius Longinus,

[1] Houses, detached entirely, and contiguous to no other building, were called *insulated* houses.

Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus. At the desire of the consuls, Publius Petronius was added to the commission. Public honours were decreed to the emperor with all the variety that adulation could suggest. Which were acceptable, and which rejected, is uncertain; since he was then near his end, and perhaps never declared his mind.

In a short time after[1] Cneius Acerronius and Caius Pontius entered on the consulship, and it was their lot to close the reign of Tiberius. Macro was, at this time, in the zenith of his power. He had been assiduous in paying his court to Caligula; and now, when he saw the emperor declining fast, his zeal for the young prince became every day more conspicuous. In a short time after the death of Claudia, who had been married to Caligula, he made his own wife, Ennia, throw out the lure for his affections, till she obtained a promise of marriage. In this she found no difficulty. Caligula wished for nothing so much as an opportunity to seize the sovereign power; and, to second his ambition, there was no project which he was not ready to embrace. The ferocity of his nature left him little time for reflection, and the violence of his passions clouded his understanding: he had studied under his grandfather, and in that school acquired the arts of dissimulation.

XLVI. The character of Caligula did not escape the penetrating eye of Tiberius. Hence his irresolution on the important point of naming a successor.[2] His grandsons naturally were present to his mind. The heir of his son Drusus was the nearest in blood, and natural affection spoke in his favour: but the prince was still of tender years. Caligula had attained the prime of manhood; but he was the son of Germanicus, and, for that reason, a favourite of the people; both strong motives to excite the aversion of Tiberius. Claudius was not entirely overlooked. His time of life rendered him fit for that exalted station, and he had shown a taste for the liberal arts; but he wanted vigour of mind: nature had given him talents, but withheld the power of using them with any solid advantage. In this perplexity Tiberius weighed every circumstance, but still could form no resolution. To name a person who was not of the imperial family, were to degrade the memory of Augustus, and leave the house of Cæsar exposed to the contempt of posterity. This, in all events, he was determined to avoid, not with a view to present fame, for that had long since ceased to be his

[1] A.D. 37. [2] Hereditary succession was unknown to the Romans.

passion; and yet he wished to preserve the glory of an illustrious line, and transmit it unimpaired to future ages.

At length, fatigued with thinking, and growing every day weaker, he left to chance what he had not vigour to decide. He had, notwithstanding, some foreknowledge of what was to happen after him. From certain expressions that fell from him this may be collected. His reproach to Macro, "that he turned from the setting to the rising sun," was neither dark nor equivocal. He said to Caligula, who, on some occasion, treated the character of Sulla with contempt and ridicule, "You will have the vices of that great man, without one of his virtues." In a short time after, while with tears of affection he clasped in his arms the youngest[1] of his grandsons, he observed the stern countenance of Caligula, and calmly told him, "You will kill this boy, and fall yourself by some other hand." Tiberius was now declining fast, and yet, in that decay of nature, he abated nothing from his usual gratifications. Dissembling to the last, he endured every encroachment on his constitution with calm composure. Patience, he thought, would pass for vigour. To ridicule the practice of physic, and make a jest of all who, after thirty, did not understand their own constitutions, had been long the bent of his humour.

XLVII. At Rome, in the meantime, prosecutions were set on foot, to terminate in blood after the death of Tiberius. Acutia, formerly the wife of Publius Vitellius, was charged on the law of violated majesty by Lælius Balbus. She was condemned; but the decree, by which the senate adjudged a recompense to the prosecutor, was suspended by the interposition of Junius Otho, the tribune of the people. From that moment Balbus and Otho became open enemies. Fierce contentions followed, and, at last, ended in the banishment of Otho. Albucilla, a woman famous for the variety of her intrigues, and her marriage with Satrius Secundus (the man who informed against Sejanus), was charged with a conspiracy against the prince. Cneius Domitius, Vibius Marsus, and Lucius Arruntius, were all three involved in the same prosecution, being, as was alleged, connected in a course of adultery with Albucilla, and, by consequence, accomplices in all her crimes. The illustrious birth of Domitius has been already mentioned. Marsus derived great splendour from his ancestors, and was, besides, in an eminent degree adorned with

[1] This was the son of Drusus, who had been cut off by Sejanus. He was afterwards put to death by Caligula.

literature. In the state of the proceedings laid before the senate, it appeared that Macro presided at the examination of the witnesses, and saw the slaves put to the question; but no letter on the subject arrived from Tiberius. Hence a strong suspicion, that Macro, taking advantage of the feeble state of his master, seized the opportunity to wreak his malice on Arruntius, whom he was known to prosecute with inveterate hatred.

XLVIII. Domitius, relying on his defence, employed himself in the necessary preparation. Marsus gave out that he was resolved to end his days by famine. The artifice saved both their lives. The friends of Arruntius tried all their influence and their best advice. They entreated him to protract the time by studied delays. Arruntius answered with firmness: "The same part cannot, with propriety, be acted by all characters. What is honourable in one, may be unworthy in another. As to myself, I have lived long enough, nay, too long, and to my own disgrace. For that, and that only, I now reproach myself. I have lingered in life, amidst surrounding dangers: I have dragged a weary old age, exposed to the proud man's insult, and the malice of pernicious ministers; hated at first by Sejanus, and now by Macro; in every stage of life obnoxious to lawless power. My enemies had no crime to lay to my charge, unless it be a crime to detest evil men, and evil measures. Life is no longer worth my care: it may, indeed, be prolonged beyond the term that seems to remain for Tiberius: but from a youthful tyrant, ready to seize the commonwealth as his prey, what shield can guard me? In despotic power there is a charm that can poison the best understanding. Of this truth Tiberius is an example. And is it to be expected that Caligula, scarce yet arrived to the state of manhood, a novice in business, with a mind trained up in the most pernicious maxims, will, under such a guide as Macro, pursue better measures? Macro will direct his councils; that very Macro, who, for his pre-eminence in guilt, was selected to work the downfall of Sejanus. Since that time, what has been his character? He has been the scourge, the oppressor of the commonwealth. A period of calamity, more dreadful than what we have seen, is yet to come: from the memory of the past, and the pangs of future misery, I choose to make my escape." Having, in this prophetic strain delivered his sentiments, he opened his veins, and bled to death. That he acted with wisdom, as well as courage, the times that follow will give ample proof.

Albucilla made an attempt on her own life; but the wound not proving mortal, she was, by order of the senate, hurried away to prison. The senate passed a decree against such as were connected with her in adulterous practices. By that sentence, Grafidius Sacerdos, of prætorian rank, was banished to an island, and Pontius Fregellanus was expelled the senate. The like judgment was pronounced against Lælius Balbus, the fathers concurring with pleasure in the condemnation of a man, whose pernicious talents and overbearing eloquence were ever ready to work the ruin of truth and virtue.

XLIX. About the same time, Sextus Papinius, a man descended from a family of consular rank, chose a mode of death both shocking and ignominious. He threw himself headlong from a precipice, and expired on the spot. The cause of this dreadful catastrophe was imputed to his mother. Having conceived an unnatural passion for her son, this woman, though often repulsed, still persisted to solicit his passions, and, at length, by alluring arts and the baits of luxury, reduced the young man to a situation, in which an act of despair was his only remedy. Being cited to appear before the senate, she threw herself at the feet of the fathers, and tried by every art to awaken compassion. The anguish of a parent, she said, pierced her to the quick, and the weakness of her sex was unequal to such a load of misery. She omitted nothing that could touch the heart, and mitigate resentment; but the fathers were inexorable. She was banished from Rome for ten years, that, in the meantime, her second son might pass the season of life, in which the young and tender mind is liable to seduction.

L. Tiberius now drew near his end: his strength declined, his spirits sunk, and everything failed, except his dissimulation. The same austerity still remained, the same energy and rigour of mind. He talked in a decisive tone; he looked with eagerness; and even, at times, affected an air of gaiety. Dissembling to the last, he hoped by false appearances to hide the decay of nature. Weary, restless, and impatient, he could not stay long in one place. After various changes, he stopped at a villa, formerly the property of Lucullus, near the promontory of Misenum. It was here first known that his dissolution was approaching fast. The discovery was made in the following manner. A physician, of the name of Charicles, highly eminent in his profession, attended the train of Tiberius, not employed to prescribe, but occasionally assisting with friendly advice. Pretending to have avocations that required his

attendance elsewhere, he approached the emperor to take his leave, and respectfully laying hold of his hand, contrived, in the act of saluting it, to feel his pulse. The artifice did not escape the notice of Tiberius. It probably gave him offence, but, for that reason, he smothered his resentment. With an air of cheerfulness, he ordered the banquet to be served, and, seemingly with intent to honour his departing friend, continued at table beyond his usual time. Charicles was not to be deceived. He saw a rapid decline, and assured Macro that two days, at most, would close the scene. For that event measures were immediately taken: councils were held in private, and despatches were sent to the army, and the several commanders at their respective stations. On the seventeenth before the calends of April, Tiberius had a fainting fit: he lay for some time in a state of languor, speechless, without motion, and was thought to be dead. A band of courtiers surrounded Caligula, eager to pay their court, and all congratulating the prince on his accession to the imperial dignity. Caligula was actually going forth to be proclaimed emperor, when word was brought, that Tiberius was come to himself, and called for a cordial to revive his fainting spirits. The whole party was struck with terror: the crowd dispersed; some with dejected looks, others with a cheerful mien, as if unconscious of what had happened. Caligula stood at gaze, astonished, and almost out of his senses. He had, but a moment before, one foot on the throne, and now was thrown from the summit of his ambition. He remained fixed in despair, as if awaiting the stroke of death. Macro alone was undismayed. With firmness and presence of mind, he cleared the emperor's room, and gave orders that the remains of life should be smothered under a load of clothes. Such was the end of Tiberius, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

LI. He was the son of Tiberius Nero; by the paternal and maternal line of the house of Claudius, though his mother passed by adoption into the Livian, and afterwards into the Julian family. The beginning of his days was clouded with misfortunes, and exposed to various perils. In his infancy, he was torn away from Rome, and forced to wander with his father, then on the list of the proscribed. When a marriage took place between Livia and Augustus, he was introduced into the imperial house, but had to contend with powerful rivals, as long as Marcellus, Agrippa, and the two Cæsars, Caius and Lucius, flourished at the court of Augustus. In

the eyes of the people, his brother Drusus overshadowed him. By his marriage with Julia, his situation was rendered still more embarrassing. Whether he connived at her vices, or abandoned her in resentment, the dilemma was, either way, full of difficulty. Being recalled from the isle of Rhodes, he found Augustus deprived of heirs, and from that time continued for twelve years without a rival, the hope and pillar of the imperial family. He succeeded to the empire, and governed Rome near three and twenty years. His manners, like his fortune, had their revolutions, and their distinctive periods: amiable, while a private man; and, in the highest employments under Augustus, esteemed and honoured. During the lives of Drusus and Germanicus, he played an artificial character, concealing his vices, and assuming the exteriors of virtue. After their decease, and while his mother lived, good and evil were equally blended in his conduct. Detested for his cruelty, he had the art, while he loved or feared Sejanus, to throw a veil over his most depraved and vicious appetites. All restraint being at length removed, he broke out without fear or shame, and, during the remainder of his life, hurried away by his own unbridled passions, made his reign one scene of lust, and cruelty, and horror.

BOOK XI

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These transactions include two years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
800	47	Claudius, 4th time, Lucius Vitellius, 3rd time.
801	48	Aulus Vitellius, L. Vipsanius.

I. MESSALINA[1] was convinced that Poppæa had been for some time engaged in a course of adultery with Valerius Asiaticus, who had enjoyed the honour of two consulships.[2] She had, besides, an eye to the elegant gardens, formerly the pride of Lucullus, which Asiaticus had improved in the highest taste and magnificence. Bent on the destruction of Poppæa and her lover, she suborned Suillius[3] to carry on the prosecution. Sosibius, the tutor of Britannicus, entered into the conspiracy. This man had the ear of Claudius. In secret whispers, and under a mask of friendship, he alarmed the emperor with the necessity of being on his guard against the machinations of his enemies. "Overgrown wealth," he said, "in the hands of a private citizen, is always big with danger to the reigning prince. When Caligula fell, Asiaticus was the principal actor in that bloody tragedy. He owned the fact in a full assembly of the people, and claimed the glory of the deed.[4] That bold exploit has made him popular at Rome; his fame is spread through the provinces; and, even now, he meditates a visit to the German armies. Born at Vienne,[5] he has great family interest and powerful connections in Gaul. A man thus supported will be able to incite his countrymen to a revolt." The hint was enough for Claudius. Without further inquiry, he despatched Crispinus, who commanded the prætorian guards, with a band of soldiers. Their march resembled a body

[1] A.D. 47.

[2] The former part of this book, comprising no less than six years, is lost, with other parts of Tacitus. Claudius succeeded to Caligula. The present book begins abruptly, when Claudius had reigned six years. The very first sentence is imperfect. The historian, beyond all doubt, had been speaking of Messalina and Poppæa Sabina, but neither of them is mentioned in the mutilated text. To avoid beginning with a broken passage, the translator has added their names, and the sense will now be found complete.

[3] Suillius has been already mentioned, *Annals*, iv. 31; and for the infamy of his character, see xiii. 42.

[4] In the tumult occasioned by the death of Caligula, when the people were wild with contending passions, and the prætorian guard paraded the streets denouncing vengeance against the conspirators, Valerius Asiaticus (according to Josephus) rushed forward to meet them, proclaiming aloud, "I wish the tyrant had fallen by my hand."

[5] Formerly the capital of the Allobroges.

of troops going on a warlike expedition. Asiaticus was seized at Baiæ, and brought to Rome in chains.

II. He was not suffered to appear before the senate. The cause was heard in the emperor's chamber, in the presence of Messalina. Suillius stood forth as prosecutor. He stated the corruption of the army, and accused Asiaticus as the author of it. By bribes, by largesses, and by the practice of abominable vices, the soldiers were seduced from their duty: they were prepared for any enterprise, however atrocious. The crime of adultery with Poppæa helped to swell the charge; and, to crown all, the prisoner had unmanned himself by his unnatural passions. Stung to the quick by his imputation, Asiaticus turned to the prosecutor, "And ask your sons," he said; "they will tell you that I am a man." He went into his defence in such a strain of pathetic eloquence, that Claudius felt the strongest emotions. Even Messalina dropped a tear. She left the room to wipe the gush of nature from her eyes; but first charged Vitellius not to suffer the prisoner to escape. In the meantime, she hastened the destruction of Poppæa. She sent her agents to alarm her with the horrors of a jail, and drive her, by that dismal prospect, to an act of desperation. Her malice was unknown to Claudius. He was so little in the secret, that, a few days afterwards, having invited Scipio as his guest, he asked him, "Why his wife was not of the party?" Scipio made answer, "She is dead."

III. Claudius was, for some time, in suspense. He was inclined to favour Asiaticus, but Vitellius interposed. With tears in his eyes, he talked of the friendship which had long subsisted between the prisoner and himself; he mentioned their mutual habits at the court of Antonia, the emperor's mother; he stated the public merits of Asiaticus; and, in particular, the glory of his late expedition into Britain: he omitted nothing that could excite compassion, but, at last, concluded (with a stroke of treachery), that to allow him to choose his mode of dying was an indulgence due to so distinguished a character. This cruel species of clemency was adopted by Claudius. The friends of Asiaticus recommended abstinence, as a mode of death easy and gradual. He scorned the pretended lenity, and betook himself to his usual exercises. He bathed and supped with alacrity of mind. "To die," he said, "by the intrigues of an artful woman, or the treachery of a debauched and profligate impostor, such as Vitellius, was an ignominious catastrophe. He envied those who perished by the systematic cruelty of Tiberius, or the

headlong fury of Caligula." Having declared these sentiments, he opened a vein, and bled to death. Before he gave himself the mortal wound, he had the fortitude to survey his funeral pile. Perceiving that the flame might reach the branches of the trees, and hurt the shade of his garden, he ordered it to be removed to a more distant spot. Such was the tranquillity with which he encountered death.

IV. The senate was convened. Suillius followed his blow. He preferred an accusation against two Roman knights of the name of Petra; both distinguished by their rank and character. The crime objected to them was, that they had made their house convenient to Poppæa, when she carried on her intrigue with Mnester. The charge against one of them imported, that in a dream, his imagination presented to him the figure of Claudius crowned with a sheaf of corn, but the ears inverted downward. This vision was understood by the criminal as the prognostic of an approaching famine. Some will have it, that the wreath consisted of vine-branches, with the leaves entirely faded; and this was deemed an omen of the emperor's death towards the end of the ensuing autumn. Whatever it might be, it is certain that it was held to be an act of treason. The two brothers died for a dream. By a decree of the senate, Crispinus was rewarded with fifteen thousand sesterces, and the prætorian dignity. On the motion of Vitellius, a vote of ten thousand sesterces passed in favour of Sosibius, the preceptor of Britannicus, and the faithful adviser of the emperor. In the debate on this occasion, Scipio was called upon for his opinion: he rose, and said, "Since the conduct of my wife Poppæa must appear to me in the same light that it does to this assembly, let me be thought to concur with the general voice." A delicate stroke of prudence yielding to the necessity of the times, yet not forgetting the ties of conjugal affection.

V. From this time, the rage of Suillius knew no bounds. A number of others followed in the same track, all rivals in iniquity. The constitution had been long since annihilated; the functions of the magistrates were wrested out of their hands; the will of the prince was the law; and, by consequence, the crew of informers grew rich by injustice and oppression. Their eloquence was put up to sale, like any other commodity at market. Samius, a Roman knight of distinction, has left a memorable instance. He had retained Suillius with a fee of ten thousand crowns; but finding that his cause was betrayed, he went to the house of the perfidious

orator, and fell upon his own sword. To check this fatal mischief, a motion was made in the senate by Caius Silius, then consul elect. Of this man, his elevation, and his downfall, due notice will be taken hereafter. He represented, in strong colours, the avarice of the advocates. The fathers, with one voice, agreed to revive the Cincian law,[1] by which it was ordained in ancient times, that no advocate, for a fee, or gratuity of any kind, should prostitute his talents.

VI. The informers opposed the motion. They saw that the blow was aimed at themselves. Silius grew more eager. He was at open enmity with Suillius, and, for that reason, pressed the business with his utmost vigour. He cited the orators of ancient times, men of pure and upright principles, who considered honest fame, and the fair applause of posterity, as the true reward of genius. "Eloquence," he said, "the first of liberal arts, if it condescended to be let out for hire, was no better than a sordid trade. If it became mercenary, and sold itself to the highest bidder, no truth can be expected; integrity is at an end. Take from venal oratory all its view of interest, and the number of suitors will, of course, be diminished. In the reigning corruption of the modern forum, private feuds, mutual accusations, family quarrels, hatred, and animosity, are kept alive. The practisers live by the passions of mankind, as physicians thrive by an epidemic distemper. Call to mind Caius Asinius, Marcus Messala, and, among the names of more recent date, remember the Arruntii and the Æserini: men who never set themselves up to auction: never made a bargain and sale of their talents, but rose by their integrity and their unbought eloquence to the highest honours of the state." This speech from the consul elect was heard with general approbation. The fathers were on the point of declaring by a decree, that all who took the wages of oratory should be deemed guilty of extortion. Suillius and Cossutianus, with many others who were conscious of their evil practices, clearly saw, that if the decree passed the senate, it would be nothing less than a vote of pains and penalties against themselves. To ward off the blow, they pressed round the emperor, praying an indemnity for past transactions. Claudius seeming by a nod to assent in their petition, they took courage, and argued their case as fellows:

VII. "Where is the orator who can flatter himself that his

[1] Marcus Cincius, tribune of the people, was the author of the *Cincian Law*, so called after his name. It provided against the receipt of gifts and presents, but in a course of time fell into disuse, till Augustus thought fit to revive it.

name will reach posterity? The interests of society require advocates by profession, men versed in questions of right and wrong, and ready, as well as able, to protect the weak against the proud and affluent. But eloquence is not a gratuitous gift; it is acquired by toil and industry. To conduct the affairs of others, the orator neglects his own concerns. Life is variegated with different employments: some betake themselves to the profession of arms; others to the arts of husbandry; no man embraces a particular calling, without having beforehand made an estimate of the profit. Asinius and Messala have been cited: but it was easy for men in their situation, enriched as they were in the civil wars between Augustus and Antony, to forego all further views of emolument. It was easy for the Arruntii and the Æserini, the heirs of great and opulent families, to act with an elevation of mind superior to the profits of the bar. And yet we are not now to learn what prodigious sums Publius Clodius and Caius Curio received as the reward of their eloquence. As to ourselves, we have not the advantages of fortune: in a time of profound tranquillity, it is but just that we should live by the arts of peace. The case of men descended from plebeian families merits consideration. Without the career of eloquence, they have no way to emerge from obscurity. Take from men the just fruit of their studies, and learning will grow to seed." This reasoning was far from honourable, but it had weight with Claudius. He took a middle course, and fixed the legal perquisite at the sum of ten thousand sesterces. All who presumed to transgress that line were to be deemed guilty of extortion, by law compellable to refund.

VIII. About this time Mithridates, who, as has been mentioned, swayed the sceptre of Armenia, and was brought in chains to the tribunal of Caligula,[1] was released by the direction of Claudius. He set out from Rome to take possession of his kingdom, relying on the support of his brother Pharasmanes, king of Iberia. By advices from that monarch, it appeared that the Parthian state was convulsed by internal divisions, and, while the regal diadem was at stake, a people so distracted among themselves would not have leisure to engage in foreign wars. Gotarzes had seized the throne of Parthia, and spilt a deluge of blood. He had murdered his own brother Artabanus, with his wife and son,

[1] Mithridates, brother to Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, was appointed by Tiberius to sway the sceptre of Armenia. He was afterwards brought to Rome in chains, and thrown into prison by Caligula.

and by these and other acts of cruelty, gave his subjects nothing to expect but slaughter and desolation. Determined to shake off the yoke, the people planned a revolution in favour of Bardanes, the surviving brother of Gotarzes. This prince was by nature formed for enterprise. In two days he made a march of no less than three thousand furlongs. He took Gotarzes by surprise, attacked him with sudden fury. and obliged him to consult his safety by flight. He pushed on with vigour to the adjacent provinces, and all, except Seleucia, submitted without resistance. The inhabitants of that city shut their gates. Fired with indignation against a people who had offered the same affront to his father, Bardanes yielded to the impulse of resentment, instead of pursuing the measures which prudence dictated. He stayed to amuse himself with the siege of a place strong by nature, well fortified, amply provided with stores, and on one side defended by a rapid river.[1] Gotarzes, in the meantime, having obtained succours from the Dahans and Hyrcanians, returned with a powerful army to renew the war. Bardanes was compelled to raise the siege of Seleucia. He retired to the plains of Bactria, and there pitched his camp.

IX. While the east was thus thrown into convulsions, and the fate of Parthia hung on the doubtful event, Mithridates seized the opportunity to invade the kingdom of Armenia. The Roman legions and the Iberians supported the enterprise. By the former, all the forts and places of strength were levelled to the ground, and by the latter, the open country was laid waste. The Armenians, under the conduct of Demonax, at that time governor of the country, hazarded a battle, and, being defeated, were no longer able to make a stand. The new settlement, however, was for some time retarded by Cotys, king of the lesser Armenia. A party of the nobles had declared in his favour; but, being intimidated by letters from Claudius, they abandoned their project. Mithridates mounted the throne of Armenia, with more ferocity than became a prince in the opening of a new reign. Meanwhile, the competitors for the Parthian monarchy, in a moment when they were going to try the issue of a decisive action, agreed on terms of peace. A conspiracy had been formed against them both; but being detected by Gotarzes, the two brothers came to an interview. The meeting was at first conducted with reserve on both sides. After balancing for some time, they embraced;

[1] The Tigris.

and, taking each other by the hand, bound themselves by an oath before the altar of the gods, to join with their united force, in order to punish the treachery of their enemies, and, on equitable terms, to compromise the war. The people declared for Bardanes. Gotarzes, accordingly, resigned his pretensions; and, to remove all cause of jealousy, withdrew to the remotest parts of Hyrcania. Bardanes returned in triumph; and Seleucia threw open her gates, after having, during a siege of seven years, stood at bay with the whole power of the Parthian monarchy, to the disgrace of a people, who, in such a length of time, were unable to reduce that city to subjection.

X. Bardanes, without delay, made himself master of the most important provinces. He intended to invade Armenia; but Vibius Marsus, the governor of Syria, threatening to repel him by force, he abandoned the project. Meanwhile, Gotarzes had leisure to repent of his abdication. The Parthian nobility, who in peaceful times are always impatient of the yoke of slavery, invited him to return. Roused by the call of the people, he soon collected a powerful army. Bardanes marched to meet him as far as the banks of the Erinde. The passage over the river was warmly disputed. After many sharp engagements, Bardanes prevailed. He pushed his conquest with uninterrupted success as far as the river Sinden, which flows between the Dahi and the territory of the Arians. His career of victory ended at that place. Though flushed with the success of their arms, the Parthians disliked a war in regions so far remote. To mark, however, the progress of the victorious troops, and to perpetuate the glory of having put under contribution so many distant nations, where the Arsacidæ had never penetrated, Bardanes raised a monument on the spot, and marched back to Parthia, proud of his exploits, more oppressive than ever, and, by consequence, more detested. A conspiracy was formed to cut him off; and accordingly, while the king on a hunting party, void of all suspicion, pursued the pleasures of the chase, his enemies fell upon him with sudden fury. Bardanes, in the prime and vigour of his days, expired under repeated blows. The glory of his reign, however short, would have eclipsed the few of his predecessors who enjoyed a length of days, if to gain the hearts of his people had been as much his ambition, as it was to render himself the terror of his enemies. By his death the kingdom was once more thrown into commotions. The choice of a

successor divided the whole nation into factions. A large party adhered to Gotarzes; others declared for Meherdetes, a descendant of Phraates, at that time a hostage in the hands of the Romans. The interest of Gotarzes proved the strongest; but the people, in a short time, weary of his cruelty and wild profusion, sent a private embassy to Rome, requesting that the emperor would be graciously pleased to send Meherdetes to fill the throne of his ancestors.

XI. During the same consulship, in the year of Rome eight hundred, the secular games were celebrated, after an interval of sixty-four years since they were last solemnised in the reign of Augustus. The chronology observed by Augustus differed from the system of Claudius; but this is not the place for a discussion of that point. I have been sufficiently explicit on the subject in the history of Domitian,[1] who likewise gave an exhibition of the secular games. Being at that time one of the college of fifteen, and invested with the office of prætor, it fell to my province to regulate the ceremonies. Let it not be imagined that this is said from motives of vanity. The fact is, in ancient times the business was conducted under the special directions of the quindecemviral order, while the chief magistrates officiated in the several ceremonies. Claudius thought proper to revive this public spectacle. He attended in the circus, and, in his presence, the Trojan game[2] was performed by the youth of noble birth. Britannicus, the emperor's son, and Lucius Domitius, who by adoption took the name of Nero, and afterwards succeeded to the empire, appeared, with the rest of the band, mounted on superb horses. Nero was received with acclamations, and that mark of popular favour was considered as an omen of his future grandeur. A story, at that time current, gained credit with the populace. Nero in his infancy was said to have been guarded by two serpents; but this idle tale held too much of that love of the marvellous which distinguishes foreign nations. The account given by the prince himself, who was ever unwilling to derogate from his own fame, differed from the common report. He talked of the prodigy, but graced his narrative with one serpent only.

XII. The prejudice in favour of Nero rose altogether from the esteem in which the memory of Germanicus was

[1] The secular games were exhibited by Augustus. The famous *Carmen Sæculare* of Horace has made them universally known.

[2] The *Trojan Game*, commonly ascribed to Æneas, is described by Virgil, *Æneid*, v. 545.

held by the people at large. The only male heir of that admired commander was naturally an object of attention; and the sufferings of his mother Agrippina touched every heart with compassion. Messalina, it was well known, pursued her with unrelenting malice: she was, even then, planning her ruin. Her suborned accusers soon framed a list of crimes; but the execution of her schemes was, for a time, suspended. A new amour, little short of frenzy, claimed precedence of all other passions. Caius Silius was the person for whom she burned with all the vehemence of wild desire. The graces of his form and manner eclipsed all the Roman youth. That she might enjoy her favourite without a rival, she obliged him to repudiate his wife, Junia Silana, though descended from illustrious ancestors. Silius was neither blind to the magnitude of the crime, nor to the danger of not complying. If he refused, a woman scorned would be sure to gratify her revenge; and, on the other hand, there was a chance of deceiving the stupidity of Claudius. The rewards in view were bright and tempting. He resolved to stand the hazard of future consequences, and enjoy the present moment. Messalina gave a loose to love. She scorned to save appearances. She repeated her visits, not in a private manner, but with all her train. In public places she hung enamoured over him; she loaded him with wealth and honours; and at length, as if the imperial dignity had been already transferred to another house, the retinue of the prince, his slaves, his freedmen, and the whole splendour of the court, adorned the mansion of her favourite.

XIII. Claudius, in the meantime, blind to the conduct of his wife, and little suspecting that his bed was dishonoured, gave all his time to the duties of his censorial office. He issued an edict to repress the licentiousness of the theatre. A dramatic performance had been given to the stage by Publius Pomponius, a man of consular rank. On that occasion the author, and several women of the first condition, were treated by the populace with insolence and vile scurrility. This behaviour called for the interposition of the prince. To check the rapacity of usurers, a law was also passed, prohibiting the loan of money to young heirs, on the contingency of their father's death. The waters, which have their source on the Simbruine hills, were conveyed in aqueducts to Rome. Claudius, at the same time, invented the form of new letters, and

added them to the Roman alphabet, aware that the language of Greece, in its original state, could not boast of perfection, but received, at different periods, a variety of improvements.

XIV. The Egyptians were the first who had the ingenuity to express by outward signs the ideas passing in the mind. Under the form of animals they gave a body and a figure to sentiment. Their hieroglyphics were wrought in stone, and are to be seen at this day, the most venerable monuments of human memory. The invention of letters is also claimed by the Egyptians. According to their account, the Phœnicians found legible characters in use throughout Egypt, and, being much employed in navigation, carried them into Greece; importers of the art, but not entitled to the glory of the invention. The history of the matter, as related by the Phœnicians, is, that Cadmus, with a fleet from their country, passed into Greece, and taught the art of writing to a rude and barbarous people. We are told by others, that Cecrops the Athenian, or Linus the Theban, or Palamedes the Argive, who flourished during the Trojan war, invented sixteen letters: the honour of adding to the number, and making a complete alphabet, is ascribed to different authors, and, in particular, to Simonides. In Italy, Demaratus of Corinth, and Evander the Arcadian, introduced the arts of civilisation: the former taught the Etrurians, and the latter the aborigines or natives of the country where he settled. The form of the Latin letters was the same as the characters of the ancient Greeks: but the Roman alphabet, like that of all other nations, was scanty in the beginning. In process of time, the original elements were increased. Claudius added three new letters, which, during the remainder of his reign, were frequently inserted, but after his death, fell into disuse. In tables of brass, on which were engraved the ordinances of the people, and which remain to this day, hung up in the temples, and the forum, the shape of the three characters may still be traced.

XV. To regulate the college of augurs was the next care of Claudius. He referred the business to the consideration of the senate, observing to that assembly, "that an ancient and venerable institution ought not to be suffered, for want of due attention, to sink into oblivion. In times of danger, the commonwealth resorted to the soothsayers, and that order of men restored the primitive ceremonies of religion. By the nobility of Etruria, the science of

future events was esteemed, and cultivated. The authority of the senate gave additional sanctions, and those mysteries have ever since remained in certain families, transmitted from father to son. In the present decay of all liberal science, and the growth of foreign superstition, the sacred mysteries are neglected, and, indeed, almost extinguished. The empire, it is true, enjoys a state of perfect tranquillity; but, surely, for that blessing, the people should bend in adoration to the gods, not forgetting, in the calm season of peace, those religious rites, which saved them in the hour of danger." A decree passed the senate, directing that the pontiffs should revise the whole system, and retrench or ratify what to them should seem proper.

XVI. In the course of this year, the Cheruscans applied to Rome for a king to reign over them. They had been distracted by civil dissensions, and in the wars that followed, the flower of their nobility was cut off. Of royal descent there was only one surviving chief, by name Italicus, and he at that time resided at Rome. He was the son of Flavius, the brother of Arminius; by the maternal line, grandson to Catumer, the reigning king of the Cattians. He was comely in his person, expert in the use of arms, and skilled in horsemanship, as well after the Roman manner, as the practice of the Germans. Claudius supplied him with money; appointed guards to escort him; and, by seasonable admonitions, endeavoured to inspire him with sentiments worthy of the elevation to which he was called. He desired him to go forth with courage, and ascend the throne of his ancestors with becoming dignity. He told him, that being born at Rome, and there entertained in freedom, not kept as a prisoner, he was the first, who went clothed with the character of a Roman citizen, to reign in Germany. The prince was received by his countrymen with demonstrations of joy. A stranger to the dissensions, which had for some time disturbed the public tranquillity, he had no party views to warp his conduct. The king of a people, not of a faction, he gained the esteem of all. His praise resounded in every quarter. By exercising the milder qualities of temperance and affability, and, at times, giving himself up to wine and gay carousals, which among Barbarians are esteemed national virtues, he endeared himself to all ranks of men. His fame reached the neighbouring states, and by degrees spread all over Germany

His popularity, however, gave umbrage to the disaffected. The same turbulent spirits, who had before thrown everything into confusion, and flourished in the distractions of their country, began to view the new king with a jealous eye. They represented to the adjacent nations, that "the rights of Germany, transmitted to them by their forefathers, were now at the last gasp. The grandeur of the Roman empire rises on the ruins of public liberty. But is the Cheruscan nation at so low an ebb, that a native, worthy of the supreme authority, cannot be found amongst them? Is there no resource left, but that of electing the son of Flavius, that ignominious spy, that traitor to his country? It is in vain alleged in favour of Italicus, that he is nephew to Arminius. Were he the son of that gallant warrior; yet fostered, as he has been, in the arms, and in the bosom of Rome, he is, by that circumstance, unqualified to reign in Germany. From a young man, educated among our enemies, debased by servitude, and infected with foreign manners, foreign laws, and foreign sentiments, what have we to expect? And if this Roman king, this Italicus, inherits the spirit of his father; let it be remembered, that Flavius took the field against his kindred and the gods of Germany. In the whole course of that war, no man showed a spirit so determined; no man acted with such envenomed hostility against the liberties of his country."

XVII. By these, and such like incentives, the malcontents inflamed the minds of the people, and soon collected a numerous army. An equal number followed the standard of Italicus. "Their motives," they said, "were just and honourable: the young king did not come to usurp the crown; he was invited by the voice of a willing people. His birth was illustrious, and it was but fair to make an experiment of his virtues. He might, perhaps, prove worthy of Arminius, his uncle, and of Catumer, his grandfather. Even for his father, the son had no reason to blush. If Flavius adhered with fidelity to the cause of Rome, he had bound himself by the obligation of an oath; and that oath was taken with the consent of the German nations. The sacred name of liberty was used in vain to varnish the guilt of pretended patriots; a set of men, in their private characters, void of honour; in their public conduct, destructive to the community; an unprincipled and profligate party, who, by fair and honest

means, having nothing to hope, looked for their private advantage in the disasters of their country." To this reasoning the multitude assented with shouts of applause The Barbarians came to action. After an obstinate engagement, victory declared for Italicus. Elate with success, he broke out into acts of cruelty, and was soon obliged to fly the country. The Longobards reinstated him in his dominions. From that time, Italicus continued to struggle with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, in success no less than adversity the scourge of the Cheruscan nation.

XVIII. The Chaucians, at this time free from domestic broils, began to turn their arms against their neighbours. The death of Sanguinius, who commanded the legions in the lower Germany, furnished them with an opportunity to invade the Roman provinces; and as Corbulo, who was appointed to succeed the deceased general, was still on his way, they resolved to strike their blow before his arrival. Gannascus, born among the Caninefates, headed the enterprise; a bold adventurer, who had formerly served among the auxiliaries in the Roman army. Having deserted afterwards, he provided himself with light-built shallops, and followed the life of a roving freebooter, infesting chiefly the Gallic side of the Rhine, where he knew the wealth and the unwarlike genius of the people. Corbulo entered the province. In his first campaign he laid the foundation of that prodigious fame, which afterwards raised his character to the highest eminence. He ordered the strongest galleys to fall down the Rhine, and the small craft, according to their size and fitness for the service, to enter the estuaries and the recesses of the river. The boats and vessels of the enemy were sunk or otherwise destroyed. Gannascus was obliged to save himself by flight.

By these operations Corbulo restored tranquillity throughout the province. The re-establishment of military discipline was the next object of his attention. He found the legions relaxed in sloth, attentive to plunder, and active for no other end. In order to make a thorough reform, he gave out in orders, that no man should presume to quit his post, or venture to attack the enemy, on any pretence, without the command of his superior officer. The soldiers at the advanced stations, the sentinels, and the whole army, performed every duty, both day and night, completely armed. Two of the men, it is said, were put

to death as an example to the rest; one because he laboured at the trenches without his sword; and the other for being armed with a dagger only; a severity, it must be acknowledged, strained too far, or, perhaps, not true in fact: but the rigid system, peculiar to Corbulo, might, with some colour of probability, give rise to the report. It may, however, be fairly inferred, that the commander, concerning whom a story like this could gain credit, was, in matters of moment, firm, decided, and inflexible.

XIX. By this plan of discipline, Corbulo struck a general terror through the army: but that terror had a twofold effect; it roused the Romans to a due sense of their duty, and repressed the ferocity of the Barbarians. The Frisians, who, ever since their success against Lucius Apronius, remained in open or disguised hostility, thought it advisable, after giving hostages for their pacific temper, to accept a territory within the limits prescribed by Corbulo, and to submit to a mode of government, which he judged proper, consisting of an assembly in the nature of a senate, a body of magistrates, and a new code of laws. In order to bridle this people effectually, he built a fort in the heart of their country, and left it strongly garrisoned. In the meantime, he tried, by his emissaries, to draw over to his interest the leading chiefs of the Chaucian nation. Against Gannascus he did not scruple to act by stratagem. In the case of a deserter, who had violated all good faith, fraud and circumvention did not appear to him inconsistent with the dignity of the Roman name. Gannascus was cut off. His death inflamed the resentment of the Chaucians; nor was Corbulo unwilling to provoke a war. His conduct, however, though applauded at Rome by a great number, did not escape the censure of others. "Why enrage the enemy? If he failed in his attempt, the commonwealth must feel the calamity: if crowned with success, a general of high renown, under a torpid and unwarlike prince, might prove a powerful and a dangerous citizen." Claudius had no ambition to extend his dominions in Germany. He ordered the garrisons to be withdrawn, and the whole army to repass the Rhine.

XX. Corbulo had already marked out his camp in the enemy's country, when the emperor's letters came to hand. The contents were unexpected. A crowd of reflections occurred to the general; he dreaded the displeasure of

the prince; he saw the legions exposed to the derision of the Barbarians, and in the opinion of the allies his own character degraded. He exclaimed, with some emotion, "*Happy the commanders who fought for the old republic!*" Without a word more, he sounded a retreat. And now, to hinder his men from falling again into sluggish inactivity, he ordered a canal, three and twenty miles in length, to be carried on between the Meuse and the Rhine, as a channel to receive the influx of the sea, and hinder the country from being laid under water. Claudius, in the meantime, allowed him the honour of triumphal ornaments: he granted the reward of military service, but prevented the merit of deserving it.

In a short time afterwards, Curtius Rufus obtained the same distinction: the service of this man was the discovery of a mine in the country of the Mattiaci, in which was opened a vein of silver, of little profit, and soon exhausted. The labour was severely felt by the legions; they were obliged to dig a number of sluices, and in subterraneous cavities to endure fatigues and hardships, scarce supportable in the open air. Weary of the labour, and finding that the same rigorous services were extended to other provinces, they contrived, with secrecy, to despatch letters to the emperor, praying, that, when next he appointed a general, he would begin with granting him triumphal honours.

XXI. Curtius Rufus, according to some, was the son of a gladiator. For this I do not pretend to vouch. To speak of him with malignity is far from my intention, and to relate the truth is painful. He began the world in the train of a quæstor, whom he attended into Africa. In that station, while, to avoid the intense heat of the mid-day sun, he was sitting under a portico in the city of Adrumetum, the form of a woman, large beyond the proportions of the human shape, appeared before him. A voice, at the same time, pronounced, "You, Rufus, are the favoured man, destined to come hereafter into this province with proconsular authority." Inspired by the vision, he set out for Rome, where, by the interest of his friends, and his own intriguing genius, he first obtained the quæstorship. In a short time after, he aspired to the dignity of prætor; and, though opposed by competitors of distinguished rank, he succeeded by the suffrage of Tiberius. That emperor, to throw a veil over the mean extraction of his favourite candidate, shrewdly said, "*Curtius Rufus seems to be a man*

sprung from himself." He lived to an advanced old age, growing grey in the base arts of servile adulation, to his superiors a fawning sycophant, to all beneath him proud and arrogant, and with his equals surly, rude, and impracticable. At a late period of his life, he obtained the consular and triumphal ornaments, and finally, to verify the prediction, went proconsul into Africa, where he finished his days.

XXII. About this time Cneius Novius, a man of equestrian rank, was seized in the circle at the emperor's court, with a dagger concealed under his robe: his motives were unknown at that time, and never since discovered. When he lay stretched on the rack, he avowed his own desperate purpose, but, touching his accomplices, not a syllable could be extorted from him. Whether his silence was wilful obstinacy, or proceeded from his having no secret to discover, remains uncertain. During the same consulship, Publius Dolabella proposed a new regulation, requiring that a public spectacle of gladiators should be exhibited annually, at the expense of such as obtained the office of quæstor. In the early ages of the commonwealth, that magistracy was considered as the reward of virtue. The honours of the state lay open to every citizen who relied on his fair endeavours, and the integrity of his character. The difference of age created no incapacity. Men, in the prime of life, might be chosen consuls and dictators. The office of quæstor was instituted during the monarchy, as appears from the law CURIATA,[1] which was afterwards put in force by Lucius Junius Brutus. The right of election was vested in the consuls, till, at last, it centred in the people at large; and, accordingly, we find that about sixty-three years after the expulsion of the Tarquins, Valerius Potitus and Æmilius Mamercus were the first popular quæstors, created to attend the armies of the republic. The multiplicity of affairs increasing at Rome, two were added to act in a civil capacity. In process of time, when all Italy was reduced to subjection, and foreign provinces augmented the public revenue, the number of quæstors was doubled.

[1] The *Comitia Curiata* owe their original to the division which Romulus made of the people into thirty curiæ, ten being contained in every tribe. They answered, in most respects, to the modern divisions of cities into parishes. Before the institution of the *Comitia Centuriata*, or assemblies of the people in their centuries, which were in number 193, instituted by Servius Tullius, all the great concerns of the state were transacted in the curiæ; such as the electing of magistrates, the making or abrogating of laws and the decision of capital causes.

Sulla created twenty: he had transferred all judicial authority to the senate; and to fill that order with its proper complement was the object of his policy. The Roman knights, it is true, recovered their ancient jurisdiction; but even during those convulsions, and from that era to the time we are speaking of, the quæstorship was either obtained by the merit and dignity of the candidates, or granted by the favour and free will of the people. It was reserved for Dolabella to make the election venal.

XXIII. Aulus Vitellius and Lucius Vipsanius were the next consuls.[1] The mode of filling the vacancies in the senate became the subject of debate. The nobility of that part of Gaul styled GALLIA COMATA[2] had for some time enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizens: on this occasion they claimed a right to the magistracy and all civil honours. The demand became the topic of public discussion, and in the prince's cabinet met with a strong opposition. It was there contended, "That Italy was not so barren of men, but she could well supply the capital with fit and able senators. In former times, the municipal towns and provinces were content to be governed by their own native citizens. That system was long established, and there was no reason to condemn the practice of the old republic. The history of that period presents a school of virtue. It is there that the models of true glory are to be found; those models that formed the Roman genius, and still excite the emulation of posterity. Is it not enough that the Venetians and Insubrians have forced their way into the senate? Are we to see a deluge of foreigners poured in upon us, as if the city were taken by storm? What honours and what titles of distinction will, in that case, remain for the ancient nobility, the true genuine stock of the Roman empire? And for the indigent senator of Latium, what means will then be left to advance his fortune, and support his rank? All posts of honour will be the property of wealthy intruders; a race of men, whose ancestors waged war against the very being of the republic; with fire and sword destroyed her armies; and finally laid siege to Julius Cæsar in the city of Alesia.[3]

[1] A.D. 48.

[2] A general name for the whole country on this side of the Alps.

[3] Alesia was besieged by Julius Cæsar. The town, situated on the ridge of a hill, was almost impregnable. It could not be taken by assault. Vercingetorix commanded the garrison. Cæsar formed his lines of circumvallation, and was obliged to sit down before the place for a considerable time. He has left a circumstantial account of all his operations.

But these are modern instances: what shall be said of the Barbarians, who laid the walls of Rome in ashes, and dared to besiege the capitol and the temple of Jupiter? Let the present claimants, if it must be so, enjoy the titular dignity of Roman citizens; but let the senatorian rank, and the honours of the magistracy, be preserved unmixed, untainted, and inviolate."

XXIV. These arguments made no impression on the mind of Claudius: he replied on the spot, and afterwards in the senate delivered himself to this effect: "To decide the question now depending, the annals of Rome afford a precedent: and a precedent of greater cogency, as it happened to the ancestors of my own family. Attus Clausus, by birth a Sabine, from whom I derive my pedigree, was admitted, on one and the same day, to the freedom of Rome, and the patrician rank. Can I do better than adopt that rule of ancient wisdom? It is for the interest of the commonwealth, that merit, wherever found, should be transplanted to Rome, and made our own. Need I observe that to Alba we are indebted for the Julii, to Camerium for the Coruncani, and to Tusculum for the Portii? Without searching the records of antiquity, we know that the nobles of Etruria, of Lucania, and, in short, of all Italy, have been incorporated with the Roman senate. The Alps, in the course of time, were made the boundaries of the city: and by that extension of our privileges, not simple individuals, but whole nations, were naturalised at once, and blended with the Roman name. In a period of profound peace, the people beyond the Po were admitted to their freedom. Under colour of planting colonies, we spread our legions over the face of the globe; and, by drawing into our civil union the flower of the several provinces, we recruited the strength of the mother-country. The Balbi came from Spain, and others of equal eminence from the Narbon Gaul: of that accession to our numbers have we reason to repent? The descendants of those illustrious families are still in being; and can Rome boast of better citizens? Where do we see more generous ardour to promote her interest?

"The Spartans and the Athenians, without all question, acquired great renown in arms: to what shall we attribute their decline and total ruin? To what, but the injudicious policy of considering the vanquished as aliens to their country? The conduct of Romulus, the founder of Rome,

was the very reverse: with wisdom equal to his valour, he made those fellow-citizens at night, who, in the morning, were his enemies in the field. Even foreign kings have reigned at Rome. To raise the descendants of freedmen to the honours of the state, is not, as some imagine, a modern innovation: it was the practice of the old republic. But the Senones waged war against us: and were the Volscians and the Æqui always our friends? The Gauls, we are told, well nigh overturned the capitol: and did not the Tuscans oblige us to deliver hostages? Did not the Samnites compel a Roman army to pass under the yoke? Review the wars that Rome had upon her hands, and that with the Gauls will be found the shortest. From that time, a lasting and an honourable peace prevailed. Let them now, intermixed with the Roman people, united by ties of affinity, by arts, and congenial manners, be one people with us. Let them bring their wealth to Rome, rather than hoard it up for their own separate use. The institutions of our ancestors, which we so much and so justly revere at present, were, at one time, a novelty in the constitution. The magistrates were, at first, patricians only; the plebeians opened their way to honours; and the Latins, in a short time, followed their example. In good time we embraced all Italy. The measure which I now defend by examples will, at a future day, be another precedent. It is now a new regulation: in time it will be history."

XXV. This speech was followed by a decree, in consequence of which the Æduans, by way of distinction, were, in the first instance, declared capable of a seat in the senate. Of all the Gauls, they alone were styled the brethren of the Roman people, and by their strict fidelity deserved the honour conferred upon them. About the same time, Claudius enrolled in the patrician order such of the ancient senators as stood recommended by their illustrious birth, and the merit of their ancestors. The line of those families, which were styled by Romulus the FIRST CLASS OF NOBILITY, and by Brutus THE SECOND, was almost extinct. Even those of more recent date, created in the time of Julius Cæsar by the CASSIAN LAW, and, under Augustus, by the SÆNIAN, were well nigh exhausted. This new distribution of honours was agreeable to the people, and this part of his censorial office Claudius performed with alacrity. A more difficult business still remained. Some of the senators had brought dishonour on their names; and to expel them, according

to the severity of ancient usage, was a painful task. He chose a milder method. "Let each man," he said, "review his own life and manners; and, if he sees reason, let him apply for leave to erase his name. Permission will of course be granted. The list which he intended to make would contain, without distinction, those who retired of their own motion, and also such as deserved to be expelled. By that method, the disgrace of being degraded would be avoided, or, at least, alleviated."

For these several acts, Vipsanius the consul moved that the emperor should be styled THE FATHER OF THE SENATE. The title, he said, of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY would be no more than common; but peculiar merit required a new distinction. This stroke of flattery gave disgust to Claudius. He therefore overruled the motion. He then closed the lustre of five years, and made a survey of the people. The number of citizens amounted nearly to six millions.[1] From this time the emperor no longer remained in stupid insensibility, blind to the conduct of his wife. He was soon reduced to the necessity of hearing and punishing the enormity of her guilt; but the act by which he vindicated his own honour, gave him an opportunity to sully it by an incestuous marriage.

XXVI. Messalina had hitherto found so ready a compliance with her vicious passions, that the cheap delight was grown insipid. To give a zest to pleasure, she had recourse to modes of gratification untried before. Silius, at the same time, intoxicated with success, or, perhaps, thinking that the magnitude of his danger was to be encountered with equal courage, made a proposal altogether new and daring. "They were not," he said, "in a situation to wait, with patience, for the death of the prince. Prudence and cautious measures were for the innocent only. In cases of flagrant guilt, a bold effort of courage was the only remedy. If they undertook with spirit, their accomplices, apprised of their situation, would be ready to hazard all that was dear to them. As to himself, he was divorced from his wife; he was a single man; he had no children; he was willing to marry Messalina, and adopt Britannicus for his son. After the nuptial ceremony, the power which

[1] The number of Roman citizens mentioned in this place would be thought altogether incredible, if the estimate were to be understood to relate to the inhabitants of the capital: but the question was not, what number dwelt within the walls of the city; it extended to the whole body of the Roman people, wherever stationed.

Messalina then enjoyed would still continue in her hands, unimpaired, and undiminished. To insure their mutual safety, nothing remained but to circumvent a superannuated emperor, when unprovoked, stupid; but when roused from his lethargy, sudden, furious, and vindictive." The proposition was not relished by Messalina. Motives of conjugal affection had no influence on her conduct; but she beheld her lover with a jealous eye. Raised to imperial dignity, he might despise an adulteress, and their guilty joys. Their mutual pleasures, endeared at present by the magnitude of the crime and the danger, might, in the day of security, appear in their native colours, and pall the sated appetite. The marriage, notwithstanding, had charms that pleased her fancy. It was a further step in guilt and infamy; and infamy, when beyond all measure great, is the last incentive of an abandoned mind. She closed with the offer made by Silius, but deferred the carrying of it into execution, till the emperor went to Ostia to assist at a sacrifice. During his absence, the nuptial ceremony was performed with pomp, and all the accustomed rites.

XXVII. The fact which I have stated, it must be acknowledged, carries with it an air of fable. That such a degree of self-delusion, in a populous city where everything is known and discussed in public, should infatuate the mind of any person whatever, will hardly gain credit with posterity. Much less will it be believed, that a consul elect, and the wife of an emperor, on a day appointed, in the presence of witnesses duly summoned, should dare to meet the public eye, and sign a contract with express provisions for the issue of an unlawful marriage. It will be a circumstance still more incredible, that the empress should hear the marriage ceremony pronounced by the augur, and, in her turn, repeat the words; that she should join in a sacrifice to the gods; take her place at the nuptial banquet; exchange caresses and mutual endearments with the bridegroom, and retire with him to the consummation of connubial joys. The whole must appear romantic; but to amuse with fiction is not the design of this work. The facts here related are well attested by writers of that period, and by grave and elderly men, who lived at the time, and were informed of every circumstance.

XXVIII. The prince's family was thrown into consternation. The favourites who stood high in power were alarmed for themselves. Full of apprehensions, and dreading

a sudden change, they disclosed their minds, not in secret murmurs, but openly, and in terms of indignation. "While a stage-player enjoyed the embraces of Messalina, the emperor's bed was dishonoured, but the state was not in danger. At present, what had they not to fear from a young man of the first nobility, endowed with talents and with vigour of mind, in his person graceful, and, at that very time, designed for the consulship? Silius was preparing to open a new scene. The solemn farce of a marriage has been performed, and the catastrophe, with which they intend to conclude the piece, may be easily foreseen." Their fears were still increased, when they considered the stupidity of Claudius, and the ascendant which the empress had obtained over him, to such a degree, that the best blood in Rome had been spilt to gratify her insatiate vengeance. On the other hand, the imbecility of Claudius gave them hopes of success. If they could once impress that torpid mind with an idea of Messalina's wickedness, she might be condemned unheard, and, by the sudden violence of the emperor, hurried away to execution. The only danger was, that she might gain an audience. Her defence might satisfy the emperor; and, even if she confessed her guilt, he might remain deaf to the truth, insensible of disgrace, weak, stupid, and uxorious.

XXIX. Callistus,[1] who, as already mentioned, was a principal actor in the catastrophe of Caligula, held a meeting with Narcissus, the chief adviser of the murder of Appius, and with Pallas, the reigning favourite at the court of Claudius. Their first idea was, to address themselves at once to Messalina, and, without alluding to her other enormous practices, endeavour to break the connection between her and Silius. This plan was soon deserted. The danger of provoking the haughty spirit of Messalina operated on the fears of Pallas. Callistus knew his own interest too well: a politician formed by the maxims of the preceding reign, he was not then to learn that power at court is pre-

[1] As the whole history of Caligula is lost, the part which Callistus acted in the catastrophe of that emperor is not to be found in Tacitus. Cassius Chærea was the chief conspirator. He drew into his plot a number of leading men, and among them Callistus, a freedman enriched by the favours of Caligula. To apologise, in some degree, for his perfidy and ingratitude, the enfranchised slave gave out, that he had orders from Caligula to administer poison to Claudius. By that story, whether true or false, he varnished over his treachery to his benefactor, and secured his interest with the next emperor.

served by tame compliance, not by honest counsels. Narcissus was left to act from his own judgment. To ruin Messalina was his fixed resolution; but the blow, he knew, must be struck before she could see the hand that aimed it. He laid his train with the deepest secrecy. Claudius continued loitering away the time at Ostia. Callistus employed the interval to the best advantage. He engaged in his plot two famous courtesans, at that time high in favour with the emperor. He allured them by presents and liberal promises. He convinced them both, that by the ruin of Messalina they might rise to power and influence. He represented their interest in the strongest colours, and, by those incentives, induced them to prefer an accusation against the empress.

XXX. The plot being settled, one of the concubines (by name Calpurnia) obtained a private interview with Claudius. Throwing herself at the emperor's feet, she told him that Messalina had dishonoured him by a marriage with Silius. Cleopatra, the other actress in the scene, was near at hand to confirm the story. Being asked by the accuser whether she did not know the truth of the charge, her testimony confirmed the whole. Narcissus was immediately summoned to the emperor's presence. He began with an humble apology for the remissness of his conduct. "He had been silent as to Vectius and Plautius, whose criminal intrigues were too well known. Even in that very moment it was not his intention to urge the crime of adultery: nor would he desire restitution of the palace, the household train, and the splendours of the imperial house. Let Silius enjoy them all; but let him restore the emperor's wife, and give up his marriage-contract to be declared null and void. You are divorced, Cæsar, at this moment divorced, and are you ignorant of it? The people saw the marriage ceremony, the senate beheld it, and the soldiers knew it. Act with vigour; take a decisive step, or the adulterer is master of Rome."

XXXI. Claudius called a council of his friends. Turranius, the superintendent of the public stores, and Lucius Geta, the commander of the prætorian bands, acknowledged the whole of her flagitious conduct. The rest of the courtiers crowded round the prince, with importunity urging him to go forth to the camp, and secure the prætorian guards. His own personal safety was the first consideration. Vindictive measures might follow in good time. The

alarm was too much for the faculties of so weak a man as Claudius. He stood in stupid amazement. He asked several times, Am I emperor? Is Silius still a private man?

Messalina, in the meantime, passed the hours in gay festivity, all on the wing of pleasure and enjoyment. It was then the latter end of autumn: in honour of the season, an interlude, representing the vintage, was exhibited by her order at the palace. The wine-presses were set to work; the juice pressed from the grape flowed in copious streams, and round the vats a band of women, dressed after the Bacchanalian fashion, with the skins of tigers, danced in frolic measures, with the wild transport usual at the rites of Bacchus. In the midst of the revellers Messalina displayed the graces of her person, her hair flowing with artful negligence, and a thyrsus waving in her hand. Silius fluttered at her side; his temples crowned with wreaths of ivy, his legs adorned with buskins, and his head, with languishing airs, moving in unison with the music, while a chorus circled round the happy pair, with dance, and song, and lascivious gesture, animating the scene. There is a current tradition, that Vectius Valens in a fit of ecstasy climbed up among the branches of a tree, and being asked what he saw, made answer, "I see *a dreadful storm* gathering at Ostia." Whether the sky was then overcast, or the expression fell by chance, it proved in the end a true prediction.

XXXII. Meanwhile, it became publicly known at Rome, not by vague report, but by sure intelligence brought by special messengers, that Claudius, fully apprised of all that passed, was on his way, determined to do justice on the guilty. Messalina withdrew to the gardens of Lucullus. Silius, endeavouring under an air of gaiety to hide his fears, went towards the forum, as if he had business to transact. The rest of the party fled with precipitation. The centurions pursued them. Several were seized in the streets, or in their lurking-places, and loaded with fetters. In this reverse of fortune, Messalina had no time for deliberation. She resolved to meet the emperor on his way, and, in a personal interview, to try that power over his affections which had so often served her on former occasions. In order to excite compassion, she ordered her children, Octavia and Britannicus, to fly to the embraces of their father. She prevailed on Vibidia, the eldest of the vestal virgins, to address the emperor as the sovereign pontiff, and wring from him, by the force of prayers, a pardon for his wife.

She herself traversed the city on foot, with only three attendants. Such, in the moment of adversity, was the solitude in which she was left. She mounted into a tumbrel, usually employed to carry off the refuse of the city gardens, and in that vehicle proceeded on her way to Ostia. From the spectators not a groan was heard; no sign of pity was seen. The enormity of her guilt suppressed every kind emotion of the heart.

XXXIII. Claudius, in the meantime, was thrown into violent agitations. Doubt and fear distracted him. He had no reliance on Geta, who commanded the prætorian guards; a man at all times fluctuating between good and evil, and ready for any mischief. Narcissus, seconded by his friends and associates, spoke his mind in terms plain and direct. He told the emperor that all was lost, if the command of the camp were not, for that day, vested in one of his freedmen. He offered himself for that important office; and lest Claudius on the road to Rome should be induced, by the influence of Lucius Vitellius and Publius Largus Cæcina, to alter his resolution, he desired to be conveyed in the same carriage with the prince. He mounted the vehicle, and took his place without further ceremony.

XXXIV. Claudius, as he proceeded towards the city, felt himself distracted by contending passions. He inveighed against his wife; he softened into tenderness, and felt for his children. During all that agitation of mind, Vitellius, we are told, contented himself with saying, "The vile iniquity! The infamous crime!" Narcissus pressed him to be more explicit; but his answers were in the oracular style, dark, ambiguous, and liable to be interpreted various ways. Cæcina followed his example. It was not long before Messalina appeared in sight. Her supplications were loud and vehement. "Hear your unhappy wife," she said, "hear the mother of Octavia and Britannicus." To prevent any impression of tenderness, the accuser raised his voice: he talked of Silius, and the wickedness of the marriage; he produced a memorial, containing a full account of the whole proceeding, and, to draw the emperor's eyes from Messalina, gave him the papers to read. As they entered Rome, Octavia and Britannicus presented themselves before the prince; but, by order of Narcissus, they were both removed. Vibidia claimed to be heard; in a pathetic tone she remonstrated, that to condemn his wife unheard, would be unjust, and shocking to humanity. She received for answer, that Mes-

salina would have her opportunity to make her defence; in the meantime, it became a vestal virgin to retire to the functions of her sacred office.

XXXV. The silence of Claudius, during the whole of this scene, was beheld with astonishment. Vitellius looked aghast, affecting to understand nothing. All directions were given by the freedman. He ordered the adulterer's house to be thrown open, and proceeded thither with the emperor. He showed him in the vestibule the statue of Silius the father, which the senate had ordered to be destroyed; he pointed to the splendid ornaments, formerly the property of the Neros and the Drusi, now in the possession of the adulterer; the reward of his profligacy. Claudius was fired with indignation. Before he had time to cool, and while, with violent menaces, he was denouncing vengeance, Narcissus took advantage of the moment, and conducted him to the camp. The soldiers were assembled in a body to receive him. Claudius, by the advice of his ministers, delivered a short harangue. On the subject of his disgrace it was impossible to expatiate; shame suppressed his voice. The camp resounded with rage and clamour. The soldiers called aloud for the names of the guilty, threatening immediate vengeance. Silius was brought before the tribunal. He attempted no defence; he asked for no delay; instant death was all he desired. Several Roman knights followed his example, with equal firmness wishing to end their misery. In the number were Titius Proculus, whom Silius had appointed to guard Messalina; Vectius Valens, who confessed his guilt, and offered to give evidence against others; Pompeius Urbicus, and Saufellus Trogus: by the emperor's order they were hurried to instant execution. The same fate attended Decius Calpurnianus, præfect of the night-watch; Sulpicius Rufus, director of the public games; and Juncus Virgilianus, a member of the senate.

XXXVI. Mnester was the only person, in whose favour Claudius was held in suspense. This man, in agony, tore his garments, and "Behold," he said, "behold a body seamed with stripes. Remember your own words, Cæsar, the words, in which you gave me strict directions to obey the will and pleasure of Messalina. The rest acted for their reward; they had bright objects in view. If I have erred, I erred through necessity, not by inclination. Had Silius seized the reins of government, I should have been the first victim to his fury." Claudius hesitated;

touched with compassion, he was on the point of granting the wretch his pardon: but after executing so many persons of illustrious rank, his freedman told him, that the life of a minstrel was of no value: whether the man offended from inclination, or compulsion, was not worth a moment's pause: his case deserved no favour. The defence made by Traulus Montanus, a Roman knight, availed him nothing. In the prime of youth, of ingenuous manners, and an elegant figure, he had the misfortune to be distinguished by Messalina. She invited him to her bed, and, after one night, dismissed him from her service. Such was the caprice that ruled all her passions: she loved with fury, and was soon disgusted. A pardon was granted to Suillius Cæsoninus, and Plautius Lateranus: the last, in consideration of the great merit of his uncle, was saved from execution. Cæsoninus was protected by his vices. In that lewd society, with whom he had been lately connected, he had been obliged to suffer unnatural indignities; and that disgrace was deemed sufficient punishment.

XXXVII. Messalina remained, during this whole time, in the gardens of Lucullus. She still entertained hopes of prolonging her days. She began to write to the emperor in a style of supplication; her passions shifted, and she spoke the language of reproach: even in ruin, her pride was not abated. If Narcissus had not hastened the execution, there is no doubt but the blow, aimed at her, would have recoiled upon himself. Claudius, as soon as he returned to his palace, placed himself at his convivial table. Being refreshed, and in a short time warm with wine, he gave orders that a messenger should be sent to tell the unhappy woman (those were his words), that on the next day she should be admitted to make her defence. Narcissus took the alarm: he saw the resentments of his master ebbing fast away, and his former fondness flowing in upon him. Delay was big with danger. The night, then coming on apace, might produce a change of sentiment; and his very bed-chamber, the scene of all his happiness, might melt him into tenderness and conjugal affection. Filled with these apprehensions, the freedman rushed out of the banqueting-room, and, in the emperor's name, gave orders to the centurions, and the tribune on duty, to do immediate execution on Messalina. Evodus, one of the freedmen, was sent to superintend the execution. This man made the best of his way to the gardens. He found the empress stretched on the ground, and Lepida, her mother, sitting by her. While

Messalina flourished in prosperity, the mother kept no terms with her daughter. In her present distress, she felt the regret and anguish of a parent. "Death," she told the unhappy criminal, "was her only refuge. To linger for the stroke of the executioner were unworthy and ignoble. Life with her was over: she was in the last act, and nothing remained but to close the scene with dignity and a becoming spirit." But in a mind, like that of Messalina, depraved by vicious passions, every virtue was extinguished. She sunk under her afflictions, overwhelmed with grief, dissolved in tears, and uttering vain complaints, when the garden gate was thrown open. The tribune presented himself in sullen silence. Evodus, the freedman, discharged a torrent of opprobrious language, with all the malice of a servile spirit.

XXXVIII. Messalina was now, for the first time, sensible of her condition. She saw that all was lost; she received a poniard; she aimed it with a feeble effort at her throat; she pointed it to her breast, irresolute, and clinging still to life. The tribune despatched her at one blow. Her body was left to be disposed of by her mother. The emperor, in the meantime, had not risen from table. He was told that Messalina was no more; but whether she died by her own hand, or that of the executioner, was not mentioned, nor did it occur to him to ask the question. He called for wine, and pampered himself, as usual, with the luxuries of the table. On the following days he appeared unmoved, unaltered, without a symptom of anger, joy, or grief, or any one sensation of the human heart. Even amidst the exultations of Messalina's enemies, and the cries of her children lamenting their unhappy mother, he remained sunk in stupid apathy. In order to blot her altogether from his memory, the senate decreed, that her name should be effaced in all places, whether public or private, and that her images should be everywhere taken down. The ensigns of the quæstorian dignity were voted to Narcissus; a slender recompense, when it is considered, that, though second in rank to Pallas and Callistus, he was the chief adviser in the whole proceeding against Messalina. The punishment inflicted, by his means, was undoubtedly just; but it proved the source of numberless crimes, and a long train of public calamity.[1]

[1] Claudius contracted an incestuous marriage with the daughter of his brother Germanicus: Agrippina destroyed the emperor's son Britannicus, and afterwards despatched Claudius himself, to open the road to empire for her son Nero, who, it is well known, was guilty of parricide: and Narcissus, the favourite freedman, ended his days in a dungeon.

BOOK XII

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These transactions passed in six years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
802	49	Pomponius Longinus Gallus, Quintus Veranius.
803	50	Caius Antistius Vetus, M. Suillius Nervillianus.
804	51	Claudius, 5th time, S. Cornelius Orphitus.
805	52	P. Cornelius Sylla Faustus, L. Salvius Otho Titianus.
806	53	Decimus Junius Silanus, Q. Haterius Antoninus.
807	54	Marcus Asinius Marcellus, Manius Acilius Aviola.

I. The death of Messalina threw the imperial family into a state of distraction. The freedmen were divided into contending factions. The emperor disliked a life of celibacy, and the uxorious disposition of his nature made him liable to be governed by the partner of his bed. Which of the favourites should make the fortune of a future empress, was the point in dispute. Nor was female ambition less excited. Several candidates aspired to the vacant throne, all depending on pretensions, that gave to each a decided title; such as nobility of birth, superior beauty, immoderate riches, and, in short, every claim to that great elevation. The contest, however, lay between Lollia Paulina, the daughter of Marcus Lollius the consul, and Agrippina, the

immediate issue of Germanicus. Pallas espoused the interest of Agrippina, and Lollia was supported by Callistus. There was still a third rival, namely, Ælia Petina, descended from the family of the Tuberos. Narcissus declared in her favour. By the jarring counsels of the three favourites, Claudius was distracted in his choice; by turns inclined to each, persuaded always by the last, yet determined by none. At length, to weigh their different propositions, and the reasonings in support of them, he called his confidential ministers to an audience.

II. Narcissus urged in favour of Ælia Petina, that she was formerly the wife of Claudius, and by him was the mother of Antonia. By joining her again in the bands of wedlock, no alteration would be made in the imperial family. A person, with whom the prince had already experienced the tenderest union, would be reinstated; and, since Octavia and Britannicus were so nearly allied to her daughter, she would embrace them both with sincere affection, free from the little jealousies of a stepmother. Callistus, on the contrary, was of opinion, that a woman, disgraced by a long divorce, and suddenly restored to favour, would bring with her the pride and arrogance of an actual conquest; but to Lollia no objection could be made: she had never been a mother, and, by consequence, her affections, not already engaged, would be reserved for the issue of the prince. Her whole stock of tenderness would be engrossed by Octavia and Britannicus. Pallas contended for Agrippina: by a match with her, the grandson of Germanicus would be transplanted into the imperial family, and that union would be an accession of strength to the Claudian line. Agrippina was still in the prime of life, of a constitution that promised a numerous issue; and to suffer a woman of her rank and dignity to carry the splendour of the Cæsarean line into another family, would be a measure highly impolitic.

III. This reasoning weighed with Claudius, and the beauty of Agrippina added force to the argument. She had, besides, the art of displaying her charms to the best advantage. The ties of consanguinity gave her free access to her uncle. She made use of her opportunities, and, in a short time, secured her conquest. Without waiting for the marriage rites, she was able to anticipate the splendour and authority of imperial grandeur. Sure of her triumph over her rival, she enlarged her views, and by a projected

match between Domitius,[1] her son by Cneius Ænobarbus, and Octavia, the emperor's daughter, began to plan the elevation of her family. The scene before her flattered her ambition, but without a stroke of iniquity could not be realised. The fact was, Octavia, with the consent of Claudius, was contracted to Lucius Silanus, a youth of noble descent, by triumphal honours rendered still more illustrious, and by a spectacle of gladiators, given in his name, endeared to the people. But to a woman of high ambition and a politic character, it was not difficult to mould to her purposes a man like Claudius, void of sentiment, without a passion, and without a motive, except what was infused by the suggestion of others.

IV. Vitellius saw the tide running with a rapid current in favour of Agrippina. He resolved to ingratiate himself without delay. His office of censor gave him the power of executing the vilest purposes, and, at the same time, served as a veil to hide his iniquity. He made advances to Agrippina, and entered into all her measures. His first step was to frame an accusation against Silanus, whose sister, Junia Calvina, in her person elegant, but of a loose and lascivious character, had been, not long before, the daughter-in-law of Vitellius. He accused them both of an incestuous commerce. The charge, in truth, was without foundation; but the folly of a brother and sister, who were so unguarded as to give to natural affection an air of criminality, afforded colour for the imputation. Claudius listened to the story. Inclined to protect his daughter, he was easily incensed against an intended husband, who had shown himself capable of so foul a crime. Silanus was, at that time, prætor for the year. He little suspected the treacherous arts, by which his character and his fortune were undermined. By an unexpected edict, issued by Vitellius, he was expelled the senate, though that assembly had been lately reviewed and registered by the censor. Claudius declared the marriage-contract void; he renounced all ties of affinity with Silanus, and obliged him to abdicate the prætorship, though but a single day remained to complete the year. For that short interval, Eprius Marcellus was appointed to fill the vacant office.

V. In the consulship of Caius Pomponius Longinus and Quintus Veranius [A.U.C. 802, A.D. 49], the fond endearments, that passed between the emperor and his niece, left no

[1] Domitius, the son of Agrippina, was afterwards Nero the emperor.

room to doubt but their criminal loves, most probably indulged already, would soon be followed by the nuptial ceremony. But the marriage of an uncle with his brother's daughter, was, at that time, without a precedent. If they avowed an incestuous marriage, the popular hatred might be inflamed against them, and some public calamity might befall the city of Rome. Claudius was held in suspense. Vitellius undertook to remove every scruple. He desired to know whether the emperor would make the sense of the people, and the authority of the senate, the rule of his conduct. Claudius replied, that he was one of the people, an individual too weak to resist the public voice. Vitellius desired that he would remain in his palace, and went directly to the senate. He began with assuring the fathers that he came on business of the first importance, and, having obtained leave to speak out of his turn, he proceeded as follows: "The office of supreme magistrate is at best a state of painful solicitude. The cares of a prince, who superintends the government of the world, requires domestic comfort to sweeten anxiety, and leave him at leisure to think for the good of the whole. And where can he find a comfort so fit, so honourable, so consistent with his dignity, as in the arms of a wife, his partner in prosperity, and in affliction the balm of all his cares? With a faithful associate, he may unload his inmost thoughts; to her he may commit the management of his children; and, in that tender union, unseduced by pleasure, undebauched by riot and luxury, he may continue to show that reverence for the laws, which distinguished the character of Claudius from his earliest youth."

VI. After this artful introduction, finding that he was heard by the fathers with manifest symptoms of a complying spirit, he resumed his discourse. "Since it seems to be the prevailing opinion, that, to alleviate the cares of the emperor, an imperial consort is absolutely necessary, nothing remains but to recommend the choice of a person, distinguished by her illustrious birth, a fruitful womb, and the purity of her morals. This point may be soon decided. Agrippina must, of course, present herself to every mind. Descended from a noble stock, she is the mother of children, and possesses, besides, all the virtues and all the graces of her sex. Nor is this all: by the special care of the gods, a prince, who has known no lawless pleasures, who has sought the modest enjoyments of connubial love, has

now an opportunity of taking a widow to his arms, without injury to any private citizen, and without violating the rights of the marriage-bed. By former emperors, wives have been taken from the embraces of their husbands: we have heard it from our fathers; we have been eye-witnesses of the fact. But these acts of violence are now at an end. A precedent may be established to regulate the conduct of all future emperors. But it may be said, a marriage between the uncle and his niece is unknown to Roman manners. To this the answer is obvious: it is the practice of foreign nations, and no law forbids it. By the rule of ancient times, cousins-german were restrained from marrying; but the change of manners has introduced a different custom. Such marriages are now grown familiar. Public convenience is the parent of all civil institutions: the marriage, which to-day seems an innovation, in future times will be the general practice."

VII. This speech was received with the general assent. Many of the fathers rushed out of the house, declaring aloud, that if the emperor hesitated, they knew how to enforce compliance. The populace at the door echoed back the voice of the senate, and, with violent uproar, called it the wish of the people. Claudius delayed no longer: he showed himself in the forum, amidst shouts and acclamations. He proceeded to the senate, and there desired that a decree might pass, declaring marriages between the uncle and his niece legal for the future. The law was enacted, but little relished. Titus Alledius Severus, a Roman knight, was the only person willing to embrace such an alliance. He married his niece, but, as was generally believed, with a design to pay his court to Agrippina. From this time a new scene of affairs was opened. The government of a woman prevailed; but it was no longer a woman of loose and dissolute manners like Messalina, who meant to mock the people with a reign of lewdness and debauchery. Agrippina established a despotic system, and maintained it with the vigour of a manly spirit: in her public conduct rigorous, and often arrogant, she suffered no irregularity in her domestic management. Vice, when subservient to her schemes of ambition, might be the means, but never was her ruling passion. Her avarice knew no bounds: but the support of government was her pretext.

VIII. On the day of the nuptial ceremony Silanus put an end to his life. Till that time he had nourished delusive

hopes: or, it might be his intention to mark the day by a deed of horror. His sister Calvina was banished out of Italy. Claudius, to atone for her offence, revived the ancient law of Tullus, the Roman king, and ordered a sacrifice and expiations by the pontiffs to be made in the grove of Diana. This provoked the public ridicule. It was observed that the time for inflicting penalties, and performing solemn rites, was chosen with notable judgment, when adultery was by law established. Agrippina was not willing to be distinguished by evil deeds alone: in order to grace her character, she interceded for Annæus Seneca, who had been driven into banishment; and not only restored him to his country, but obtained for him the prætorian rank. The learning and brilliant genius of that philosopher, she had no doubt, would render the measure acceptable to the people; and, from the education of her son Domitius under such a master, she promised herself great advantages. She had still a deeper scheme in view; by the wisdom and advice of Seneca, she hoped to make the road to empire smooth and level for her son. Motives of gratitude would have their influence on the mind of that eminent man, and fix him in her interest, a faithful counsellor, and her friend by sentiment; while a sense of former injuries would make him the secret enemy of Claudius.

IX. Having conceived this plan of ambition, she thought her measures could not be too soon concerted. She contrived, by large and generous promises, to gain over to her purposes Memmius Pollio, at that time consul elect. He moved in the senate an address to the emperor, requesting his consent to a contract of marriage between Domitius and Octavia. The match was suited to the age of the parties. Agrippina intended it as a prelude to greater scenes, not yet disclosed. The speech of Pollio to the fathers was little more than a repetition of what had been urged by Vitellius. The motion succeeded. Octavia was promised to Domitius, and, by this additional tie, the young prince was raised to higher splendour. He was now considered as the son-in-law of the emperor. Supported by the intrigues of his mother, and not less by the enemies of Messalina, who dreaded the vengeance of her son, he began to vie with Britannicus, and even to dispute with him the point of precedence.

X. The deputies from Parthia, sent, as has been related, to demand Meherdates for their king, were admitted to an audience before the senate. They opened their commission in the following manner: "The alliance between Rome and

Parthia, and the subsisting treaties, are fully known to us; nor is it a spirit of disaffection to the family of the Arsacides that brings us to this assembly. We seek the son of Vonones, the grandson of Phraates. In the present crisis, he is our only refuge, our shield and best protection from the tyranny of Gotarzes, who is justly execrated by the whole Parthian nation. His reign is marked with blood. His brothers were the first victims to his fury. His kindred have been since cut off. No place is safe from devastation: neither age nor sex is spared; parents and their children perish in one general massacre, and infants yet unborn are butchered in the mother's womb. Such are the exploits of Gotarzes; in peace a tyrant, and in war disastrous to his country. Cruelty, he hopes, will seem in the eyes of men a warlike spirit. The treaties subsisting between Rome and Parthia are of ancient date: they have been the basis of a lasting friendship; and to prove that friendship sincere, the fathers have now a fair opportunity. It is theirs to vindicate the rights of a nation, which, though not inferior in point of strength and numbers, yields to Rome from motives of respect. For this reason the sons of Parthian kings have been delivered up as hostages. The principle of that acquiescence is, that if domestic tyranny should prove a galling yoke, the people may have recourse to the emperor and the senate. They now claim, at your hands, a king trained up in Roman manners, and, by consequence, likely to bring with him to his native country the best notions of civil government."

XI. Claudius answered the ambassadors in a style of magnificence. He set forth the grandeur of the Roman name, and the deference due from the Parthian nation. He placed himself on a level with Augustus, who, in like manner, had received the applications of a whole people; but he made no mention of Tiberius,[1] though that emperor had dealt out sceptres, and placed foreign kings on the throne of Parthia. After this brilliant harangue, he turned to Meherdates, then present in the senate, and in a serious strain admonished him to remember that he was going forth, not the lord of slaves, but the governor of men; not the tyrant, but the chief magistrate of his fellow-citizens. He advised him to practise the virtues of justice and moderation; virtues, he said, unknown to savage life, but for that reason more likely to charm by their novelty. From the prince he turned to the

[1] Tiberius had given two kings to the Parthians, viz. Phraates and Tiridates.

Parthian ambassadors, and, in handsome terms, commended to their care the pupil of Rome; a young prince of ingenuous manners, and no stranger to the liberal arts. He added, that the Parthians would do well to temporise with the genius of their kings, and to overlook the failings of human nature. Frequent revolutions could give no solid advantage. Rome was at the highest point of grandeur. Enough of glory had been gained by the progress of her arms; she therefore put a period to her victories, and the tranquillity of foreign nations was now the object of her care. Meherdates was committed to the Parthian deputies; and Caius Cassius, the governor of Syria, had it in command to conduct him to the banks of the Euphrates.

XII. Cassius, at that period, was the most eminent man of the age for his profound knowledge of the laws. In times of peace, the military science falls into neglect. Between the warlike genius and the inactive sluggard no distinction remains. And yet the ardent mind of Cassius could not languish in a state of stupid indolence. Though there was no war upon his hands to rouse the spirit of the legions, he resolved, by every method in his power, to maintain the rigour of ancient discipline. He kept the soldiers in constant exercise; he established new regulations, and practised every duty with as much zeal as if the enemy were actually in arms against him. This severity, he thought, became a man who had before his eyes the bright example of his ancestors, and, above all, the fame of the celebrated Cassius, which was diffused through all the eastern nations. Having pitched his camp near Zeugma, a city where the passage over the Euphrates is most practicable, he waited for the convention of the Parthian chiefs who had made their application to Rome. As soon as they arrived, and with them Abgarus, king of the Arabs, he delivered Meherdates into their hands, having previously reminded the prince, that among Barbarians the first impulse of their zeal is violent, but apt to relax, and end in treachery. His interest, therefore, called for vigorous measures. By the artifice of Abgarus, that advice was rendered abortive. The prince, as yet without experience, suspecting no deceit, and weak enough to think that royalty consists in luxury and riot, was seduced to the city of Edessa, and there detained several days, the dupe of the wily Arabian. Carrhenes, in the meantime, pressed Meherdates to advance with expedition. By his messengers he promised certain success, if no time was lost in frivolous

delay. All was ineffectual. Though Mesopotamia was at hand, they never entered that country, but, taking a wider circuit, marched towards Armenia, where the rigour of the winter was already begun.

XIII. After a toilsome march over craggy mountains covered with a waste of snow, they descended at last into the open country. Carrhenes joined them at the head of his forces. Thus reinforced, the army passed over the Tigris, and penetrated into the country of the Adiabenians.[1] Izates, king of that people, in outward show favoured Meherdates, but in his heart inclined to Gotarzes. In the course of their march, they made themselves masters of the city of Ninos, formerly the seat of the Assyrian monarchy. They also took the castle of ARBELA, memorable in story for the last battle between Darius and Alexander, by which the fate of the Persian monarchy was decided. Gotarzes, in the meantime, took post on the heights of mount SAMBULOS. He there offered up a sacrifice to the deities of the place, and chiefly to Hercules, the leading god. At stated periods, according to an ancient legend, Hercules inspired the dreams of the priests, and, in a vision, gave his orders, "That a set of horses, ready for the chase, should be stationed near the temple. The hunters, accordingly, are drawn out, well equipped with quivers and a store of arrows." Thus caparisoned, they stretch at full speed through the woods, and, at the close of day, return to the temple without an arrow left, weary, and panting for breath. The god appears again, in a midnight vision, to tell the priests the tracts of the forest where he pursued his game. After this information, diligent search is made, and a large quantity of game, killed in the chase, is found in the woods.

XIV. Gotarzes had not as yet assembled all his forces, and the issue of a battle was what he wished to avoid. The river Corma served to cover him from the assaults of the enemy. He there stood at bay, devising various delays, encamping, and shifting his ground; and, though provoked by various insults, and even by messengers challenged to the conflict, he contrived, notwithstanding, to protract the war, while his agents were busy in the adverse camp, by gifts and promises, seducing the friends of Meherdates. Izates, king of the Adiabenians, was the first to withdraw with all his forces. Abgarus, the Arabian, followed his example, both displaying the fickle disposition and the venality of

[1] A people who inhabited a part of Mesopotamia.

Barbarians. To sue for kings at the hands of Rome was their frequent custom; but experience shows that they petitioned only to betray. Weakened by desertion, and suspecting further treachery, Meherdates resolved to try the issue of a battle. Nor was Gotarzes disposed to decline the conflict. A fierce engagement followed, with great slaughter on both sides. The victory was long held in suspense, till Carrhenes, having broke the enemy's lines, pursued his advantage with too much ardour. He was attacked in the rear by a body of reserve, and hemmed in on every side. Meherdates saw nothing but impending ruin. In his distress he trusted to the advice of Parrhaces, one of his father's freedmen. By that traitor he was thrown into fetters, and delivered up to the conqueror. Gotarzes behaved with the pride and insolence of victory. He reviled his captive as a stranger to the blood of the Arsacides, a man of foreign extraction, and a slave to Rome. He ordered his ears to be cut off, and left him, in that condition, a wretched proof of Parthian clemency, and a living disgrace to the Romans. Gotarzes was soon after carried off by a fit of illness. Vonones, at that time governor of Media, mounted the vacant throne. Of this prince, either in his distresses or his prosperity, nothing remains worthy of a place in history. After a short and inglorious reign, he left the Parthian diadem to his son Vologeses.

XV. During these transactions, a new alarm was raised by Mithridates,[1] king of Bosphorus, who had been lately driven out of his dominions. He continued, ever since his expulsion, wandering from place to place, forlorn and helpless. He learned, at length, that Didius, the Roman general, retired with the flower of his army, leaving the kingdom of Thrace in the hands of Cotys, a prince without experience, scarcely settled on the throne, and depending on the slender support of a few cohorts, under the command of Julius Aquila, a Roman knight. The news inspired Mithridates with sudden courage. He roused the neighbouring nations, drew together a body of deserters, and, putting himself at the head of his tumultuary levies, fell with impetuous fury on the king of Dandaridæ,[2] and made himself master of his dominions. The invasion of Bosphorus was expected to be

[1] Mithridates mentioned in this place was descended from the great Mithridates, who waged the long war with the Romans, called the Mithridatic War.

[2] The Dandaridæ inhabited a tract of country on the Euxine shore.

his next attempt. Cotys and Aquila did not think themselves in force to resist the attack; and Zorsines, king of the Siracians,[1] commencing hostilities in that critical juncture, added greatly to their fears. In this distress, they looked round to the neighbouring states for assistance, and by their ambassadors invited Eunones, king of the Aorsians, to join the Roman arms. In a war betwen a powerful nation and a ruined dismantled king, it was not difficult to form a new confederacy. The plan of their operations was soon settled. Eunones was to ravage the open country with his cavalry. The Romans undertook to lay siege to the towns and places of strength.

XVI. The combined forces took the field. On their march the Aorsians led the van, and also brought up the rear. The centre consisted of the cohorts and the succours collected in Bosphorus, armed after the Roman manner. The enemy not daring to look them in the face, they marched, without opposition, to the town of Soza, in the country of the Dandaridæ. Finding the place abandoned by Mithridates, they took possession, and, to guard against the treachery of the inhabitants, left it strongly garrisoned. They penetrated next into the country of the Siracians, and, having crossed the river Panda, invested the city of Uspes, situated on an eminence, and defended by walls and a fosse. The walls, indeed, not being constructed with stone, but with earth thrown up and bound with hurdles, could not long resist the operations of a siege. Towers of considerable height were advanced against the works, and from that elevation darts and flaming brands were thrown into the town with such incessant fury, that, if the approach of night had not prevented a general assault, the siege had been begun and ended in a single day.

XVII. The besieged, next morning, sent a deputation with offers of an immediate surrender, and no less than ten thousand slaves, on condition that the free-born should remain unhurt. The terms were rejected. After a capitulation, to put the inhabitants to the sword would be an act or inhumanity, and a violation of all the laws of war. On the other hand, to bridle such a number, an adequate force could not be spared from a scanty army. The besiegers, therefore, returned for answer, that everything must be left to the decision of the sword. The soldiers scaled the walls, and the signal was given for a general slaughter. The city

[1] A people near the Palus Mæotis.

was levelled to the ground. The adjacent nations saw that neither arms, nor lines of circumvallation, nor places almost inaccessible, defended by nature and by rapid rivers, could withstand the vigour of the Roman arms. In this general consternation, Zorsines, the Siracian king, began to waver. He now considered whether it was best to adhere to Mithridates, or to provide in time for the security of his own dominions. Self-interest prevailed. He gave hostages, and humbled himself before the image of Claudius. Nothing could be more honourable to the Roman army. Victorious without the loss of blood, they traversed a vast tract of country, and were within three days of the Tanais. Their return was not so prosperous. They went back by sea, and some of the ships were thrown by adverse winds on the coast of Taurus.[1] The Barbarians poured down to the shore, and with savage fury murdered a considerable number, with the præfect of a cohort, and most of the centurions.

XVIII. Meanwhile Mithridates, undone and hopeless, began to consider where he might implore compassion. His brother Cotys had at first betrayed him, and then became an open enemy: on him no reliance could be had. If he surrendered to the Romans, there was not in the territory of Bosphorus any one officer of weight and authority to insure the performance of his promises. In this distress, the unhappy monarch turned his thoughts to Eunones. That prince had no motive for personal animosity, and his late alliance with Rome gave him no small degree of influence. Mithridates resolved to apply at that court. With a dejected mien, and a garb that spoke his wretchedness, he entered the palace, and falling prostrate at the feet of the king, "Behold," he said, "behold the man, who for years has grappled with the whole power of Rome. Mithridates humbles himself before you; the persecuted Mithridates, whom the Romans have pursued by sea and land. My fate is in your hands; use your discretion: treat, as you shall think best, a prince descended from the great Achæmenes.[2] The honour of that high lineage is all my enemies have left me."

XIX. The appearance of a man so distinguished, the turns of fortune that attended him, and, even in ruin, the affliction that softened but could not subdue his spirit, touched Eunones with generous sympathy. He raised the

1 Taurus, a chain of mountains in Asia.

2 Achæmenes was grandfather to Cambyses, and after him the Persian kings were called ACHÆMENIDÆ.

royal suppliant from the ground. He praised the magnanimity with which he threw himself into the power of the Aorsian nation, and, with pleasure, undertook to be mediator between Rome and the unfortunate monarch. He despatched messengers to Claudius with letters to the following effect: "In all treaties between the Roman people and foreign nations, similitude of fortune was the basis of their alliance. The present union between Claudius and the Aorsians was founded on a participation of victory; and victory is then most honourable when mercy spares the vanquished. Of this truth Zorsines is a recent instance. He still retains his former possessions. But equal terms could not be expected in the case of Mithridates. His offence was of a more grievous nature. To restore him to his throne and kingdom is not the object of this application. Spare his life, and let him not walk in fetters, a public spectacle to grace the victor's triumph."

XX. Claudius was, at all times, disposed to act with moderation towards the nobility of foreign nations. In the present conjuncture, he doubted which were most expedient, to receive the royal prisoner under a promise of pardon, or to take him by force of arms. Resentment and the love of revenge were strong incentives; but still there were reasons of policy in the opposite scale. "A war must be commenced in a distant region, where the roads were difficult, and the sea had neither harbours nor stations for shipping; where the struggle would be with fierce and warlike kings, and a people by their wandering life inured to fatigue; where the soil was unproductive, and an army, of course, would be distressed for provisions. Campaigns drawn out into length would dispirit the soldiers; sudden operations might be attended with hazard; from victory no glory could redound to the Roman name, and to be defeated were indelible disgrace." For these reasons, it was judged advisable to accept the proffered terms. Mithridates, in that case, would remain a wandering exile, poor, distressed, and wretched. To protract his days were to protract his misery. Claudius returned an answer to Eunones: "Mithridates," he observed, "had merited the utmost rigour, and the vengeance of Rome was able to reach him. But to subdue the proud, and spare the suppliant, had ever been a Roman virtue. It was by curbing the pride of kings, and by conquering an entire people, that Rome acquired renown in arms. Then, and then only, she had reason to triumph."

XXI. In consequence of these despatches, Mithridates was delivered up to Julius Cilo, at that time imperial procurator of Pontus. He brought with him to Rome a mind unbroken by his misfortunes. In his language to Claudius he towered above his helpless condition. One sentence that fell from him was celebrated at the time. "In me you see a man, not taken prisoner, but willing to surrender: I came of my own accord; if you doubt the fact, set me at liberty, and retake me if you are able." He was conducted under a guard to the rostrum, and there presented as a spectacle to the people. He stood unmoved, with his natural ferocity pictured in his countenance. Cilo and Aquila were rewarded for their services; the former with consular ornaments, and the latter with the ensigns of prætorian dignity.

XXII. During the same consulship, the hatred of Agrippina, deep and implacable, broke out with gathered rage against Lollia, who had been guilty of the crime of contending for the imperial bed. An accusation was soon contrived, and a prosecutor suborned. The substance of the charge was, "That in the late contest for the emperor's choice, Lollia held consultations with Chaldæan seers; that she employed magicians, and sent to consult the Clarian Apollo." She was condemned unheard. Claudius addressed the senate on the occasion. He mentioned the nobility of her birth; by the maternal line she was niece to Lucius Volusius, grand-niece to Cotta Messalinus, and formerly the wife of Memmius Regulus. He said nothing of her marriage with Caligula. Having made that flourishing preface, he changed his tone, imputing to her dark designs against the state. To defeat her pernicious views, nothing remained but to confiscate her estates, and banish her out of Italy. The senate complied. Out of her immoderate wealth she was allowed to retain no more than five millions of sesterces. Calpurnia, another woman of high rank, was obnoxious to the resentments of Agrippina. It happened that Claudius, in accidental discourse, without a wish to enjoy her person, praised the elegance of her figure. This gave jealousy to the empress. She considered, however, that the mere crime of beauty did not deserve to be punished with death. She sent a tribune to Lollia, with orders to make her put an end to her days. Cadius Rufus, at the same time, was found guilty of extortion at the suit of the Bithynians.

XXIII. As a mark of favour to the province of Narbon

Gaul, and to reward the veneration in which the authority of the senate had ever been held by the people of that country, it was settled by a decree, that such of the natives as were Roman senators should be at liberty, without a special license from the emperor, to visit their estates in their native province, with as full and ample privileges as had been granted to the Sicilian senators. Sohemus and Agrippa, kings of Ituræa[1] and Judæa, being both dead, their respective territories were annexed to the province of Syria. An order was also made, that the auguries, relating to the public safety, which had lain dormant for five and twenty years, should be revived, and never again be suffered to fall into disuse. The limits[2] of the city were enlarged by Claudius. The right of directing that business was, by ancient usage, vested in all such as extended the boundaries of the empire. The right, however, had not been exercised by any of the Roman commanders (Sulla and Augustus excepted), though remote and powerful nations had been subdued by their victorious arms.

XXIV. What was done in early times by the ambition or the public virtue of the Roman kings, cannot now be seen through the mist that hangs over distant ages. It may, however, be matter of some curiosity to mark out the foundation of the city, and the boundaries assigned by Romulus. The first outline began at the ox-market, where still is to be seen the brazen statue of a bull, that animal being commonly employed at the plough. From that place a furrow was carried on of sufficient dimensions to include the great altar of Hercules. By boundary-stones, fixed at proper distances, the circuit was continued along the foot of mount Palatine to the altar of CONSUS, extending thence to the old CURIÆ, next to the chapel of the LARES, and finally to the great Roman forum. The capitol, it is generally thought, was added not by Romulus, but by Titus Tatius. From that period the city grew with the growth of th eempire. With regard to the enlargement made by Claudius, the curious may be easily satisfied, as the public records contain an exact description.

XXV. In the consulship of Caius Antistius and Marcus Suillius [A.U.C. 803, A.D. 50], the adoption of Domitius

[1] Agrippa was the descendant of Herod the Great, who was made king of Judæa, and died about four years before the Christian era.

[2] The precinct of the city of Rome was called the POMÆRIUM.

was hurried on by the credit and influence of Pallas. Connected with Agrippina, whom he had raised to imperial splendour, by ties of mutual interest, and still more so by the indulgence of criminal passions, this favourite advised his master to provide for the public safety, and in aid to the tender years of Britannicus, to raise collateral branches in the Cæsarian line. For this measure Augustus had left a precedent. That emperor adopted the issue of his wife, though he had, in that very juncture, grandchildren to represent him. Tiberius copied the example, and to his own immediate offspring united Germanicus. It would therefore become the wisdom of Claudius to embrace as his own, a young man who would in time be able to relieve the sovereign, and lighten the cares of government. Convinced by this reasoning, Claudius gave the precedence to Domitius, though but two years older than his own son. On this subject he made a speech to the senate, content to be the organ of what his freedman had suggested. It was observed by men versed in the history of their country, that this was the first adoption into the Claudian family; an old patrician line, which, from the days of Attus Clausus, had continued, without any mixture of foreign blood, in one regular course of descent.

XXVI. The senate passed a vote of thanks to the emperor; but in a style of exquisite flattery their court was chiefly paid to Domitius. A law was also enacted, by virtue of which the young prince, under the name of Nero, was naturalised into the Claudian family. Agrippina was dignified with the title of AUGUSTA. During these transactions, there was not a man so void of sentiment, as not to behold the case of Britannicus with an eye of compassion. His very slaves were taken from him. His stepmother interposed with officious civility. The young prince laughed at her kindness, aware of the underplot, which she was carrying on against him. Want of discernment was not among his faults. It has been said that he was by nature penetrating: that, perhaps, was his true character; or, it may be, that men were willing to give him credit for talents, without waiting to make the experiment.

XXVII. Agrippina had now the ambition to display her weight and influence to the eyes of foreign nations. To this end she caused a body of veterans to be sent to the capital city of the Ubians, the place of her nativity, to be established there as a colony, called after her own name.

When that people first passed over the Rhine, it happened that Agrippa, her grandfather, was the Roman general, who received them as the allies of Rome. In the present juncture, when the new colony was to be settled, a sudden alarm broke out in the Upper Germany, occasioned by an irruption of the Cattians, who issued forth from their hive in quest of plunder. To check their progress, Lucius Pomponius despatched a body of auxiliary troops, composed of the Vangiones and Nemetæans, with a squadron of light horse, to make a forced march, and, if they could not attack the front line of the Barbarians, to fall upon the rear. The ardour of the soldiers was not inferior to the skill of the general. They formed two divisions: one marched to the left, and came up with the freebooters, who had been committing depredations, and lay sunk in sleep and wine. The victory was cheap, but enhanced by the joy with which the conquering soldiers released, at the end of forty years, some of the prisoners who were taken in the massacre of Varus and his legions.

XXVIII. The second division, which had marched to the right, and by a shorter road, met with greater success. The Barbarians ventured to give battle, and were defeated with prodigious slaughter. Elate with success, and loaded with spoils, the conquerors marched back to mount Taunus, where Pomponius, at the head of his legions, lay in wait, expecting that the Cattians, prompted by a spirit of revenge, would return to the charge. But the Barbarians, dreading the Romans on one side, and on the other their constant enemies, the Cheruscans, sent a deputation to Rome, with hostages to secure a pacification. Triumphal honours were decreed to Pomponius; but military fame is the least part of the estimation in which he is held by posterity. He excelled in elegant composition, and the character of the general is now eclipsed by the genius of the poet.

XXIX. Vannius, who had been formerly raised by Drusus to reign over the Suevians, was, about this time, driven from his kingdom. His reign, at first, was mild and popular; but the habit of commanding had corrupted his nature. Pride and arrogance had taken root in his heart. Domestic factions conspired against him, and the neighbouring nations declared open hostility. Vibillius, king of the Hermundurians, conducted the enterprise. He was joined by Vangio and Sido, the nephews of Vannius by a sister. In this quarrel Claudius was determined not to interfere. Though

often pressed to take a decided part, he observed a strict neutrality, content with promising the Suevian king a safe retreat from the rage of his enemies. In his despatches to Publius Atellius Hister, who had the command in Pannonia, his orders were, that the legion and the troops of the province should be held in readiness on the banks of the Danube, to succour the vanquished, and repel the incursions of the Barbarians, if they attempted to invade the frontier. A powerful confederacy was then actually formed by the nations of Germany. The Ligians,[1] and other states, were up in arms, attracted by the fame of an opulent kingdom, which Vannius, during a space of thirty years, had made still richer by plunder and depredations. To make head against the forces combined against him was not in the power of the Suevian king. The natural strength of his kingdom consisted of infantry only: the Iazigians,[2] a people of Sarmatia, supplied him with a body of horse. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, Vannius felt his inferiority. He resolved to keep within the strongholds and fastnesses of the country, and draw the war into a lingering length.

XXX. The Iazigians were not of a temper to endure the slow operations of a siege. They spread themselves, in their desultory manner, round the country, and by their rashness brought on a general engagement. The Ligians and Hermundurians fell in with their roving parties. Vannius was obliged to sally out to the assistance of his friends. He gave battle, and was totally overthrown. But the praise of valour could not be withheld from him. Covered with honourable wounds, he escaped to his fleet, which lay in the Danube. His partisans followed him, and, with a proper allotment of lands, were settled in Pannonia. The dominions of the deposed king were divided between his two nephews Vangio and Sido, both from that time, distinguished by their fidelity to Rome. In the beginning of their reign, they flourished in the affections of the people; honoured by all, while they struggled for power; when they obtained it, despised and hated. Their own misconduct was, perhaps, the cause; perhaps, the fickle temper of the people; or, it may be, that in the nature and genius of servitude, there is a tendency to innovation, always discontented, sullen, and unquiet.

XXXI. Publius Ostorius was appointed governor of Britain,

[1] Ligians, a people of Germany.
[2] Iazyges, a people of Sarmatia.

in the character of proprætor. On his arrival he found the province in commotion. A new commander, with an army wholly unknown to him, the Barbarians imagined would not venture to open a winter campaign. Fierce with this idea, they made an irruption into the territory of the states in alliance with Rome, and carried devastation through the country. Ostorius, knowing how much depends on the first operations of war, put himself at the head of the light cohorts, and, by rapid marches, advanced against the enemy. The Britons were taken by surprise. All who resisted were put to the sword. The fugitives were pursued with prodigious slaughter. The rout was so complete, that there was no reason to apprehend a junction of their forces; but peace on those terms, the general knew, would be no better than disguised hostility. The legions would still be subject to perpetual alarms from a fierce and insidious enemy. He therefore resolved to disarm all who were suspected, and, by extending a chain of forts between the Nen and the Severn,[1] to confine the malcontents between those two rivers. To counteract this design, the Icenians took up arms, a brave and warlike people, who, at their own request, had lived in friendship with the Romans, and were, by consequence, unimpaired by the calamities of war. They formed a league with the adjacent states, and chose their ground for a decisive action. The place was enclosed with a rampart thrown up with sod, leaving an entrance in one part only, and that so difficult of access that the Roman cavalry would not be able to force their way. Ostorius resolved to storm the place. Though unsupported by the legions, he relied on the valour of the allied forces, and, having formed his disposition for the attack, ordered his cavalry to dismount and act with the foot soldiers. The signal being given, the assault began, and the rampart was carried by assault. The Britons, enclosed by their own fortifications, and pressed on every side, were thrown into the utmost confusion. Yet even in that distress, conscious of the guilt of rebellion, and seeing no way to escape, they fought to the last, and

[1] As Tacitus's account of the first six years of Claudius is lost, the invasion of Britain, under the command of Aulus Plautius, has not occurred either in this book, or that which precedes it. It is, therefore, proper to mention in this place, that, from the descent made by Julius Cæsar, and after him, Aulus Plautius was the first Roman general that landed in Britain. Vespasian, afterwards emperor, served in that expedition. The southern parts of the island were reduced to subjection. Claudius visited his new conquest, and at his return, having enlarged the Roman empire, entered Rome in triumph.

gave signal proofs of heroic bravery. In this engagement Marcus Ostorius, the general's son, saved the life of a Roman, and obtained the civic crown.

XXXII. The defeat of the Icenians drew after it important consequences. The neighbouring nations, no longer balancing between peace and war, laid down their arms. Ostorius led his army against the Cangians,[1] and laid waste their country. The soldiers carried off a considerable booty, the enemy never daring to make head against them. Wherever they attempted to annoy the army by sudden skirmishes, they paid for their rashness. The sea, that lies between Britain and Ireland, was within a short march, when Ostorius received intelligence of an insurrection among the Brigantes.[2] The news obliged him to return with expedition. Till everything was secured in his rear, it was his maxim not to push on his conquests. The Brigantes were soon reduced to subjection. Such as resisted were cut to pieces, and a free pardon was granted to the rest. The Silures[3] were not so easily quelled: neither lenity nor rigorous measures could induce them to submit. To bridle the insolence of that warlike race, Ostorius judged it expedient to form a camp for the legions in the heart of their country. For this purpose a colony, supported by a strong body of veterans, was stationed at Camelodunum,[4] on the lands conquered from the enemy. From this measure a twofold effect was expected: the garrison would be able to overawe the insurgents, and give to the allied states a specimen of law and civil policy.

XXXIII. These arrangements settled, Ostorius marched against the Silures. To their natural ferocity that people added the courage which they now derived from the presence of Caractacus. Renowned for his valour, and for various turns of good and evil fortune, that heroic chief had spread his fame through the island. His knowledge of the country, and his skill in all the wiles and stratagems of savage warfare, gave him many advantages; but he could not hope with inferior numbers to make a stand against a well-disciplined army. He therefore marched into the territory of the Ordovicians.[5] Having there drawn to his standard all who considered peace with Rome as another name for slavery,

[1] The *Cangi* inhabited *Cheshire*, and part of *Lancashire*.
[2] *Brigantes*, the people inhabiting *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*.
[3] *Silures;* the people who occupied *Herefordshire*, *Radnor*, *Brecknock*, *Monmouth*, and *Glamorgan*, and in general *South Wales*.
[4] Now *Colchester*.
[5] The people of *North Wales*.

he determined to try the issue of a battle. For this purpose he chose a spot where the approach and the retreat were difficult to the enemy, and to himself every way advantageous. He took post in a situation defended by steep and craggy hills. In some places where the mountains opened, and the acclivity afforded an easy ascent, he fortified the spot with massy stones, heaped together in the form of a rampart. A river, with fords and shallows of uncertain depth, washed the extremity of the plain. On the outside of his fortifications, a vast body of troops showed themselves in force, and in order of battle.

XXXIV. The chieftains of the various nations were busy in every quarter. They rushed along the ranks; they exhorted their men; they roused the timid; they confirmed the brave; and, by hopes, by promises, by every generous motive, inflamed the ardour of their troops. Caractacus was seen in every part of the field; he darted along the lines; he exclaimed aloud, "This day, my fellow-warriors, this very day, decides the fate of Britain. The era of liberty, or eternal bondage, begins from this hour. Remember your brave and warlike ancestors, who met Julius Cæsar in open combat, and chased him from the coast of Britain. They were the men who freed their country from a foreign yoke; who delivered the land from taxations, imposed at the will of a master; who banished from your sight the fasces and the Roman axes; and, above all, who rescued your wives and daughters from violation." The soldiers received this speech with shouts of applause. With a spirit of enthusiastic valour, each individual bound himself by the form of oath peculiar to his nation, to brave every danger, and prefer death to slavery.

XXXV. The intrepid countenance of the Britons, and the spirit that animated their whole army, struck Ostorius with astonishment. He saw a river to be passed; a palisade to be forced; a steep hill to be surmounted; and the several posts defended by a prodigious multitude. The soldiers, notwithstanding, burned with impatience for the onset. All things give way to valour, was the general cry. The tribunes and other officers seconded the ardour of the men. Ostorius reconnoitred the ground, and having marked where the defiles were impenetrable, or easy of approach, gave the signal for the attack. The river was passed with little difficulty. The Romans advanced to the parapet. The struggle there was obstinate, and, as long as it was fought with missive weapons, the Britons had the advantage.

Ostorius ordered his men to advance under a military shell, and level the pile of stones, that served as a fence to the enemy. A close engagement followed. The Britons abandoned their ranks, and fled with precipitation to the ridge of the hills. The Romans pursued with eagerness. Not only the light troops, but even the legionary soldiers, forced their way to the summit of the hills, under a heavy shower of darts. The Britons having neither breastplates nor helmets, were not able to maintain the conflict. The legions, sword in hand, or with their javelins, bore down all before them. The auxiliaries, with their spears and sabres, made prodigious havoc. The victory was decisive. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners. His brother surrendered at discretion.

XXXVI. Caractacus fled for protection to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes. But adversity has no friends. By that princess he was loaded with irons, and delivered up to the conqueror. He had waged war with the Romans during the last nine years. His fame was not confined to his native island; it passed into the provinces, and spread all over Italy. Curiosity was eager to behold the heroic chieftain, who, for such a length of time, made head against a great and powerful empire. Even at Rome the name of Caractacus was in high celebrity. The emperor, willing to magnify the glory of the conquest, bestowed the highest praise on the valour of the vanquished king. He assembled the people to behold a spectacle worthy of their view. In the field before the camp the prætorian bands were drawn up under arms. The followers of the British chief walked in procession. The military accoutrements, the harness and rich collars, which he had gained in various battles, were displayed with pomp. The wife of Caractacus, his daughter, and his brother, followed next: he himself closed the melancholy train. The rest of the prisoners, struck with terror, descended to mean and abject supplications. Caractacus alone was superior to misfortune. With a countenance still unaltered, not a symptom of fear appearing, no sorrow, no condescension, he behaved with dignity even in ruin. Being placed before the tribunal, he delivered himself in the following manner:

XXXVII. "If to the nobility of my birth, and the splendour of exalted station, I had united the virtues of moderation, Rome had beheld me, not in captivity, but a royal visitor, and a friend. The alliance of a prince, descended from an illustrious line of ancestors; a prince, whose sway extended

over many nations, would not have been unworthy of your choice. A reverse of fortune is now the lot of Caractacus. The event to you is glorious, and to me humiliating. I had arms, men, and horses; I had wealth in abundance: can you wonder that I was unwilling to lose them? The ambition of Rome aspires to universal dominion: and must mankind, by consequence, stretch their necks to the yoke? I stood at bay for years: had I acted otherwise, where, on your part, had been the glory of conquest, and where, on mine, the honour of a brave resistance? I am now in your power: if you are bent on vengeance, execute your purpose; the bloody scene will soon be over, and the name of Caractacus will sink into oblivion. Preserve my life, and I shall be, to late posterity, a monument of Roman clemency." Claudius granted him a free pardon, and the same to his wife, his daughter, and his brother. Released from their fetters, they advanced to another tribunal near at hand, where Agrippina showed herself in state. They returned thanks to her, and paid their veneration in the same style as they had before addressed to the emperor. The sight was altogether new. A woman, stationed amidst the ensigns and the armies of Rome, presented a spectacle unknown to the old republic: but in an empire acquired by the valour of her ancestors, Agrippina claimed an equal share.

XXXVIII. At the next meeting of the senate, the victory over Caractacus was mentioned with the highest applause, as an event no way inferior to what had been seen in ancient times, when Publius Scipio brought Syphax in chains to Rome; when Lucius Paulus led Perses in captivity; and when other commanders exhibited to the Roman people kings and princes at their chariot-wheels. Triumphal ornaments were decreed to Ostorius. That officer had hitherto seen his operations crowned with success. He began soon after to experience the vicissitudes of fortune. Perhaps the war, by the overthrow of Caractacus, was thought to be at an end, and, in that persuasion, military discipline was relaxed; perhaps the enemy, enraged by the loss of that gallant chief, fought with inflamed resentment. A camp had been formed in the country of the Silures, and a chain of forts was to be erected. The Britons in a body surrounded the officer who commanded the legionary cohorts, and, if succours had not arrived in time from the neighbouring garrisons, the whole corps had been cut to pieces. The præfect of the camp, with eight centurions and the bravest of the soldiers, were killed on the spot. A foraging party, and the detachment

sent to support them, were soon after attacked, and put to the rout.

XXXIX. Ostorius, on the first alarm, ordered the light-armed cohorts to advance against the enemy. That reinforcement was insufficient, till the legionary soldiers marched to their support. The battle was renewed, at first on equal terms, but, in the end, to the disadvantage of the Britons. But their loss was inconsiderable. The approach of night prevented a pursuit. From that time the Britons kept up a constant alarm. Frequent battles, or rather skirmishes, were fought with their detached parties, roving in quest of plunder. They met in sudden encounters, as chance directed, or valour prompted; in the fens, in the woods, in the narrow defiles; the men, on some occasions, led on by their chiefs, and frequently without their knowledge, as resentment, or the love of booty, happened to incite their fury. Of all the Britons, the Silures were the most determined. They fought with obstinacy, with inveterate hatred. It seems the Roman general had declared, that the very name of the Silures must be extirpated, like that of the Sigambrians, formerly driven out of Germany, and transplanted into Gaul. That expression reached the Silures, and roused their fiercest passions. Two auxiliary cohorts, whom the avarice of their officers sent in quest of plunder, were intercepted by that ferocious people, and all made prisoners. A fair distribution of the spoils and the captives drew the neighbouring states into the confederacy. Ostorius, at this time, was worn out with anxiety. He sunk under the fatigue, and expired, to the great joy of the Britons, who saw a great and able commander, not, indeed, slain in battle, but overcome by the war.

XL. The death of Ostorius being known at Rome, the emperor, aware that a province of so much importance ought not to remain without a governor, sent Aulus Didius to take upon him the command. That officer set out with all possible expedition; but on his arrival found the island in a state of distraction. The legion under Manlius Valens had risked a battle, and suffered a defeat. In order to impress with terror the new commander, the Britons took care to swell the fame of their victory. Didius, on his part, was willing to magnify the loss. The merit of the general, he knew, would rise in proportion to the danger surmounted; and, if he failed, the difficulty would be an apology for his conduct. In the defeat of Valens, it was the nation of the Silures that struck the blow. Emboldened

by success, they continued their predatory war, till the arrival of Didius checked their operations. In this juncture Venusius was the British chieftain; a man, as already mentioned, born in the city of the Jugantes, and, since the loss of Caractacus, the first in fame for valour and military experience. He had married Cartismandua, the queen of the Brigantes; and while they lived on good terms, his fidelity to Rome remained inviolate. Being afterwards driven from her throne and bed, he pursued his revenge by open hostilities, and even dared to wage war against the Romans.

The quarrel was at first a civil war amongst themselves. Cartismandua contrived to seize, by stratagem, the brother of Venusius, with the rest of his kindred. The Britons by that event were fired with indignation. They scorned to submit to a female government,[1] and, with the flower of their youth, attacked Cartismandua in the heart of her territories. The insurrection was foreseen, and a detachment from the cohorts was sent in time to counteract the motions of the enemy. An engagement followed, at first with doubtful success; but, after a struggle, victory inclined to the side of the Romans. In another part of the country, the legion under the command of Cesius Nasica fought with equal success. Didius did not expose his person in any of these engagements. Impaired by years, and loaded with accumulated honours, he was content to act by his inferior officers; and while the enemy was kept in check, the honour of doing it was not his passion. These transactions, which happened in the course of different years, under the conduct of Ostorius and Didius, are here related in one connected series, to avoid breaking the thread of the narration. I now return to the order of time.

XLI. In the fifth consulship of Claudius, and the first of his colleague, Servius Cornelius Orphitus [A.U.C. 804, A.D. 51], the manly gown was assigned to Nero, before his time, that, though still under age, he might appear qualified to take upon him a share in public business. The senate, in a fit of adulation, resolved that the young prince should be declared capable of the consulship at the age of twenty, and be considered, in the meantime, as consul elect, with proconsular authority out of the city, and the additional title of prince of the Roman youth. Claudius not only

[1] Boadicea, as will be seen hereafter, was queen of the Iceni; and she, at the head of her army just going to give battle, tells the soldiers, "It is not the first time that the Britons took the field under the conduct of a woman."

assented to those flattering decrees, but, in the name of Nero, gave a largess to the people, and a donative to the army. To conciliate the affections of the people, the Circensian games were likewise exhibited. During that spectacle, Britannicus and Nero passed in review; the former clad in the prætexta, or the dress of his boyish days; the latter, with the triumphal ornaments of a Roman general. So glaring a difference struck the spectators, as a certain prelude of their future fortunes. Among the centurions and tribunes there were men of principle, who beheld the case of Britannicus with an eye of compassion. All such were removed from court; some under pretence of advancing them to higher offices, and the rest for plausible reasons. The policy was extended even to the freedmen. In that class, whoever was found to be above corruption, was dismissed from his place.

The two young princes met by accident. Nero saluted Britannicus by name, and in return was familiarly called Domitius. This incident gave umbrage to Agrippina. She flew to the emperor with her complaint: "Contempt," she said, "was thrown on the adoption of Nero; what the senate decreed, and the voice of the people ratified, was repealed with contumacy in the very palace. If the men, who taught those dangerous lessons, were not repressed, the mischief would increase, and, perhaps, prove fatal to the commonwealth." Claudius was easily alarmed. He considered what was no more than bare surmise, as a crime then actually committed, and, accordingly, either sent into banishment, or put to death, the best and ablest of his son's tutors. New men were appointed to superintend the prince's education, and the choice was left to the stepmother.

XLII. Agrippina had still greater objects in view, but Lusius Geta and Rufius Crispinus were first to be removed from the command of the prætorian bands. They were both under obligations to Messalina, and by sentiment attached to her children. Men of their disposition might obstruct her measures. She represented to the emperor, that, under two rival commanders, the soldiers would be divided into factions; but if that important office centred in one person, all would act with a principle of union, and strict attention to military discipline. Claudius concurred in the same opinion. The command was given to Afranius Burrhus; an officer of great experience and a warlike char-

acter, but disposed to remember the friend that raised him to that elevation. Having succeeded in these arrangements, Agrippina thought it time to act without reserve; she claimed a right to be conveyed in her carriage to the capitol; a right, by ancient usage, allowed only to the sacerdotal order, the vestal virgins, and the statues of the gods. Being now communicated to Agrippina, it could not fail to raise the veneration of the people for a princess, in whom they saw the daughter,[1] sister, wife, and mother, of an emperor; a combination of illustrious titles never, before that time, united in one person.

In this juncture, Vitellius, the active leader of Agrippina's faction, after having stood high in the esteem of Claudius, was at last, in an advanced age, involved in a prosecution, set on foot against him by Junius Lupus, a member of the senate. Such is the instability of human grandeur! The charge imported violated majesty, and a design to seize the reins of government. Claudius was willing to listen to the story; but, by the interposition of Agrippina, who scorned to descend to prayers and supplications, the blow recoiled upon the prosecutor. He was interdicted from fire and water. To stretch resentment further was not the wish of Vitellius.

XLIII. In the course of this year, the people were kept in a constant alarm by a succession of portents and prodigies. Birds of evil omen infested the capitol; earthquakes were felt; houses were laid in ruin, and while the multitude in a general panic pressed forward to make their escape, the feeble and infirm were trampled under foot. A dearth of corn brought on a famine: this too was deemed a prodigy. The people were not content to murmur their discontents; they crowded to the tribunal, and gathering round the emperor, then sitting in judgment, they forced him from his seat, and pushed him to the extremity of the forum. The guards came to his assistance, and Claudius made his way through the crowd. Fifteen days' subsistence was the most that Rome had then in store. The winter, providentially, was mild and favourable to navigation: distress and misery must, otherwise, have been the consequence. In former times the case was very different. Italy was the granary that supplied foreign markets. Even at this hour, the prolific vigour of the soil is not worn out; but to

[1] Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus, sister of Caligula, the wife of Claudius, and the mother of Nero.

depend on Egypt and Africa is the prevailing system. The lives of the people are, by choice, committed to the caprice of winds and waves.

XLIV. In the same year the flame of war broke out between the Armenians and Iberians. The Romans and the Parthians were, by consequence, involved in the quarrel. The sceptre of Parthia was at that time swayed by Vologeses, with the consent of his brothers, though his mother, by birth a Greek, was no higher than a concubine. Pharasmanes reigned in Iberia, confirmed on his throne by long possession. His brother, Mithridates, received the regal diadem of Armenia from the power of Rome. The former had a son named Rhadamistus, of a tall and graceful stature, remarkable for bodily vigour, and an understanding perfectly trained in the political school of his father. His talents were high in the esteem of all the neighbouring states. He saw, with impatience, the old age of his father protracted to a length of years. To disguise his ambition was no part of his character. He expressed his discontent in a manner that alarmed Pharasmanes. That monarch saw the aspiring genius of his son; and, being in the decline of life, he dreaded the enterprising spirit of a young man, who had conciliated to himself the affections of the people. To change the tide of his passions, and find employment for him elsewhere, he held forth the kingdom of Armenia as a dazzling and inviting object: he himself, he said, expelled the Parthians, and placed Mithridates on the throne. Pharasmanes added, that it would not be advisable to proceed with open force. Covert stratagem might deceive Mithridates, and insure success.

Rhadamistus made the best of his way to his uncle's court, as to a place of shelter from the displeasure of his father, and the tyranny of a stepmother. He met with a gracious reception. Mithridates treated him as his own son, with all the tenderness of a father. The young prince, in the meantime, drew to his interest the nobility of the country; and, while his uncle loaded him with favours, he was busy in forming a conspiracy against the crown and life of his benefactor.

XLV. Having concerted his measures, he returned, under colour of a family reconciliation, to his father's court. He there explained the progress of his treachery, the snares that were prepared, and the necessity of giving the finishing blow by force of arms. To find ostensible reasons for open hos-

tility, was not difficult to a politic genius like that of Pharasmanes. He alleged, that in the war between himself and the king of the Albanians, his application to the Romans for a reinforcement, was defeated by the practices of Mithridates; and an injury of so heinous a nature could not be expiated by anything less than the ruin of the man who did the mischief. To this end, he gave the command of his forces to his son, who entered Armenia at the head of a numerous army. An invasion so unexpected filled Mithridates with consternation. He fled the field, and leaving the enemy in possession of his camp, threw himself into the fort of Gorneas; a place strong by nature, and defended by a Roman garrison, under the command of Cælius Pollio, the præfect, and Casperius, a centurion. The machinations of a siege, and the use of warlike engines, are things unknown to savage nations: the Romans have reduced that branch of the military art to a regular system. Rhadamistus attempted to carry the works by assault, but without effect, and with considerable loss. He formed a blockade, and, in the meantime, made his approaches to the avarice of the governor. By bribes and presents he bargained with that officer to betray his trust. The centurion protested against so foul a treachery, declaring, in a tone of firmness, that he would neither agree to give up a confederate prince, nor to barter away the kingdom of Armenia, which had been assigned to Mithridates by the Roman people.

Pollio, the commander-in-chief, affected to dread the superior force of the enemy; and Rhadamistus, pleading the orders of his father, still urged on the siege. In this distress, Casperius, the centurion, stipulated a cessation of arms, and left the garrison, in order to have an interview with Pharasmanes, and deter him from prosecuting the war. If his endeavours failed, he resolved to proceed with expedition to Ummidius Quadratus, who commanded in Syria, in order to make that governor acquainted with the state of affairs, and the iniquity of the whole proceeding.

XLVI. The centurion had no sooner left the place, than Pollio felt himself at liberty to act without control. He advised Mithridates to compromise the quarrel, and end the war by a regular treaty. He urged the ties of natural affection between brothers, and the rights of seniority, which preponderated in favour of Pharasmenes. He added, that "Mithridates was, in fact, the son-in-law of his brother, and, at the same time, uncle and father-in-law to Rhadamistus. The

Iberians were superior in number, and yet willing to accede to terms of pacification. The perfidy of the Armenians was become proverbial. Pent up in a fortress, ill supplied with provisions, he could not hope to hold out much longer. In that distress, what room was left for deliberation? Peace, on reasonable terms, was preferable to a destructive war."

Such were the arguments urged by Cælius Pollio; but Mithridates suspected the counsels of a man, who had seduced one of the royal concubines, and shown himself a venal tool, ready at the beck of the highest bidder, to commit any crime however atrocious. Meanwhile, Casperius reached the court of Pharasmanes. He expostulated with that monarch, and pressed him to raise the siege. The politic king amused the centurion with plausible answers. He talked in equivocal terms, and drew the business into a negotiation, while his secret despatches urged Rhadamistus, by any means, and without delay, to make himself master of the place. Pollio raised the price of his treachery, and Rhadamistus complied with his terms. In consequence of their bargain, the governor, by corrupt practices, contrived to make the soldiers demand a capitulation, and, if not granted, to threaten one and all to abandon the place. Mithridates, in that extremity, fixed the time and place for a congress, and went out of the garrison.

XLVII. Rhadamistus advanced to meet him. He rushed to the king's embrace; he offered every mark of duty and respect to his uncle and his father-in-law; and, by a solemn oath, assured him that he would not at any time employ either sword or poison against his life. He decoyed Mithridates into a neighbouring wood, where he said a sacrifice was prepared, to ratify the treaty in the presence of the gods. Among the eastern kings, whenever they enter into mutual engagements, a peculiar custom prevails: the contracting parties take each other by the right hand, and with a ligature bind their thumbs together, till the blood is forced to the extremities, and with a slight puncture finds a vent. As it gushes forth, the kings apply their mouths to the orifice, and suck each other's blood. The treaty, in this manner, receives the highest sanction, signed, as it were, with the blood of the parties. On the present occasion, the person, whose office it was to tie the knot, pretending to have made a false step, fell at the feet of Mithridates, and laying hold of his knees, brought him to the ground. A crowd rushed in and bound the prostrate king with fetters. A chain was fastened

to his foot, and in that condition (esteemed by those nations the highest disgrace) he was dragged along with brutal violence. The populace, resenting the grievances which they had suffered under an oppressive and despotic reign, insulted him with vulgar scurrility, and even blows. Thinking men beheld the sad reverse with compassion. The wife of the unhappy monarch followed with her children, and filled the place with shrieks and lamentations. They were all secured in covered carriages, apart from each other, till the pleasure of Pharasmanes should be known. Lust of power was the passion of that prince. For a brother and a daughter not one tender sentiment remained. He ordered them to be put to death: but, though inured to crimes, not in his sight. Rhadamistus observed his oath with a pious fraud, that added to his guilt. He had bound himself not to use either sword or poison; but he smothered his uncle under a load of clothes, and by that evasion satisfied the religion of a murderer. The children of the unhappy monarch bewailed the loss of their father; and, for that crime, were massacred.

XLVIII. This act of treachery, and the murders that followed it, were soon made known to Quadratus. He called a council of war, and, after stating that the enemies of the deceased king were in possession of his dominions, the point which he submitted to consideration was, Whether, in that conjuncture, vindictive measures were advisable. Few at the meeting retained a sense of public honour. Maxims of policy and self-interest weighed with the majority. "The guilt," they said, "of foreign nations gave a solid advantage to the empire, and for that reason ought to be a source of joy. To foment divisions among the enemies of Rome was the truest wisdom; and, with that view, the crown of Armenia had been often, with a show of generosity, dealt out by the emperor as the special gift of the Roman people. Let Rhadamistus hold his ill-gotten power; he will hold it with infamy, and the execration of mankind: while he owes his elevation to his crimes, he will effectually serve the interests of Rome." This reasoning prevailed. The council, however, wished to save appearances. That they might not be thought to countenance a foul transaction, which might afterwards provoke the emperor to issue contrary orders, it was agreed to send despatches to Pharasmanes, requiring him forthwith to evacuate Armenia, and recall his son.

XLIX. In that juncture Julius Pelignus, with the title of procurator, commanded in Cappadocia; a man, whom all

orders of the people beheld with contempt and derision. The deformity of his person excited ridicule, and the qualities of his mind corresponded with his outward figure. He had lived, notwithstanding, in the closest intimacy with Claudius, at the time when that prince, as yet a private man, passed the hours of a stupid and listless life in the company of buffoons. Pelignus, in a fit of vainglory, undertook to recover Armenia. Having drawn together the auxiliaries of the province, he marched at the head of his forces, and, in his route, plundered the allies, as if the war was with them, instead of the Iberians. Harassed by the sudden incursions of the Barbarians, and deserted by his followers, he was left without resource. In that distress, he fled to Rhadamistus. Bribery soon purchased a man of his description. He advised the prince to assume the regal diadem, and assisted, under arms, at the coronation, at once the author of the measure, and the soldier to support it. A proceeding so vile and infamous could not be long unknown to the eastern nations. The character of the Roman generals might, by consequence, sink into contempt; and therefore, to wipe off the disgrace, Helvidius Priscus was sent at the head of a legion, with orders to act as exigencies might require. That officer pressed forward with expedition. He passed mount Taurus, and, in the course of his march, restored the public tranquillity, not so much by the terror of his arms as by the wisdom and moderation of his counsels. There was reason, however, to fear that his approach would give jealousy to the Parthians. To avoid a rupture with that people, Helvidius was ordered to return with his army into Syria.

L. Vologeses thought it a fair opportunity to recover the kingdom of Armenia. His ancestors had swayed the sceptre of that country, and now a foreign invader, by guilt and treachery, usurped the crown. The Parthian king saw his own brother Tiridates deprived of power. His pride could not brook that any part of his family should be left in that humble condition. Determined to dethrone the usurper, and invest his brother Tiridates with the regal diadem, he put himself at the head of a powerful army. The Iberians, without hazarding a battle, fled before the Parthian monarch. Artaxata and Tigranocerta, the two principal cities of Armenia, opened their gates to the invader. The inclemency of the winter season, and the want of due attention to provide for the subsistence of an army, brought on a famine, and, by consequence, an epidemic disease. Vologeses was obliged

to abandon his enterprise. Armenia was once more left defenceless. Rhadamistus seized his opportunity, and returned to his dominions, elate with pride, and fired with resentment against a people who had already betrayed him, and with their national inconstancy were ready on the first occasion to repeat their treachery. He mounted the throne; but the people, though inured to servitude, grew impatient of the yoke. They resolved to depose the usurper, and in a body rushed forward, sword in hand, to invest the palace.

LI. Rhadamistus was obliged to consult his safety by flight. He escaped with his wife, and both owed their lives to the speed of their horses. The queen was far advanced in her pregnancy. Her dread of the enemy, conspiring with conjugal affection, served to animate her in the first hurry of their flight. She bore the fatigue with wonderful resolution. Her condition, however, was too feeble for the violence of so rapid a motion. Seized with pains in her womb, and unable to hold out longer, she entreated her husband to end her misery, and, by an honourable death, prevent the insults of impending bondage. Rhadamistus was distracted by the violence of contending passions; he clasped her in his arms; he supported her drooping spirits, and, by every tender persuasion, exhorted her to persevere. Her virtue charmed him, and the idea of leaving her to the embraces of another, pierced him to the quick. In a fit of despair and love, he drew his scimitar, and with a hand already imbrued in blood, wounded the idol of his heart. In that condition he dragged her to the margin of the Araxes, and dashed her into the river, that her body might be carried away by the current, and never fall into the hands of his enemies. Having thus disposed of his wife, he fled towards Iberia, and pursued his way to his father's court.

Meanwhile Zenobia (so the princess was named), floating gently down the stream, was seen by the shepherds on the smooth surface of the water, struggling in distress, and still with manifest signs of life. The elegance and dignity of her form announced a person of illustrious rank. They bound up her wounds, and gave her the physic of the field. Having soon after learned her name, and the story of her sufferings, they conveyed her to the city of Artaxata. From that place she was conducted, at the public expense, to the court of Tiridates, where she was graciously received, and treated with all the marks of royalty.

LII. During the consulship of Faustus Sylla and Salvius Otho [A.U.C. 805, A.D. 52], an accusation was set on foot against Furius Scribonianus. He was charged with having consulted the Chaldæans about the length of the emperor's reign, and condemned to banishment. Junia his mother, who had been formerly driven into exile, was accused of harbouring resentment, and still feeling with indignation the severity of her fate. Her husband Camillus, the father of Scribonianus, had levied war in Dalmatia, and obtained his pardon. From that circumstance, and, in the present case, from a second instance of clemency to a disaffected family, Claudius took occasion to boast of his moderation. The unhappy exile did not long survive his sentence; but whether he died by poison, or a natural death, cannot now be known. Reports were various at the time. The astrologers and mathematicians were banished out of Italy, by a decree of the senate, full of rigour, but ending in nothing. In a speech to the fathers, Claudius bestowed great commendation on such of the members of that assembly as abdicated their rank on account of their narrow circumstances. Some were unwilling to withdraw their names, but they were all degraded as obstinate men, who to their poverty added pride and insolence.

LIII. During these transactions, a motion was made in the senate for a law to inflict certain penalties on such women as should disparage themselves by intermarrying with slaves. The senate decreed, that all who descended to so mean an act, without the consent of the master of the slave, should be considered as persons who had forfeited their rank, and passed into a state of slavery; if the master consented, his approbation should operate as a manumission only. The honour of this regulation the emperor ascribed to Pallas, and thereupon Barea Soranus, consul elect, moved, that the author of so wise a measure should be rewarded with prætorian ornaments, and a sum of fifteen million of sesterces. By way of amendment to the motion, Cornelius Scipio proposed that public thanks should be given to a man, who derived his origin from the ancient kings of Arcadia, and, notwithstanding the dignity of his rank, condescended to be classed among the ministers of the emperor. Claudius informed the senate, that Pallas was content with honours, and felt no ambition to emerge from his state of poverty. A decree was engraved on brass, exhibiting to the public eye a panegyric on the moderation of a manumitted slave, who had amassed no less than three hundred million of sesterces,

and, with that sum in his pocket, could give so striking an example of ancient parsimony.

LIV. Pallas had a brother known by the name of Felix, who had been for some time governor of Judæa. This man did not think it necessary to prescribe any restraint to his own desires. He considered his connection with the emperor's favourite as a license for the worst of crimes. The Jews, it is true, with a spirit little short of open rebellion, had refused, in the reign of Caligula, to place the statue of that emperor in the temple. Intelligence of his death arrived soon after; but even that event was not sufficient to allay the ferment. Future princes might have the same ambition, and the dread of a similar order kept the province in agitation. Felix inflamed the discontents of the people by improper remedies; and Ventidius Cumanus, to whom a part of the province was committed, was ready to co-operate in any wicked project. The Galilæans were under the control of Cumanus; Felix governed the Samaritans. Those two nations, always fierce and turbulent, were at variance with each other, and now when they despised their governors, their animosity broke out with redoubled fury.

They waged a predatory war; laid waste each other's lands, rushed from their ambuscade to sudden encounters, and, at times, tried their strength in regular engagements. The plunder of the war was given up to their rapacious governors, who, therefore, connived at the mischief. The disorders of the province grew to an alarming height, insomuch that the two governors were forced, at last, to have recourse to arms in order to quell the tumult. The Jews resisted, and numbers of the Roman soldiers were massacred in the fray. Quadratus, who commanded in Syria, saw the danger of an impending war, and, to restore the public tranquillity, advanced at the head of his forces. The insurgents, who rose in arms against the Roman soldiers, were punished with death. That measure was soon decided; but the conduct of Felix and Cumanus held the general in suspense. Claudius, duly apprised of the rebellion, and the causes from which it sprung, sent a commission directing an inquiry with power to try and pronounce judgment on the two provincial ministers. To make an end of all difficulties, Quadratus placed Felix on the tribunal among the judges, and, by that measure, sheltered him from his enemies. Cumanus was found guilty of the crimes committed by both, and in this manner the peace of the province was restored.

LV. Cilicia was soon after thrown into convulsions. The peasants of that country, known by the name of the Clitæans, a wild and savage race, inured to plunder and sudden commotions, assembled under Trosobor, a warlike chief, and pitched their camp on the summit of a mountain, steep, craggy, and almost inaccessible. From their fastnesses they came rushing down on the plain, and stretching along the coast attacked the neighbouring cities. They plundered the people, robbed the merchants, and utterly ruined navigation and commerce. They laid siege to the city of Anemurium, and dispersed a body of horse, sent from Syria, under Curtius Severus, to the relief of the place. With that detachment the freebooters dared to hazard battle. The ground being rugged, disadvantageous to cavalry, and convenient only to foot soldiers, the Romans were totally routed. At length Antiochus, the reigning king of the country, appeased the insurrection. By popular arts he gained the goodwill of the multitude, and proceeded by stratagem against their leader. The confederates being ruined by disunion among themselves, Trosobor, with his principal adherents, was put to death. By conciliating measures the rest were brought to a sense of their duty.

LVI. It was about this time, that between the lake of Fucinus and the river Liris, a passage was cut through a mountain. That a work of such magnificence should be seen to advantage, Claudius exhibited on the lake a naval engagement, in imitation of Augustus, who formed an artificial basin on the banks of the Tiber, and gave a spectacle of the same kind, but with lighter vessels, and an inferior number of mariners. Ships of three and even four ranks of oars were equipped by Claudius, with no less than nineteen thousand armed men on board. To prevent a deviation from the fight, the lake was fenced round with rafts of timber,[1] leaving the intermediate space wide enough to give free play to the oars; ample room for the pilots to display their skill, and, in the attack, to exhibit the various operations of a sea-fight. The prætorian guards stood on the rafts of timber, ranged in their several companies. In their front redoubts were raised, with proper engines for throwing up massy stones and all kinds of missive weapons. The rest of the lake was assigned to the ships. The mariners and combatants filled the decks. An incredible multitude of spectators from the

[1] Some commentators say that the circumference of the lake was six-and-twenty miles.

neighbouring towns, and even from Rome, attracted by the spectacle, or with a view to pay their court to the emperor, crowded round the borders of the lake. The banks, the rising ground, the ridge of the adjacent hills, presented to the eye a magnificent scene, in the form of an amphitheatre. Claudius and Agrippina presided at the show; the prince in a superb coat of mail, and the empress in a splendid mantle, which was a complete tissue of entire gold. The fleet was manned with malefactors; but the battle, nevertheless, was fought with heroic bravery. After many wounds, and a great effusion of blood, to favour a set of men who had performed feats of valour, the survivors were excused from fighting to destruction.

LVII. The whole of this magnificent spectacle being concluded, the channel through which the waters flowed was laid open, and then it appeared with what little skill the work was executed. The bed was not sunk deep enough to gain a level either with the middle or the extremities of the lake. It was found necessary to clear away the ground, and give the current a freer course. The work was finished with expedition, and, to attract a multitude of spectators, bridges were thrown over the lake, so constructed as to admit a foot engagement. On this prodigious platform a show of gladiators was exhibited. Near the mouth of the lake a sumptuous banquet was prepared; but the spot was ill-chosen. The weight of a vast body of water rushing down with irresistible force, carried away the contiguous parts of the works, and shook the whole fabric. Confusion and uproar filled the place. The roar of the torrent, and the noise of materials tumbling in, spread a general alarm. Claudius stood in astonishment. Agrippina seized the moment to accuse Narcissus, who had the direction of the whole. She imputed the mischief to his avarice. The favourite made reprisals on the character of Agrippina, condemning, without reserve, the impotence of a female spirit, her overbearing pride, and boundless ambition.

LVIII. Decimus Junius and Quintus Haterius succeeded to the consulship [A.U.C. 806, A.D. 53]. In the course of the year Nero, who had attained the age of sixteen, was joined in marriage to Octavia, the emperor's daughter. To grace his character with the fame of liberal science and the powers of eloquence, he undertook the cause of the inhabitants of Ilium. The young orator began with a deduction of the Roman people from a Trojan origin.

Æneas, the founder of the Julian family, and other passages drawn from antiquity, but in their nature fabulous, served to embellish his discourse. He succeeded for his clients, and obtained an entire exemption from imposts of every kind. He was advocate also for the colony of the Bolognians, who had lately suffered by fire. By the rhetoric of their pleader they obtained a grant of one hundred thousand sesterces. The Rhodians, in like manner, were obliged to his talents. That people, after many vicissitudes, sometimes in full possession of their privileges, and occasionally deprived of all, as they happened to be friendly or adverse to the Roman arms, had their rights confirmed in the amplest manner. The city of Apamea, which had been damaged by an earthquake, owed to the eloquence of their advocate a suspension of all dues for the term of five years.

LIX. In a short time after, the conduct of Claudius, under the management of the wife, presented a contrast of cruelty to all these acts of benevolence. Agrippina panted for the gardens of Statilius Taurus. He had been proconsul of Africa, and possessed a brilliant fortune. Tarquitius Priscus had served under him as his lieutenant. At the instigation of Agrippina, this man preferred a charge against his superior officer, founded on some articles of extortion, but resting chiefly on the practice of magic arts. Taurus was fired with indignation at the perfidy of his colleague. Seeing himself devoted to destruction, he resolved not to wait the final sentence, and with his own hand delivered himself from the malice of his enemies. The prosecutor was expelled the senate. The members of that assembly, detesting the teachery of this vile informer, carried their point, in spite of the arts and secret influence of Agrippina.

LX. In the course of this year, the emperor gave to his favourite political maxim the force of a law. He had been often heard to say, "that the judicial resolutions of the imperial procurators ought to be, in their several provinces, of as high authority as if they had been pronounced by himself." To show that this was not spoken in vain, the doctrine was confirmed by a decree that carried the principle to a greater extent than ever. By a regulation made by Augustus, the Roman knights, who ruled the provinces of Egypt, were empowered, in all cases, to hear and determine with as full authority as the magistrates of

Rome. The rule was afterwards extended to other provinces, and, even at Rome, the jurisdiction of the knights embraced a variety of questions, which till then were cognisable by the prætor only. Claudius enlarged the powers of his favourites, and finally vested in that body the judicial authority, which had been for ages the cause of civil commotions; for which the people had shed their blood; and which in those memorable struggles, was given by the Sempronian law to the equestrian order, till, in some time afterwards, the Servilian law restored it to the senate. In the wars between Marius and Sylla this was the cause of that fierce contention; but, in those turbulent times, the different orders of the state were engaged in factions against each other. The party that prevailed, called itself the Public, and made laws in the name of the commonwealth. Caius Oppius and Cornelius Balbus, supported by Augustus, were the first who decided the rights of war and peace. To mention, after them, the names of Matius, Vedius, and others of the equestrian order, seems now entirely needless; since we find the enfranchised slaves of Claudius, men no higher than mere domestic servants, raised to a level with the prince, and armed with the authority of the laws.

LXI. A grant to the people of Coos, of a general immunity from taxes, was the next measure proposed by the emperor. He introduced the question with a splendid account of their ancient origin. "The Argives, or, at least, Cœus, the father of Latona, first settled on the island. Æsculapius arrived soon after, and carried with him the invention of medicine. That useful science continued in his family through a long line of descendants." He mentioned by name the several persons in regular succession, and the period of time in which they flourished. He added, that Xenophon, his own physician, was descended from that illustrious family. The exemption, therefore, now requested by a man of such distinguished eminence, ought to be granted, in favour of an island so famous in story, to the end that the inhabitants, free from every burden, might dedicate themselves altogether to the worship of their god. A more substantial plea of merit might have been urged in their favour. They could boast, with truth, of singular services done to the Romans, and could set forth the victories obtained by their assistance; but Claudius, with his usual facility, chose to gratify the wishes

of an individual, and, in his opinion, the favour which he conferred ought not to be varnished with considerations of a public nature.

LXII. The deputies from Byzantium[1] were admitted to an audience before the senate. They prayed to be relieved from the heavy rates and duties under which they laboured. They relied on the merit of having been, for a length of time, the faithful allies of Rome. They traced the history of their services from the war in Macedonia, when the king of that country, on account of his degenerate character, was called Pseudophilippus, or Philip the False. They alleged, moreover, the succours which they sent against Antiochus; against Perses, and Aristonicus; the assistance, which they gave to Antony[2] in the piratic war, and, afterwards, to Sylla, to Lucullus, and Pompey. Nor did they omit their zeal for the Cæsars at the time when they entered Byzantium, and found not only a free passage for their fleets and armies, but likewise a safe conveyance for their provisions and military stores.

LXIII. Byzantium, it is well known, stands at the extremity of Europe, on the narrow strait that separates Europe from Asia. The city was built by the Greeks, who were led to the spot by the Pythian Apollo. They consulted that oracle about the proper place for a new city, and received for answer, that they should choose a foundation directly opposite to the territory of the blind. The advice, though dark and mysterious, pointed at the people of Chalcedon, the first adventurers in that part of the world, who had their opportunity to seize the best situation, and, through want of discernment, chose the worst. Byzantium enjoys many advantages: the soil is fertile, and the sea abounds with fish, occasioned by the prodigious shoals, that pour down from the Pontic Sea, and, to avoid the rocks which lurk beneath the waves on the Chalcedonian coast, make directly to the opposite shore, and fall into the bay of Byzantium. The fishery was at first a great branch of commerce. In process of time, the trade was cramped by excessive impositions; and to be

[1] Constantinople.

[2] The people of Cilicia fitted out a number of armed ships, and overran the Mediterranean. This was called the Piratic War. Marcus Antonius, son of the famous orator of that name, and father of Antony the triumvir, was sent, with extraordinary powers given to him in his commission, to clear the seas of those roving freebooters. The war however was not brought to a conclusion.

relieved, either by a total extinction, or, at least, a reduction of the duties, was now the prayer of their petition. Claudius was inclined to favour their cause: in the late wars in Thrace and Bosphorus, they had suffered heavy losses; and it was therefore proper to grant them a compensation. They were accordingly freed from all duties for the term of five years.

LXIV. In the consulship of Marcus Asinius and Manius Acilius [A.U.C. 807, A.D. 54], a succession of prodigies kept the minds of men in constant dread of some violent convulsion in the state. The tents and ensigns of the soldiers were set on fire by a flash of lightning; a swarm of bees settled on the capitol; women were delivered of monstrous births; and a pig, as soon as farrowed, had the talons of a hawk. It happened, at this time, that every order of the magistracy was short of its proper number, the public having lost by death, within a few months, a quæstor, an ædile, a tribune, a prætor, and a consul. This was reckoned among the prodigies. Amidst the consternation that covered the whole city, no person whatever was so seriously alarmed as Agrippina. Claudius, it seems, had said in conversation, that, by some fatality, it had been his constant lot to bear, for a time, the irregularities of his wives, and in the end to punish them. The expression fell from him in his liquor. Agrippina knew the force of it, and resolved to take her measures beforehand. But Domitia Lepida, whom she hated for female reasons, was to be the first devoted victim. She was the daughter of the younger Antonia, great-niece to Augustus, and sister to Cneius Domitius, the first husband of the empress. Proud of these advantages, Lepida considered herself no way inferior to the imperial consort. Their age, their beauty, and their riches, were nearly on a level; both of dissolute manners, proud, fierce, lascivious, and in their vices, no less than their views of ambition, determined rivals. Which of them should have entire dominion over the mind of Nero, the aunt or the mother, was the point in dispute between them. Lepida made her approaches to the young prince by affability and softness of manners. Her liberality and endearing tenderness gained the affections of the prince. Agrippina behaved with the authority of a mother, eager to grasp the imperial dignity for her son, and when she gained it, unwilling to own him for her sovereign.

LXV. A charge was framed against Lepida, importing, "That by magic arts she aspired to the emperor's bed, and, by neglecting to bridle the insolence of her numerous slaves

in Calabria, she showed herself an enemy to the peace of Italy." She was condemned to die. Narcissus endeavoured to avert the sentence; but his efforts were ineffectual. That minister had for some time beheld Agrippina with deep mistrust. He saw through her designs, and, to his select friends, did not scruple to declare, "That whatever became of the succession, whether it devolved on Nero or Britannicus, the dilemma would either way be fatal to himself. He was bound, however, to the emperor by ties of gratitude, and in his service was ready to lay down his life. It was by his counsels that Silius and Messalina were both undone. Should Nero seize the sovereignty, the crimes of his mother might bring forward the same catastrophe; and if Britannicus succeeded to the empire, with that prince he had no claim of merit. At present, a stepmother plans the ruin of the imperial house. To look on in silence, and yield to her towering ambition, were a more flagitious crime, than to have connived at the vices of the emperor's former wife. But the vices of the former wife are now renewed by Agrippina. Her adulterous commerce with Pallas is too well known; and it is equally known, that her modesty, her fame, her honour, and even her person, all are subservient to her ambition." Such was the language of Narcissus. In the warmth of his emotions, he embraced Britannicus; he hoped to see him grow up to man's estate; he fixed his eyes on the prince; he lifted up his hands to the gods, devoutly praying that he might live to crush the enemies of his father, even though all, who took an active part against his mother, should be doomed to perish with them.

LXVI. In the midst of these distractions, Claudius was attacked by a fit of illness. For the recovery of his health he set out for Sinuessa, to try the effect of a milder air, and the salubrious waters of the place. Agrippina thought she had now an opportunity to execute the black design which she had long since harboured in her breast. Instruments of guilt were ready at her beck, but the choice of the poison was still to be considered: if quick and sudden in its operation, the treachery would be manifest; a slow corrosive would bring on a lingering death. In that case, the danger was, that the conspiracy might, in the interval, be detected, or, in the weakness and decay of nature, the affections of a father might return, and plead in favour of Britannicus. She resolved to try a compound of new and exquisite ingredients, such as would make directly to the brain, yet not bring on an immediate dissolution. A person of well-known skill in the trade of poisoning

was chosen for the business. This was the famous Locusta; a woman lately condemned as a dealer in clandestine practices, but reserved among the instruments of state to serve the purposes of dark ambition. By this tool of iniquity the mixture was prepared. The hand to administer it was that of Halotus, the eunuch, whose business it was to serve the emperor's table, and taste the viands for his master.

LXVII. The particulars of this black conspiracy transpired in some time after, and found their way into the memoirs of the age. We are told by the writers of that day, that a palatable dish of mushrooms was the vehicle of the poison. The effect was not soon perceived. Through excess of wine or the stupidity of his nature, perhaps the strength of his constitution, Claudius remained insensible. An effort of nature followed, and gave him some relief. Agrippina trembled for herself. To dare boldly was now her best expedient. Regardless of her fame, and all that report could spread abroad, she had recourse to Xenophon, the physician, whom she had seduced to her interest. Under pretence of assisting Claudius to unload his stomach, this man, it is said, made use of a feather tinged with the most subtle poison, and with that instrument searched the emperor's throat. With the true spirit of an assassin he knew, that, in atrocious deeds, a feeble attempt serves only to confound the guilty, while the deed, executed with courage, consummates all, and is sure to earn the wages of iniquity.

LXVIII. Meanwhile, the senate was convened, and, though the emperor had breathed his last, the consuls and the pontiffs joined in vows and supplications for his recovery. Medical preparations were still applied to a lifeless body, and the farce of attending the sick was continued, till proper measures were taken for the succession of Nero. Agrippina, with a dejected mien, affected to sink under the weight of affliction. She looked round for consolation, and seeing Britannicus, she folded him in her arms, and called him, with expressions of tenderness, the image of his father. She detained him with fond caresses, and never suffered him to leave the apartment. With the same deceitful arts she contrived to decoy his two sisters, Antonia and Octavia. The avenues of the palace were closely guarded, and, at intervals, favourable accounts of the emperor were issued, the better to keep everything in suspense, and amuse the hopes and fears of the soldiers, till the arrival of the propitious moment, promised by the Chaldæan astrologers.

LXIX. At length, on the third day before the ides of October,[1] about noon, the palace-gates were thrown open. A prætorian cohort, as usual, was drawn up under arms. Nero, attended by Burrhus, made his appearance, and, on a signal given by the commanding officer, the soldiers received him with shouts and acclamations. He was immediately put into a litter. Some of the soldiers, we are told, even in that scene of joy and uproar, looked around for Britannicus, and asked in vain for that unfortunate prince. None of his party appearing, they yielded to the impulse of the moment. Nero was conveyed to the camp. He addressed the soldiers in a speech suited to the occasion, and promised a donative, equal to the liberality of his deceased father. He was proclaimed Emperor of Rome. The voice of the army was confirmed by the senate. The provinces acquiesced without reluctance. Divine honours were decreed to the memory of Claudius, and funeral ceremonies, not inferior to the magnificence that attended the remains of Augustus. In this article, Agrippina was willing to vie with the pomp displayed by her great-grandmother Livia. The will of the deceased emperor was not read in public. The preference given to the son of his wife, in prejudice to the rights of his own immediate issue, might raise a spirit of discontent, and alienate the affections of the people.

[1] The thirteenth of October.

BOOK XIII

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These transactions passed in four years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
808	55	The emperor Nero, L. Antistius Vetus.
809	56	Q. Volusius Saturninus, P. Cornelius Scipio.
810	57	Nero, 2nd time, L. Calpurnius Piso.
811	58	Nero, 3rd time, Valerius Messala.

I. The new reign opened with the murder of Junius Silanus,[1] proconsul of Asia. The deed was perpetrated, by the contrivance of Agrippina, without the knowledge of Nero. In the character and conduct of Silanus there was nothing that could provoke his fate. Under the preceding emperors he had led a life so inactive, that he fell into contempt, and was called by Caligula, "The Golden Calf." But Agrippina had cut off his brother Lucius Silanus, and lived in fear of the vengeance due to her crime. Her son Nero, not yet arrived at years of discretion, was raised by her treacherous arts to the sovereign power, and, in opposition to that measure, the public voice was loud in favour of Silanus, a man every way qualified, of an understanding matured by years, an unblemished character, by his birth illustrious, and (what was then of great importance) descended from the house of Cæsar. Silanus, in fact, was the great-grandson of Augustus.

[1] This was Marcus Junius Silanus, the son of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida, the granddaughter of Augustus.

These circumstances conspired to work his ruin. The actors in this dark transaction were Publius Celer, a Roman knight, and Helius, an enfranchised slave; both employed in Asia to collect the revenues of the prince. At a public feast these two conspirators administered a doze of poison to the proconsul with so little precaution, that secrecy did not seem to be worth their care. The murder of Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, was despatched with as little ceremony. The quarrel between him and Agrippina[1] has been already stated. He was thrown into prison, and there confined in close and rigorous custody, till, driven to the extremity of want, he put an end to his misery with his own hand. Nero wished to prolong his days. The secret vices of the prince, though they had not then broke out into action, inclined him, by a wonderful bias of nature, to favour a man in whose avarice and prodigality he saw the counterpart of himself.

II. A number of other victims were marked for destruction; and Rome would have been a theatre of blood, had not Afranius Burrhus and Annæus Seneca prevented the impending danger. The education of the emperor had been committed to those two ministers: both high in power, and yet (uncommon as it is) free from jealousy; possessing different talents, united by sentiment, and each, in his peculiar province, of great consideration. Burrhus gave the prince instructions in the military science, and the austerity of his manners added weight to his precepts. Seneca taught the principles of eloquence, and charmed by the suavity of his manners. The two preceptors exerted their joint endeavours to fix in the prince's mind the principles of virtue, or, if that could not be, to restrain his youthful passions, and, by moderate indulgence, infuse into his mind a taste for elegant, if not innocent pleasures.

Agrippina threw difficulties in their way. Fierce with all the passions that attend inordinate ambition, she was supported, in her worst designs, by Pallas, that pernicious favourite, who incited Claudius to an incestuous marriage, and advised the adoption of Nero; two fatal measures, by which that emperor was precipitated to his ruin. But it was not in the temper or genius of Nero to bend to the politics of a freedman; on the other hand, the arrogance of Pallas, who aspired above himself, gave disgust to the prince. Public honours, in the meantime, were bestowed with a lavish hand on the emperor's mother. To a tribune, who, according to

[1] See *Annals*, xii. 57 and 65.

the military practice, asked for the word, Nero gave "THE BEST OF MOTHERS." Two lictors, by a decree of the senate, were ordered to attend her person. She was, at the same time, declared the priestess of Claudius. The funeral of that prince was performed with all the pomp of censorial obsequies. He was afterwards added to the number of the gods.

III. Nero pronounced the funeral oration. He represented, in the brightest colours, the illustrious birth of the deceased emperor, the number of his consulships, and the triumphal honours of his ancestors. On those topics he dwelt with propriety, and commanded attention. The taste of Claudius for the liberal arts, and the undisturbed tranquillity that prevailed throughout his reign, afforded ample room for panegyric, and the orator was heard with pleasure. But when the judgment and political wisdom of Claudius were mentioned with praise and decorations of language, the ridicule was too strong, and none could refrain from laughter. And yet the speech was written by Seneca, in a style of elegance peculiar to that amiable writer, who possessed a vein of wit and fancy, that charmed the taste of the age in which he lived. It was observed, on this occasion, by men advanced in life, who love, at leisure, to compare the past with the present times, that of all the emperors, Nero was the first, who was content to be the organ of another's eloquence. In Cæsar the dictator the most eminent orators found an illustrious rival. Augustus had a flow of language, easy, clear, and copious, well suited to the dignity of a prince. Precision was the talent of Tiberius; and if his meaning was sometimes obscure, it was when he chose to be dark and impenetrable. The confused and turbulent genius of Caligula did not transfuse itself into his discourse. Even in Claudius, when he came with a speech prepared and studied, there was no want of elegance. Nero, in the prime of life, took a different turn, and, with lively parts, applied himself to other objects. Engraving,[1] painting, music, and horsemanship, were his favourite pursuits. At intervals he was fond of poetry, and his verses showed that he had, at least, a tincture of letters.

IV. Having played the part of a public mourner, Nero made his appearance in the senate. He began with a florid compliment to the authority of the fathers, and the concurrent suffrages of the army, which raised him to the imperial dignity.

[1] Nero's passion for the elegant arts, had he known how to restrain it within due bounds, might have been not unworthy of a prince; but we shall see him in the sequel as ridiculous for his taste, as he was detestable for his vices.

He added, "that he had many bright examples to excite emulation, and in his councils superior wisdom to direct his conduct. His youth had not been engaged in civil commotions, and to the rage of contending factions he was, by consequence, an utter stranger. He brought with him no private animosity, no sense of injuries, no motives to inspire revenge. He explained the system of government, which he intended to pursue; the abuses which occasioned discontent and murmurings in the former reign, were to be reformed altogether; and, in particular the decisions of causes, he was determined, should no longer depend on the authority of the prince. The practice of hearing in a chamber of the palace, the accuser and the accused, and thereby subjecting the lives and fortunes of men to the influence of a few favourites, was to be abolished. In his palace nothing shall be venal; nothing carried by intrigue, by bribery, or secret influence. The revenues of the prince, and the public treasure, should be distinct and separate rights. The senate might retain the full exercise of the powers vested in that assembly by the spirit of the constitution. Italy and the provinces might, in all cases, address themselves to the tribunal of the consuls, and, through that channel, find their way to the senate. The executive power over the army was his peculiar province, and he claimed no more."[1]

V. The promise was fair, and for some time regularly observed. The fathers, of their own authority, made several regulations, and among other things ordained, that no advocate should hire out his talents in any cause whatever. The law requiring[2] a spectacle of gladiators from such as were chosen to the office of quæstor, was entirely abrogated. To these resolutions, tending, in effect, to repeal the acts of Claudius, Agrippina made a strong opposition. In order to carry her point, she caused the senate to be convened in the palace, where, at a convenient station at the door behind the arras she might conceal her person, and overhear the debate. The fathers acted with a spirit of independence, and a decree was passed accordingly. On a subsequent occasion the ambassadors of Armenia were admitted to an audience before the prince. Agrippina advanced to the tribunal to take her seat, and preside with joint authority. All who beheld the scene

[1] This speech gave universal satisfaction. It was, probably, written by Seneca.

[2] This corrupt practice, which was nothing less than open bribery, was established by law in the reign of Claudius.

were struck with terror and amazement, when Seneca, in the general confusion, had the presence of mind to bid the emperor step forward to meet his mother. Under an appearance of filial piety, the honour of the state was saved.

VI. Towards the end of the year, a report prevailed that the Parthians had once more invaded Armenia, and that Rhadamistus, tired of a kingdom so often taken and retaken, declined to end the dispute by force of arms. At Rome, where public affairs were discussed with freedom, the popular opinion was, "that Nero, young in life, just out of his seventeenth year, would not be equal to a conjuncture so arduous and important. What dependence could be had on the flexibility of a boy, still under the government of his mother? He had tutors, indeed; but would they undertake the command of armies, the conduct of sieges, and all the various operations of war?" It was argued on the other hand, "that the situation of affairs was better than it could have been under a prince like Claudius, worn out with age, and sunk in sloth, the willing dupe of his favourite freedmen. Burrhus and Seneca were men of experience: and, with such advisers, why conclude that Nero, bordering on the season of manly vigour, was unequal to the task? Pompey, at the age of eighteen, and Octavianus Cæsar, having barely passed his nineteenth year, were both at the head of armies in times big with danger, amidst the distractions of a civil war. It is by the wisdom of their councils, and not by personal valour, that princes are crowned with glory. Whether the cabinet of Nero was filled with evil counsellors, or with men of genius and integrity, would soon be evident. If the emperor, without regarding party connections and court intrigue, chose a general, not on account of his wealth and interest, but for his military character, the question would be then fairly decided."

VII. While these different opinions kept the public mind in agitation, Nero ordered levies to be made in the eastern nations, and the legions, thus recruited, to take post on the confines of Armenia. He desired, at the same time, that Agrippa[1] and Antiochus, two oriental kings, should hold their forces in readiness to enter the territory of the Parthians. For the convenience of his armies, bridges were thrown over the Euphrates. The lesser Armenia[2] was committed to Aristobulus, and the country called Sophene to Sohemus: both princes were allowed to assume the ensigns of royalty.

[1] Agrippa was king of Judæa; Antiochus, of Commagene.
[2] The Lesser Armenia was on this side of the Euphrates.

In this crisis a fortunate circumstance gave a sudden turn in favour of Rome. Vardanes, the son of Vologeses, became a competitor for the crown in opposition to his father. The Parthians were, by consequence, obliged to recall their armies, and under colour of deferring, not of abandoning the war, Armenia was evacuated.

VIII. The fathers extolled these transactions with their usual strain of flattery. They voted that prayers and public thanksgivings should be offered to the gods, and that during the solemnity Nero, adorned with a triumphal robe, should enter the city with all the splendour of an ovation. It was further resolved, that in the temple of Mars the Avenger a statue should be erected to the prince, in form and dimension equal to that of the god. Amidst this servile adulation, the appointment of Domitius Corbulo to the command of the army in Armenia, gave universal satisfaction. The road to preferment, men began to hope, would, from that time, be open to talents and superior merit. By the arrangement which was settled in the east, part of the auxiliaries, with two legions, were stationed in Syria, under the command of Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of that province. An equal number of legionary soldiers and allies, besides the cohorts and light troops that wintered in Cappadocia, were assigned to Corbulo. The kings in alliance with Rome had directions to co-operate with those generals, as the events of war should happen to require. Corbulo was high in favour with the princes of the east. Aware that fame, in the beginning of all military operations, makes a deep impression, that general advanced by rapid journeys, and at Ægea, a city of Cilicia, met Quadratus, who chose an interview at that place, rather than wait till Corbulo showed himself at the head of his army in the province of Syria, where he had reason to fear that the eyes of the people would be fixed on his rival in command. The fact was, Corbulo possessed many advantages: in his person manly, of a remarkable stature, and in his discourse magnificent, he united with experience and consummate wisdom those exterior accomplishments, which, though in themselves of no real value, give an air of elegance even to trifles.

IX. The two commanders sent a joint message to Vologeses, warning him to prefer the sweets of peace to the calmities of war, and, by sending hostages, to mark his respect for the Roman name. The Parthian monarch, intending to wait for a more favourable opportunity, or, perhaps, wishing to remove

from his court his most dangerous enemies, gave up as hostages the most distinguished of the line of the Arsacides. Histerius, a centurion, sent by Quadratus with orders to travel with expedition, received the hostages under his care; but Corbulo, apprised of this artful project, despatched Arrius Varus, the commander of a cohort, to claim the care and custody of the Parthian nobles. The centurion resisted. A warm dispute ensued between the two officers, till at length, that they might not exhibit a ridiculous scene to foreign nations, the matter was referred to the decision of the hostages themselves, and the ambassadors who accompanied them. The Parthians, struck with the recent fame of the commander-in-chief, and, as often happens even among enemies, conceiving the highest respect for his person, gave the preference to Corbulo. Hence a new source of discord between the two generals. Quadratus complained, that the honour which he had acquired was unfairly wrested from him. Corbulo maintained his right, insisting that the idea of delivering up hostages had never occurred to Vologeses, till such time as his hopes were humbled by the name of the superior officer who had the conduct of the war. To appease their jealousy, Nero issued an order, that on account of the prosperous events achieved by the conduct of both generals, the imperial fasces under each of them should be decorated with wreaths of laurel. These transactions happened in different years; but, for the sake of perspicuity, they are here related in one connected series.

X. In the course of the same year, Nero desired that by a decree of the senate a statue might be erected to his father Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, and that Asconius Labeo, his former tutor, might be honoured with the consular ornaments. The senate proposed, that statues of solid gold or silver should be erected in honour of the prince; but Nero had the modesty to reject the offer. A law was also in agitation, by which the year was to begin from December, the month in which Nero was born. This too was overruled. The emperor resolved to continue the old style, dating the year from the calends of January; a day rendered sacred by the established religion of the Romans. An attempt was made to arraign Carinas Celer, a member of the senate, and Julius Densus, of the equestrian order. The first was accused by his slave; the crime objected to the latter was his attachment for Britannicus. Both prosecutions were suppressed by order of the emperor.

XI. Nero and Lucius Antistius were the next consuls [A.U.C. 808, A.D. 55]. During the solemnity of swearing the magistrates, according to custom, on the acts of the emperor, Antistius had it in command not to include in his oath the acts of the reigning prince; an instance of modesty and self-denial, which the fathers thought could not be too highly commended. They were lavish of praise, in hopes that the sense of honest fame, even in matters of little moment, implanted early in the mind of a young man, might shoot up to a principle of honour, and the love of solid glory. In a short time after, Nero distinguished himself by an act of clemency in the case of Plautius Lateranus, who, for his criminal intrigues with Messalina, had been expelled the senate. The emperor restored him to his rank. He even bound himself to observe throughout his reign the virtues of humanity. This promise he renewed in several speeches prepared for him by the pen of Seneca, and probably written to display the moral lessons which the philosopher taught, or to show the brilliant talents of that lively writer.

XII. The authority of Agrippina was now on the decline. An enfranchised female slave of the name of ACTE[1] had gained an entire ascendant over the affections of the prince. To conduct this intrigue, Nero chose Otho[2] and Claudius Senecio for his confidental friends; the former descended from a family of consular rank; the latter, the son of a freedman belonging to the late emperor. They were both elegant in their persons. Their taste for debauchery and clandestine vices introduced them to the notice of the prince. Their first approaches to his friendship were unperceived by Agrippina: she endeavoured afterwards to remove them from his presence, but her efforts were without effect. The emperor's friends, though famed for wisdom and the severity of their manners, made no opposition to his new intrigue. A courtesan, who gratified the ardour of a young man's passion, without injury to any person whatever, was thought an object of no importance. Nero, it is true, was married to Octavia; but neither the nobility of her birth, nor her unspotted virtue, could secure his affections. By some fatality, or, perhaps, by the secret charm of forbidden pleasures, his heart was alienated from his wife. The connection with his favourite concubine served to restrain the prince from other pursuits; and there was reason to fear, that,

[1] Acte was a purchased slave from Asia. Suetonius says that Nero, being at one time determined to marry her, suborned several men of consular rank to swear that she was of royal descent.

[2] Otho, afterwards emperor.

detached from her, he might riot in scenes of higher life, and destroy the peace and honour of the noblest families.

XIII. Agrippina was fired with indignation. She complained aloud that an enfranchised slave was put in competition with the emperor's mother, and a wretch of mean extraction was to be treated as her daughter-in-law. She stormed with all the rage of female pride, never reflecting that the prince might see his error, or that satiety and cold indifference might, in time, succeed to the vehemence of youthful passion. The haughty spirit of the mother served only to inflame the ardour of her son. He gave a loose to love, and threw off all regard for his mother, determined, for the future, to yield to no authority but that of Seneca. Among the friends of that minister was a man of the name of Annæus Serenus, who pretended to admire the person of Acte, and, to throw the veil over the growing passion of Nero, conveyed to her, in his own name, the presents sent by the secret gallantry of the prince. Agrippina thought it time to abate from her ferocity. She had recourse to art, and hoped by gentle methods to regain her influence. Her own apartment was now at her son's service. Love, at his time of life, was natural, and his superior rank demanded some indulgence. Under the care and management of his mother he might enjoy his secret pleasures. She apologised for the warmth with which she broke out at first, and even made an offer of all her treasure, little inferior to imperial riches. Her conduct was always in extremes; violent in the beginning, and in the end too complying.

A transition so sudden did not escape the observation of Nero. His confidential friends were alarmed. Dreading nothing so much as the return of Agrippina's influence, they cautioned the prince not to be the dupe of a woman, who, in reality, abated nothing from the pride and arrogance of her character, though now she played an humble, but insidious part. It happened at this time that Nero examined a rich wardrobe, appropriated to the use of the mothers and wives of the emperors. He selected a splendid dress and a considerable quantity of jewels. These he ordered to be presented to Agrippina. The things were gay and magnificent, the kind of ornaments that please the taste and vanity of women, and, being unasked and unexpected, they were sent with a better grace. Agrippina construed this civility into an affront. The design, she

said, was not to adorn her person, but to deprive her of the rest of those valuable effects. Her son affected to divide with his mother what he owed entirely to her protection. Her words were reported to the emperor with additional malice.

XIV. In order, by a sudden blow, to humble Agrippina and her party, Nero dismissed Pallas from all his employments. By the favour of Claudius this man had been raised to a degree of power that made him assume the air and importance of first minister, and sovereign arbiter of the empire. As he withdrew from court with his train of followers, Nero pleasantly said, "Pallas is going to abdicate." Before he retired, it is certain that he had bargained for himself. It was agreed that no inquiry should be had into his conduct, and that all accounts between him and the public should be considered as closed and balanced. The indignation of Agrippina was not to be restrained: in a tone of menace she endeavoured to intimidate her enemies; even in the emperor's hearing, she exclaimed aloud, "Britannicus is grown up, the genuine issue of Claudius, and every way worthy of the succession to his father. The sovereignty has been wrested from him by an intruder, who owes his title to adoption only, and now presumes to trample on the rights of a mother, who gave him all. But everything shall be brought to light; the misfortunes which she herself had caused in the imperial family, her incestuous marriage with her uncle, and the poison that put an end to his life; all shall be disclosed, all laid open to the world. By the favour of the gods Britannicus is still alive; that resource still remains. With that young prince she would join the army: in the camp should be heard the daughter of Germanicus; Burrhus, and Seneca, the famous exile, might present themselves before the prætorian soldiers; the first with his maimed hand, and the second, armed with his tropes and flowers of rhetoric; both worthy ministers, fit, in their own opinion, to govern the Roman world." In this strain she raved with vehemence, brandishing her hands, and pouring out a torrent of invective. She appealed to the deified Claudius; she invoked the manes of the murdered Silani, and of others who perished by her guilt, though now, in return for all, she met with nothing but treachery and ingratitude.

XV. These violent declarations made a deep impression on the mind of Nero. The birthday of Britannicus, when

that prince was to enter on his fifteenth year, was near at hand. This gave rise to a number of reflections. The turbulent spirit of Agrippina, and the character of the prince, filled him with apprehensions. On a late occasion Britannicus had given a specimen of early acuteness, slight indeed in itself, but such as disposed the people in his favour. It happened, during the Saturnalian festival,[1] that, among the diversions usual among young people, the play, *Who shall be King?*[2] became part of the amusement at court. The lot fell to Nero: he imposed his commands on the company, in no instance aiming at ridicule or inconvenience, till it came to Britannicus. He ordered the young prince to stand in the middle of the room, and sing a song to the company. By this device he hoped that a stripling, not yet accustomed even to sober conversation, much less to revelry and the joys of wine, would be exposed to derision. Britannicus performed his part without embarrassment. His song alluded to his own case, expressing the situation of a prince excluded from the throne of his ancestors. The whole company felt a touch of compassion, and, in the moment of gaiety, when wine and the midnight hour had thrown off all dissimulation, they expressed their feelings without disguise. Nero found that his pleasantry recoiled upon himself. Hatred, from that moment, took possession of his heart. The furious and implacable spirit of Agrippina kept him in a constant alarm. No crime could be alleged against Britannicus, and, by consequence, there was no colour to justify a public execution.

Nero resolved to act by covert stratagem. A preparation of poison was ordered, and Julius Pollio, a tribune of the prætorian cohorts, was called in as an accomplice. This man had in his custody the famous Locusta, a woman guilty of various crimes, and then under sentence for the practice of administering poison. She was made an instrument in the conspiracy. For some time before, care had been taken to admit none to the presence of Britannicus, but such as had long since renounced every principle of honour and of virtue. The first potion was given to Britannicus by his tutors; but being weak, or injudiciously qualified, it passed without effect. The slow progress of guilt

[1] The Saturnalia began on the seventeenth of December, and lasted fifteen days.

[2] In this play of *Who shall be King?* the boys threw dice to decide their chance.

did not suit the genius of Nero. He threatened the tribune, and was on the point of ordering the sorceress to be put to death. He railed at both as being two cowards in vice, who wished to save appearances, and concert a defence for themselves, while they left a dreadful interval, big with fear and danger. To appease his wrath, they promised to prepare a dose as sure and deadly as the assassin's knife. In a room adjoining to the apartment of the emperor they mixed a draught, compounded of ingredients, whose sure and rapid quality they had already experienced.

XVI. According to the custom at that time established at court, the children of the imperial family dined, in a sitting posture, with nobility of their own age, in sight of their relations, at a table set apart, and served with due frugality. Whenever Britannicus was, in this manner, seated at his meal, it was a settled rule that an attendant should taste his food and liquor. To preserve this custom, and prevent detection by the death of both, an innocent beverage, without any infusion that could hurt, was tried by the proper officer, and presented to the prince. He found it too hot, and returned it. Cold water, in which the poison had been mixed, was immediately poured into the cup. Britannicus drank freely; the effect was violent, and, in an instant, it seized the powers of life: his limbs were palsied, his breath was suppressed, and his utterance failed. The company were thrown into consternation. Some rushed out of the room, while others, who had more discernment, staid, but in astonishment, with their eyes fixed on Nero, who lay stretched at ease on his couch, with an air of innocence, and without emotion. He contented himself with calmly saying, "This is one of the epileptic fits to which Britannicus has been subject from his infancy. The disorder will go off, and he will soon recover his senses." Agrippina was struck with horror. She endeavoured to suppress her feelings; but the inward emotions were too strong; they spoke in every feature, plainly showing that she was as innocent as Octavia, the sister of Britannicus. By this horrible act the emperor's mother saw all her hopes at once cut off, and from so daring a step, she could even then foresee that her son would wade in blood, and add to his crimes the horror of parricide. Octavia, though still of tender years, had seen enough of courts to teach her the policy of smothering her grief, her tenderness, and every sentiment of the heart. In this manner

the scene of distraction ended, and the pleasures of the table were renewed.

XVII. One and the same night saw the murder of Britannicus and his funeral. Both were preconcerted. Without expense, or any kind of pomp, the prince's remains were interred in the Field of Mars, under a shower of rain, which fell with such violence, that it passed with the multitude as the sure forerunner of divine vengeance on the authors of so foul a deed; a deed, notwithstanding all its horrors, which many were inclined to think of with less severity, when they considered that, from the earliest times, a spirit of jealousy always subsisted between brothers, and that the nature of a sovereign power is such as not to endure a rival. From the writers of that period there is reason to conclude, that Nero, on various occasions, had taken advantage of the tender years of Britannicus, and offered vile indignities to his person. If the anecdote be founded in truth, the death, which delivered a descendant of the Claudian line from foul disgrace, cannot be deemed premature or cruel. The prince, it is true, died in the hour of hospitality, without warning, without time allowed to his sister to take the last farewell; and his mortal enemy saw him in the pangs of death. After all his sufferings, the poisoned cup was mercy. The hurry with which the funeral was performed, was justified by Nero in a proclamation, stating the practice of the ancient Romans, who ordained with wisdom, "That the bodies of such as died in the prime of life should, as soon as possible, be removed from the public eye without waiting for funeral orations, and the slow parade of pomp and ceremony. For himself, deprived as he was of the assistance of a brother, he depended altogether on the affections of the people, in full persuasion, that the senate, and all orders of men, would exert their best endeavours to support a prince, who now remained the only branch of a family born to rule the empire of the world." After this public declaration, his next care was, by large donations, to secure in his interest all his most powerful friends.

XVIII. The conduct of such as were most distinguished by the munificence of the emperor, did not pass uncensured. They were men who professed integrity, and yet did not blush to take palaces,[1] country-seats, and extensive lands, all equally willing to have share of the plunder. By their apologists

[1] They took the palaces, villas, and estates of Britannicus.

it was argued, that they could not avoid submitting to the will of a prince, who knew the horror of his crimes, and hoped by his liberality to soften the public resentment. Agrippina continued implacable. Indignation like hers was not to be appeased by presents. She cherished Octavia with the tenderest regard; she had frequent meetings with the leaders of her party; and, with more than her natural avarice, she collected money in all quarters; she courted the tribunes and centurions; and to the thin nobility, which then remained, she paid every mark of respect, dwelling with pleasure on their names, applauding their virtues, with a view to strengthen her interest by a coalition of the first men in Rome. Nero was apprised of all that passed. By his orders the sentinels who guarded her gates (as had been done in the time of Claudius, and since his decease) were all withdrawn. The German soldiers, who had been added by way of doing honour to the emperor's mother, were likewise dismissed from her service. Nor did the matter rest here. To retrench the number of her adherents and visitors, Nero resolved to hold a separate court. He assigned to his mother the mansion formerly occupied by Antonia. He visited her in her new situation, but his visits were a state farce: he went with a train of attendants, and, after a short salute, took his leave with cold civility.

XIX. In the mass of human affairs there is nothing so vain and transitory as the fancied pre-eminence which depends on popular opinion, without a solid foundation to support it. Of this truth Agrippina is a melancholy proof. Her house was deserted; no friend to comfort her; no courtier to flutter at her levee; and none to visit her, except a few women who frequented her house, perhaps with a good intention, or, more probably, with the little motives of female triumph. In the number was Junia Silana, formerly divorced, as has been mentioned, from Caius Silius, at the instigation of Messalina. Since that time, she became the intimate friend of Agrippina; by her birth illustrious, distinguished by her beauty, and not less so by her lascivious conduct. Her friendship for Agrippina, soured afterwards by contentions between themselves, turned to bitter hatred. A treaty of marriage between Silana and Sextius Africanus, a citizen of illustrious rank, was rendered abortive by the ill offices of Agrippina. She told the lover, that his mistress, though no longer in the prime of life, was of a dissolute character, and still abandoned to her vicious pleasures. In

this act of hostility love had no kind of share. Agrippina had not so much as a wish for the person of Africanus; but Silana enjoyed large possessions, and being a widow without children, her whole fortune might devolve to the husband.

Silana, from that moment, was stung with resentment. The season for revenge she thought was now arrived, and, for that purpose, she employed Iturius and Calvisius, two of her creatures, to frame an accusation against Agrippina, not on the ground of the old and threadbare story about her grief for Britannicus, and her zeal for Octavia; but with a deeper intent, that revenge might have its full blow. The head of the accusation was, that Agrippina had conspired with Rubellius Plautus, a descendant of Augustus, by the maternal line in the same degree as Nero, to bring about a revolution, and, in that event, to marry the usurper, and once more invade the commonwealth. With this charge, drawn up in form, Iturius and Calvisius sought Atimetus, one of the freedmen of Domitia, the emperor's aunt. A fitter person could not be chosen; he knew the enmity that subsisted between his mistress and Agrippina, and, for that reason, listened eagerly to the information. Having heard the particulars, he employed Paris the comedian (who had likewise received his freedom from Domitia), and, by him, conveyed the whisper to the emperor, with circumstances of aggravation.

XX. The night was far advanced, and Nero passed the time in riot and gay carousal, when Paris entered the apartment. In the prince's parties he had always been a pimp of pleasure; but now a messenger of ill news, he appeared with an air of dejection. He laid open the particulars of the charge. Nero heard him with dismay and terror. In the first agitations of his mind he resolved to despatch his mother, and Plautus, her accomplice. Burrhus was no longer to command the prætorian bands: he was the creature of Agrippina, raised at first by her influence, and in his heart a secret friend to her and her interest. If we may credit Fabius Rusticus, a commission was actually made out, and sent to Cæcina Tuscus; but recalled, at the request of Seneca, who interposed to save his friend from disgrace. According to Cluvius and Pliny, the honour of Burrhus was never called in question. To say the truth, the authority of Fabius Rusticus is not free from suspicion. He flourished under the protection of Seneca, and the gratitude

of the writer embraces every opportunity to adorn the character of his patron.

The historical evidence is fairly before the reader, agreeably to the design of this work, which professes to depend, at all times, on the testimony of authors, when they agree among themselves; and, when they differ, to state the points in dispute, with the reasons on each side. Nero was distracted with doubt and fear. In the tumult of his thoughts, he determined to despatch his mother without delay. Nor was his fury to be restrained till Burrhus pledged himself, if the charged was verified, to see execution done upon her; but to be heard in answer to the accusation, he said, was the right of the meanest person, much more so of a mother. In the present case, no charge was made in form; no prosecutor appeared; the whole was nothing but the whisper of a busy talebearer, who brought intelligence from the house of an enemy; but the time chosen for the discovery makes the whole improbable. Paris the informer came in the dead of night; and after many hours spent in carousing, what can be expected, but confusion, ignorance, and fatal temerity?

XXI. Nero was pacified by this reasoning. At the dawn of day, proper persons were sent to Agrippina, to inform her of the allegations against her, and to hear her defence. The commission was executed by Burrhus in the presence of Seneca, and a number of freedmen, who were sent to watch the whole proceeding. Burrhus stated the charge; he named the informers, and, in a tone of severity, enforced every circumstance. Agrippina heard him undismayed, and with the pride and spirit of her character, replied as follows: "That Silana, who has never known the labours of child-bed, should be a stranger to the affections of a mother, cannot be a matter of surprise. A woman of profligate manners may change her adulterers, but a mother cannot renounce her children. If Iturius and Calvisius, two bankrupts in fame as well as fortune, have sold themselves to an old woman, is it of course that I must be guilty of a crime which they have fabricated? And must my son, at the instigation of two such miscreants, commit a parricide? Let Domitia show her kindness to my son; let her vie with tenderness like mine, and I will forgive her malice; I will even thank her for it. But she is in league with Atimetus, who is known to be her paramour: Paris, the stage-player, lends his aid: the talents that figured in the theatre, he hopes, will be able to plan a real tragedy.

"At the time when my cares were busy to make Nero

the adopted son of Claudius; to invest him with proconsular dignity, and declare him consul elect: when I was labouring to open to my son the road to empire, where was Domitia then? Her ponds and lakes at Baiæ engrossed all her attention. Stand forth the man, who can prove that I tampered with the city guards; that I seduced the provinces from their allegiance, or endeavoured to corrupt the slaves and freedmen of the emperor. Had Britannicus obtained the imperial dignity, could I have hoped to live in safety? And if Rubellius Plautus, or any other person, had seized the reins of government, can it be supposed that my enemies would not have seized their opportunity to exhibit their charge, not for intemperate words, thrown out in the warmth of passion, the effusion of a mother's jealousy, but for real crimes, and those of so deep a dye, that no man can forgive them, except a son, for whom they were committed?" Such was the language of Agrippina. The warmth and energy with which she delivered herself, made an impression on all who heard her. They endeavoured to soften affliction, and mitigate the violence of her feelings. She demanded an interview with her son, and the meeting was granted. In his presence she scorned to enter into a vindication of herself. To answer the charge might betray too much diffidence; nor did she dwell on the services which she had rendered to her son; that were to tax him with ingratitude. Her object was to punish her accusers, and reward her friends. She succeeded in both.

XXII. The superintendence of corn and grain was granted to Fænius Rufus. The public spectacles, then intended by the emperor, were committed to the care of Arruntius Stella. The province of Egypt was assigned to Caius Balbillus,[1] and that of Syria to Publius Anteius. But the last was the bubble of promises, and never suffered to proceed to his government. Silana was sent into exile. Calvisius and Iturius[2] shared the same fate. Atimetus was punished with death. Paris, the comedian, was of too much conse-

[1] Seneca calls Balbillus the best of men, and a scholar of uncommon erudition. *Virorum optimus, in omni literarum genere rarissimus.*

[2] The Romans had three ways of exterminating a man from his country; namely, *Exilium*, *Relegatio*, and *Deportatio*. The person condemned to exile lost the rights of a citizen, and forfeited all kinds of property. Sentence of relegation removed the person to a certain distance from Rome; but, if no fine was imposed, it took away no other right. *Deportation* was invented by Augustus. It was the severest kind of banishment. The person condemned was hurried away in chains, stripped of all property, and confined to some island or inhospitable place.

quence: he had the art of ministering to the pleasures of the prince: his vices saved him. Rubellius Plautus was, for the present, passed by in silence.

XXIII. Soon after this transaction, Pallas and Burrhus were charged with a conspiracy to raise Cornelius Sylla to the imperial seat, in consideration of his illustrious birth, and the affinity which he bore to Claudius, being, by his marriage with Antonia, the son-in-law of that emperor. In this business, a man of the name of Pætus was the prosecutor; a busy pragmatical fellow, notorious for harassing his fellow-citizens with confiscations to the treasury, and on the present occasion a manifest impostor. To find Pallas innocent would not have been unpleasant to the fathers, if the arrogance of the man had not given disgust to all. In the course of the trial, some of his freedmen being mentioned as accomplices in the plot, he thought proper to answer, "That among his domestics he never condescended to speak: he signified his pleasure by a nod, or a motion of his hand. If the business required special directions, he committed his mind to paper, unwilling to mix in discourse with people so much beneath his notice." Burrhus, though involved in the prosecution, took his seat on the bench with the judges, and pronounced his opinion. Pætus was condemned to banishment, and all his papers, which he preserved as documents to be used in the revival of treasury-suits, were committed to the flames.

XXIV. Towards the close of the year, the custom of having a cohort on duty, at the exhibition of the public spectacles, was entirely laid aside. By this measure the people were amused with a show of liberty; and the soldiers, being thus removed from the licentiousness of the theatre, were no longer in danger of tainting the discipline of the army with the vices of the city. From this experiment it was to be further seen, whether the populace, freed from the control of the military, would be observant of decency and good order. The temples of Jupiter and Minerva being struck with lightning, the emperor, by the advice of the soothsayers, ordered a solemn lustration to purify the city.

XXV. The consulship of Quintus Volusius and Publius Scipio [A.U.C. 809, A.D. 56] was remarkable for the tranquillity that prevailed in all parts of the empire, and the corruption of manners that disgraced the city of Rome. Of all the worst enormities Nero was the author. In the garb of a slave, he roved through the streets, visited the brothels, and rambled through all by-places, attended by a band of rioters,

who seized the wares and merchandise exposed to sale, and offered violence to all that fell in their way. In these frolics, Nero was so little suspected to be a party, that he was roughly handled in several frays. He received wounds on some occasions, and his face was disfigured with a scar. It was not long, however, before it transpired that the emperor was become a night-brawler. The mischief from that moment grew more alarming. Men of rank were insulted, and women of the first condition suffered gross indignities. The example of the prince brought midnight riots into fashion. Private persons took their opportunity, with a band of loose companions, to annoy the public streets. Every quarter was filled with tumult and disorder, insomuch that Rome, at night, resembled a city taken by storm. In one of these wild adventures, Julius Montanus, of senatorian rank, but not yet advanced to the magistracy, happened to encounter the emperor and his party. Being attacked with force, he made a resolute defence; and finding, afterwards, that Nero was the person whom he discomfited in the fray, he endeavoured to soften resentment by apologies for his behaviour: but the excuse was considered as a reflection on the prince, and Montanus was compelled to die.

Nero persisted in this course of debauchery, and, for the safety of his person, took with him a party of soldiers, and a gang of gladiators. These men, in slight and accidental skirmishes, kept aloof from the fray; but if warm and active spirits made a stout resistance, they became parties in the quarrel, and cut their way sword in hand. The theatre, at the same time, was a scene of uproar and violent contention. The partisans of the players waged a kind of civil war. Nero encouraged them, not only with impunity, but with ample rewards. He was often a secret spectator of the tumult; and, at length, did not blush to appear in the face of the public. These disturbances were so frequent, that, from a people divided into factions, there was reason to apprehend some dreadful convulsion: the only remedy left, was to banish the players out of Italy, and once more make the soldiers mount the guard at the theatre.

XXVI. About this time, the enfranchised slaves, by the insolence of their behaviour to the patrons who had given them their freedom, provoked a debate in the senate. It was proposed to pass a law, empowering the patron to reclaim his right over such as made an improper use of their liberty. The fathers were willing to adopt the measure,

but the consuls did not choose to put the question before due notice was given to the emperor. They reported the case, and the substance of the debate, requesting to know whether the prince would, of his own authority, enact a law that had but few to oppose it. In support of the motion, it had been argued, that the freedmen were leagued in a faction against their patrons, and had the insolence to think them answerable for their conduct in the senate. They went so far as to threaten violence to their persons; they raised their hands against their benefactors, and, with audacious contumacy, presumed to hinder them from seeking redress in due course of law. The patron, it is true, has peculiar privileges: but in what do they consist? In the empty power of banishing the freedman, who proves unworthy of the favour bestowed upon him, to the distance of twenty miles from Rome; that is, to send him, by way of punishment, to the delightful plains of Campania. In every other point of view, the freedman is on a level with the highest citizen. He enjoys equal privileges. It were, therefore, a prudent measure to arm the patron with coercive authority, effectual for the purpose, and of force not to be eluded. The manumitted slave should "be taught to prolong the enjoyment of his liberty by the same behaviour that obtained it at first. Nor could this be deemed an oppressive law; since, as often as the freedman showed no sense of duty or subordination, to reduce them to their primitive servitude would be the soundest policy. When gratitude has no effect, coercion is the proper remedy."

XXVII. In answer to this reasoning, it was contended by the opposite party, "that, in all cases of partial mischief, punishment should fall on the guilty only. For the delinquency of a few, the rights of all ought not to be taken away. The freedmen were a large and numerous body. From them the number of the tribes was completed, the magistrates were supplied with inferior officers, the sacerdotal orders with assistants, and the prætorian cohorts with recruits. Many of the Roman knights, and even the senators, had no other origin. Deduct the men whose fathers were enfranchised, and the number of freeborn citizens will dwindle into nothing. When the ranks of society were established at Rome, it was the wisdom of the old republic to make liberty the common right of all, not the prerogative of a few. The power of conferring freedom was also regulated, and two different modes[1]

[1] The Romans had two different modes of enfranchisement, or of granting freedom to their slaves. The first was performed by the prætor, who ordered

were established, to the end that the patron, if he saw reason for it, might either revoke his grant, or confirm it by additional bounty. The man enfranchised, without proper ceremonies before the prætor, was liable to be claimed again by his master. But it is the business of the patron to consider well the character of his slave; till he knows the merit of the man, let him withhold his generosity; but when freedom is fairly bestowed, there ought to be no resumption of the grant." To this last opinion Nero acceded. He signified his pleasure to the senate, that, in all causes between the patron and his freedman, they should decide on the particular circumstances of the case, without derogating from the rights of the body at large. Soon after this regulation, Paris, who had received his freedom from Domitia, the emperor's aunt, was removed from her domestic train, and declared to be a freeborn citizen.[1] The colour of law was given to this proceeding; but the judgment was known to be dictated by the prince, and the infamy, therefore, was all his own.

XXVIII. There remained, notwithstanding, even at this juncture, an image of ancient liberty. A proof of this occurred in a contest that took place between Vibullius, the prætor, and Antistius, tribune of the people. Certain partisans of the players had been, for their tumultuous behaviour, committed to jail by the prætor. The tribune interposed his authority, and released the prisoners. This conduct was condemned by the senate, as extra-judicial and illegal. A decree passed, ordaining that the tribunes should not presume to counteract the jurisdiction of the prætor, or the consuls; nor to summon to their own tribunal men who resided in different parts of Italy, and were amenable to the municipal laws of the colony. It was further settled, on the motion of Lucius Piso, consul elect, that it should not be competent to

the slave to turn round, and with a switch or cane struck him on the head or back, informing him that he was thereby manumitted. The second way of granting freedom was by writing under the master's hand, or by his voluntary declaration in the presence of a few friends. The most solemn mode of manumission was that by the rod, called *Vindicta:* hence Perseus the satirist says, *Vindicta postquam meus a prætore recessi.* The person so enfranchised, obtained all the rights of a Roman citizen. The second form of manumission conveyed to the slave a degree of liberty, but did not rank him in the class of citizens, nor allow him to be in any case a legal witness. The consequence was, that the patron, who granted freedom by his own private act, had time to consider whether the slave, whom he released, was worthy of a further favour. He might, if he thought proper, invest him with all the rights of a citizen by the more solemn mode of manumission before the prætor.

[1] Paris the comedian was a slave belonging to Domitia, the emperor's aunt.

the tribunes to sit in judgment at their own houses; and that the fines, imposed by their authority, should not be entered by the quæstor in the registers of the treasury, before the end of four months from the day of the sentence, that, in the meantime, the party aggrieved might have the benefit of an appeal to the consuls. The jurisdiction of the ædiles, patrician as well as plebeian, was defined and limited; the sureties which they might demand were stated with precision; and the penalties to be imposed by their authority were reduced to a certain sum. In consequence of these regulations, Helvidius Priscus, tribune of the people, seized the opportunity to proceed against Obultronius Sabinus, a quæstor of the treasury. He charged him with harassing the poor with unreasonable confiscations, and unmercifully seizing their effects to be sold by auction. To redress the grievance, Nero removed the register out of the hands of the quæstor, and left that business to the care of præfects commissioned for the purpose.

XXIX. In this department of the treasury various changes had been made, but no settled form[1] was established. In the reign of Augustus, the præfects of the treasury were chosen by the senate; but there being reason to suspect that intrigue and private views had too much influence, those officers were drawn by lot out of the list of the prætors. This mode was soon found to be defective. Chance decided, and too often wandered to men unqualified for the employment. Claudius restored the quæstors, and, to encourage them to act with vigour, promised to place them above the necessity of soliciting the suffrages of the people, and, by his own authority, to raise them to the higher magistracies. But the quæstorship being the first civil office that men could undertake, maturity of understanding was not to be expected. Nero, for that reason, chose from the prætorian rank, a set of new commissioners of known experience and tried ability.

XXX. During the same consulship, Vipsanius Lænas was found guilty of rapacity in his government of Sardinia. Cestius Proculus was prosecuted for extortion; but his accusers giving up the point, he was acquitted. Clodius Quirinalis, who had the command of the fleet at Ravenna, and by his profligate manners and various vices harassed the people in that part of Italy, with a degree of insolence

[1] It has been already observed, that *Ærarium* was the treasury of the public; *Fiscus*, that of the prince.

not to be endured by the most abject nation, was brought to his trial on a charge of rapine and oppression. To prevent the final sentence, he despatched himself by poison. About the same time Caninius Rebilus, a man distinguished by his knowledge of the laws, and his ample riches, determined to deliver himself from the miseries of old age and a broken constitution. He opened a vein, and bled to death. The event was matter of surprise to all. The fortitude, that could voluntarily rush on death, was not expected from a man softened by voluptuous enjoyments, and infamous for his effeminate manners. Lucius Volusius, who died in the same year, left a very different character. He had lived, in splendid affluence, to the age of ninety-three, esteemed for the honest arts by which he acquired immense wealth, under a succession of despotic emperors, yet never exposed to danger. He found the art of being rich and virtuous with impunity.

XXXI. Nero, with Lucius Piso for his colleague, entered on his second consulship. [A.U.C. 810, A.D. 57.] In this year we look in vain for transactions worthy of the historian's pen. The vast foundation of a new amphitheatre,[1] built by Nero in the Field of Mars, and the massy timbers employed in that magnificent structure, might swell a volume; but descriptions of that kind may be left to grace the pages of a city-journal. The dignity of the Roman people requires that these annals should not descend to a detail so minute and uninteresting. It will be proper to mention here, that Capua and Nuceria, two Roman colonies, were augmented by a body of veterans transplanted to those places. A largess of two hundred small sesterces to each man was distributed to the populace, and, to support the credit of the state, the sum of four hundred thousand great sesterces was deposited in the Treasury. The twenty-fifth penny,[2] imposed as a tax on the purchase of slaves, was remitted, with an appearance of moderation, but, in fact, without any solid advantage to the public. The payment of the duty was only shifted to the vendor, and he, to indemnify himself, raised his price on the purchaser. The emperor issued a proclamation forbidding the magistrates and imperial procurators to exhibit, in any of the provinces, a show of gladiators, wild beasts, or any other public spectacle. The practice of amusing the people with grand exhibitions had

[1] This amphitheatre was built entirely with wood.

[2] A tax on all commodities exposed to sale was imposed by Augustus.

been as sore a grievance as even the grasping hand of avarice The governors plundered the people, and by displays of magnificence hoped to disguise, or, in some degree, to make atonement for, their crimes.

XXXII. A decree passed the senate to protect, by additional terrors of law, the life of the patron from the malice of his slaves. With this view, it was enacted, that, in the case of a master slain by his domestics, execution should be done, not only on such as remained in a state of actual servitude, but likewise on all, who, by the will of the deceased, obtained their freedom, but continued to live under his roof at the time when the murder was committed. Lucius Varius, who had been degraded for rapacious avarice, was restored to his consular rank, and his seat in the senate. Pomponia Græcina, a woman of illustrious birth, and the wife of Plautius, who, on his return from Britain, entered the city with the pomp of an ovation, was accused of embracing the rites of a foreign superstition.[1] The matter was referred to the jurisdiction of her husband. Plautius, in conformity to ancient usage, called together a number of her relations, and in her presence, sat in judgment on the conduct of his wife. He pronounced her innocent. She lived to a great age, in one continued train of affliction. From the time when Julia, the daughter of Drusus, was brought to a tragical end by the wicked arts of Messalina, she never laid aside her mourning weeds, but pined in grief during a space of forty years, inconsolable for the loss of her friend. During the reign of Claudius nothing could alleviate her sorrow, nor was her perseverance imputed to her as a crime: in the end, it was the glory of her character.

XXXIII. This year produced a number of criminal accusations. Publius Celer was prosecuted by the province of Asia. The weight of evidence pressed so hard, that Nero, unable to acquit him, drew the cause into a tedious length. During that state of suspense, the criminal died of old age. Celer, the reader will remember, was an instrument in the murder of Silanus, the proconsul. The magnitude of his guilt on that occasion so far surpassed the rest of his flagitious deeds, that nothing else was deemed worthy of notice. The enormity of one atrocious crime screened him from punishment.

The Cilicians demanded justice against Cossutianus Capito, a man of an abandoned character, who at Rome had set

[1] Possibly the Christian religion.

the laws at defiance, and thought, that, with equal impunity, he might commit the same excesses in the government of his province. The prosecution was carried on with such unremitting vigour, that he abandoned his defence. He was condemned to make restitution. A suit of the same nature was commenced against Eprius Marcellus by the people of Lycia, but with different success. A powerful faction combined to support him. The consequence was, that some of the prosecutors were banished for a conspiracy against an innocent man.

XXXIV. Nero entered on his third consulship [A.U.C. 811, A.D. 58], having for his colleague Valerius Messala, the great-grandson of Corvinus Messala, the celebrated orator, who, in the memory of a few surviving old men, had been associated in the consulship with Augustus, the great-grandfather of Nero's mother, Agrippina. The prince granted to his colleague an annual pension of fifteen hundred thousand sesterces, and with that income Messala, who had fallen into blameless poverty, was able to support the dignity of his rank and character. Yearly stipends were also granted to Aurelius Cotta, and Haterius Antoninus, though they were both, by dissipation, the authors of their own distress.

In the beginning of this year, the war between the Romans and the Parthians, hitherto slow in its operations, grew warm and active on both sides. The possession of Armenia was the point still in dispute. Vologeses saw with indignation the crown, which he had settled on his brother Tiridates, withheld by force, and, to let him receive it as the gift of a foreign power, was a degree of humiliation to which his pride could not submit. On the other hand, to recover the conquests formerly made by Lucullus and Pompey was in Corbulo's judgment worthy of the Roman name. The Armenians balanced between the powers at war, and in their turn invited each. Their natural bias inclined them to the Parthians. Neighbours by situation, congenial in their manners, and by frequent intermarriages closely allied, they were willing to favour the enemies of Rome, and even inclined to submit to a Parthian master. Inured by habit to a taste of servitude, they neither understood, nor wished for, civil liberty.

XXXV. Corbulo had to struggle with the slothful disposition of his army; a mischief more embarrassing than the wily arts of the enemy. The legions from Syria joined his camp, but so enervated by the languor of peace, that they

could scarce support the labours of a campaign. It is certain, that there were amongst them veterans who had seen no service; who had never been on duty at a midnight post; who never mounted guard, and were such total strangers to a fosse and a palisade, that they gazed at both as at a novelty. They had served the term prescribed in garrison-towns, without helmets, and without breastplates, spruce and trim in their attire, by profession soldiers, yet thinking of nothing but the means of enriching themselves. Having dismissed all such as were by age and infirmity rendered unfit for the service, Corbulo ordered new levies to be made in Galatia and Cappadocia. To these he added a legion from Germany, with some troops of horse, and a detachment of infantry from the cohorts. Thus reinforced, his army kept the field, though the frost was so intense, that, without digging through the ice, it was impossible to pitch their tents. By the inclemency of the season many lost the use of their limbs, and it often happened that the sentinel died on his post. The case of one soldier deserves to be mentioned. He was employed in carrying a load of wood: his hands, nipped by the frost, and cleaving to the faggot, dropped from his arms, and fell to the ground.

The general, during the severity of the weather, gave an example of strenuous exertion; he was busy in every quarter, thinly clad, his head uncovered, in the ranks, at the works, commending the brave, relieving the weak, and by his own active vigour exciting the emulation of the men. But the rigour of the season, and the hardship of the service, were more than the soldiers could endure. The army suffered by desertion. This required an immediate remedy. The practice of lenity towards the first or second offence, which often prevailed in other armies, would have been attended with dangerous consequences. He who quitted his colours suffered death as soon as taken; and this severity proved more salutary than weak compassion. The number of deserters, from that time, fell short of what happens in other camps, where too much indulgence is the practice.

XXXVI. Having resolved to wait the return of spring, Corbulo kept his men within their intrenchments during the rest of the winter. The auxiliary cohorts were stationed at proper posts, under the command of Pactius Orphitus, who had served as principal centurion. The orders given to this officer were, that the advanced posts should by no means hazard an engagement. Orphitus sent to inform the

general, that the Barbarians spread themselves round the country with so little caution, that advantage might be taken of their imprudence. Corbulo renewed his orders, that the troops should keep within the lines, and wait for a reinforcement. Orphitus paid no regard to the command of his superior officer. A few troops of horse, from the adjacent castles, came up to join him, and, through inexperience, demanded to be led against the enemy. Orphitus risked a battle, and was totally routed. The forces posted near at hand, whose duty it was to march to the assistance of the broken ranks, fled in confusion to their intrenchments. Corbulo no sooner received intelligence of his defeat, than he resolved to pass the severest censure on the disobedience of his officer. He ordered him, his subalterns, and his men, to march out of the intrenchments,[1] and there left them in disgrace, till, at the intercession of the whole army, he gave them leave to return within the lines.

XXXVII. Meanwhile Tiridates, at the head of his vassals and followers, with a strong reinforcement sent by his brother Vologeses, invaded Armenia, not, as before, by sudden incursions, but with open hostility. Wherever the people were in the interests of Rome, he laid waste their lands; if an armed force advanced against him, he shifted his quarters, and, by the velocity of his flight, eluded the attack. He moved with rapidity from place to place, and, by the terror of a wild and desultory war, more than by the success of his arms, kept the country in a constant alarm. Corbulo endeavoured, but without effect, to bring him to an engagement. He determined, therefore, to adopt the plan of the enemy, and, for that purpose, spread his forces round the country, under the conduct of his lieutenants and other subordinate officers. At the same time he caused a diversion to be made by Antiochus, king of Syria, in the provinces of Armenia that lay contiguous to his dominions. Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, was willing, in this juncture, to co-operate with the Roman arms. He had put his son Rhadamistus to death for imputed treason, and, to make terms with Rome, while, in fact, he gratified his rooted aversion to the Armenians, he pretended to enter into the war with the zeal and ardour of a friend to the cause. The Isichians also declared for Corbulo. That people were now, for the first time, the allies of Rome. They

[1] This mode of punishment was established by ancient usage. Livy relates, that the cohorts, which had lost their colours, were obliged to remain on the outside of the camp, without their tents, and were found in that condition by Valerius Maximus the dictator.

made incursions into the wild and desert tracts of Armenia, and by a desultory rambling war distracted the operations of the enemy.

Tiridates finding himself counteracted on every side, sent ambassadors to expostulate, as well in the name of the Parthians, as for himself. "After hostages so lately delivered, and a renewal of friendship, that promised mutual advantages, why was his expulsion from the kingdom of Armenia the fixed, the avowed intention of the Roman army? If Vologeses was not as yet in motion with the whole strength of his kingdom, it was because he wished to prevail by the justice of his cause, and not by force of arms. If the sword must be drawn, the event would show that the Arsacides had not forgot that warlike spirit which, on former occasions, had been fatal to the Roman name." Corbulo heard this magnificent language; but, being informed, by sure intelligence, that the revolt of the Hyrcanians found employment for Vologeses, he returned for answer, that the wisest measure Tiridates could pursue, would be to address himself in a suppliant style to the emperor of Rome. The kingdom of Armenia, settled on a solid basis, might be his without the effusion of blood, and the havoc of a destructive war, if to distant and chimerical hopes he preferred moderate measures and present security.

XXXVIII. From this time the business fell into a train of negotiation. Frequent despatches passed between both armies; but no progress being made towards a conclusive treaty, it was at length agreed that, at a fixed time and place, the two chiefs should come to an interview. Tiridates gave notice that he should bring with him a guard of a thousand horse: the number which Corbulo might choose for his own person, he did not take upon him to prescribe; all he desired was, that they should come with a pacific disposition, and advance to the congress without their breast-plates and their helmets. This stroke of eastern perfidy was not so fine, but even the dullest capacity, not to mention an experienced general, might perceive the latent fraud. The number limited on one side, and to the opposite party left indefinite, carried with it a specious appearance; but the lurking treachery was too apparent. The Parthian cavalry excelled in the dexterity of managing the bow and arrow; and, without defensive armour, what would be the use of superior numbers? Aware of the design, but choosing to disguise his sentiments, Corbulo calmly answered, that the

business being of a public nature, the discussion of it ought to be in the presence of both armies. For the convention he appointed a place enclosed on one side by a soft acclivity of gently rising hills, where the infantry might be posted to advantage, with a vale beneath, stretching to an extent that gave ample space for the cavalry. On the stated day Corbulo advanced to the meeting, with his forces in regular order. In the wings were stationed the allies and the auxiliaries sent by the kings in friendship with Rome. The sixth legion formed the centre, strengthened by a reinforcement of three thousand men from the third legion, drafted in the night from the neighbouring camp. Being embodied under one eagle, they presented the appearance of a single legion. Towards the close of day, Tiridates occupied a distant ground, visible indeed, but never within hearing. Not being able to obtain a conference, the Roman general ordered his men to file off to their respective quarters.

XXXIX. Tiridates left the field with precipitation, alarmed at the various movements of the Roman army, and fearing the danger of an ambuscade, or, perhaps, intending to cut off the supplies of provisions then on the way from the city of Trebizonde and the Pontic Sea. But the supplies were conveyed over the mountains, where a chain of posts was formed, to secure the passes. A slow and lingering war was now to be apprehended: to bring it to a speedy issue, and compel the Armenians to act on the defensive, Corbulo resolved to level their castles to the ground. The strongest fort in that quarter was known by the name of VOLANDUM: the demolition of that place he reserved for himself, and against the towns of inferior note he sent Cornelius Flaccus, a lieutenant-general, and Insteius Capito, præfect of the camp. Having reconnoitred the works, and prepared for the assault, he harangued his men in effect as follows: "You have now to do with a dastardly and fugitive enemy; a vagabond race, always roving in predatory bands, betraying at once their unwarlike spirit and their perfidy; impatient of peace, and cowards in war. The time is arrived, when the whole nation may be exterminated: by one brave exploit you may gain both fame and booty to reward your valour." Having thus inflamed the spirit of his men, he arranged them in four divisions: one close embodied under their shields, forming a military shell, to sap the foundation of the ramparts; a second party advanced with ladders to scale the walls; a third with their warlike engines threw into the

place a shower of darts and missive fire; while the slingers and archers posted at a convenient distance, discharged a volley of metal and huge massy stones.

To keep the enemy employed in every quarter, the attack was made on all sides at once. In less than four hours the Barbarians were driven from their stations; the ramparts were left defenceless, the gates were forced, and the works taken by scalade. A dreadful slaughter followed. All who were capable of carrying arms were put to the sword. On the part of the Romans only one man was killed; the number of wounded was inconsiderable. The women and children were sold to slavery: the rest was left to be plundered by the soldiers. The operations of Flaccus and Capito were attended with equal success. In one day three castles were taken by storm. A general panic overspread the country. From motives of fear or treachery the inhabitants surrendered at discretion. Encouraged by these prosperous events, Corbulo was now resolved to lay siege in form to Artaxata, the capital of the kingdom. He did not, however, think it advisable to march the nearest way. The river Araxes washes the walls of the city: the legions would have found it necessary to construct the necessary bridges in sight of the enemy, exposed to their darts and missive weapons. They took a wider circuit, and forded over where the current was broad and shallow.

XL. Tiridates was thown into the utmost distress. Shame and fear took possession of him by turns. If he suffered a blockade to be formed, his weak condition would be too apparent; if he attempted to raise the siege, his cavalry might be surrounded in the narrow defiles. He resolved to show himself towards the close of day in order of battle, and next morning, either to attack the Romans, or, by a sudden retreat, to draw them into an ambuscade. With this intent he made a sudden movement, and surrounded the legions. The attempt gave no alarm to Corbulo: prepared for all events, he had marshalled his men either for action or a march. The third legion took post in the right wing; the sixth advanced on the left; and a select detachment from the tenth formed the centre. The baggage was secure between the ranks: a body of a thousand horse brought up the rear, with orders to face the enemy whenever an attack was made, but never to pursue them. The foot archers, and the rest of the cavalry, were distributed in the wings. The left extended their ranks towards the foot

of the hills, in order, if the Barbarians advanced on that side, to hem them in between the front lines and the centre of the army. Tiridates contented himself with vain parade, shifting his ground with celerity, yet never within the throw of a dart, advancing, retreating, and, by every stratagem, trying to make the Romans open their ranks, and leave themselves liable to be attacked in scattered parties. His efforts were without effect: one officer, who commanded a troop of horse, advanced from his post, and fell under a volley of darts. His temerity restrained the rest of the army. Towards the close of day, Tiridates, seeing his wiles defeated, withdrew with all his forces.

XLI. Corbulo encamped on the spot. Having reason to imagine that Tiridates would throw himself into the city of Artaxata, he debated whether it would not be best, without loss of time, to push forward by rapid marches, and lay siege to the place. While he remained in suspense, intelligence was brought by the scouts that the prince set off at full speed towards some distant region, but whether to Media or Albania, was uncertain. He resolved, therefore, to wait the return of day, and in the meantime despatched the light-armed cohorts, with orders to invest the city, and begin their attack at a proper distance. The inhabitants threw open their gates, and surrendered at discretion. Their lives were saved, but the town was reduced to ashes. No other measure could be adopted; the walls were of wide extent, and a sufficient garrison could not be spared, at a time when it was necessary to prosecute the war with vigour; and if the city were left unhurt, the advantage, as well as glory of the conquest, would be lost. To these reasons were added an extraordinary appearance in the heavens. It happened that the sun-beams played with brilliant lustre on the adjacent country, making the whole circumference a scene of splendour, while the precinct of the town was covered with the darkest gloom, at intervals rendered still more awful by flashes of lightning, that served to show the impending horror. This phenomenon was believed to be the wrath of the gods denouncing the destruction of the city.

For these transactions Nero was saluted IMPERATOR. The senate decreed a solemn thanksgiving. Statues and triumphal arches were erected, and the prince was declared perpetual consul. The day on which the victory was gained, and also that on which the news arrived at Rome, and the

report was made to the senate, were by a decree to be observed as annual festivals. Many other votes were passed with the same spirit of adulation, all in their tendency so excessive, that Caius Cassius, who had concurred with every motion, observed at last, that if, for the benignity of the gods to the Roman people, due thanks were to be voted, acts of religion would engross the whole year; and therefore, care should be taken to fix the days of devotion at proper intervals, that they might not encroach too much on the business of civil life.

XLII. About this time a man who had suffered various revolutions of fortune, and by his vices had brought on himself the public detestation, was cited to answer a charge exhibited against him before the senate. He was condemned, but not without fixing a stain on the character of Seneca. Suillius[1] was the person: in the reign of Claudius he had been the scourge and terror of his fellow-citizens; a venal orator, and an informer by profession. In the late change of government he had been much reduced, but not low enough to gratify the resentment of his enemies. His spirit was still unconquered. Rather than descend to humble supplications, he preferred the character of a convicted malefactor. To come at this man, a late decree of the senate, reviving the pains and penalties of the Cincian law[2] against such advocates as received a price for their eloquence, was thought to have been framed by the advice of Seneca. Suillius exclaimed against the proceeding. At his time of life he had little to fear. To the natural ferocity of his temper he now added a contempt of danger.

He poured out a torrent of invective, and in particular railed with acrimony against Seneca. "The philosopher," he said, "was an enemy to the friends of Claudius. He had been banished by that emperor, and the disgrace was not inflicted without just reason. He is now grown old in the pursuit of frivolous literature, a vain retailer of rhetoric to raw and inexperienced boys. He beholds with an eye of envy all, who, in the defence of their fellow citizens, exert a pure, a sound, a manly eloquence. That Suillius lived with reputation in the service of Germanicus is a fact well known. He was quæstor under that prince

[1] For Suillius, see *Annals*, iv. 31, xi. 1.

[2] For the Cincian law against the venality of orators, see *Annals*, xi. and 7.

while Seneca corrupted the morals of his daughter, and dishonoured the family. If it be a crime to receive from a client the reward of honest industry, what shall be said of him, who steals into the chamber of a princess to debauch her virtue?[1] By what system of ethics, and by what rules of philosophy, has this professor warped into the favour of the emperor, and, in less than four years, amassed three hundred million of sesterces? Through the city of Rome his snares are spread; last wills and testimonies are his quarry; and the rich, who have no children, are his prey. By exorbitant usury he has overwhelmed all Italy; the provinces are exhausted, and he is still insatiate. The wealth of Suillius cannot be counted great; but it is the fruit of honest industry. He is now determined to bid defiance to his enemies, and hazard all consequences, rather than derogate from his rank and the glory of his life, by poorly yielding to a new man; an upstart in the state; a sudden child of fortune."

XLIII. By a set of officious talebearers, who love to carry intelligence, and inflame it with the addition of their own malevolence, these bitter invectives were conveyed to Seneca. The enemies of Suillius were set to work: they charged him with rapine and peculation during his government in Asia. To substantiate these allegations, twelve months were allowed to the prosecutors: but that put off their vengeance to a distant day. To shorten their work, they chose to proceed upon a new charge, without going out of Rome for witnesses. The accusation stated, "That by a virulent prosecution he had driven Quintus Pomponius into open rebellion; that by his pernicious arts Julia, the daughter of Drusus, and Poppæa Sabina, were forced to put a period to their lives; that Valerius Asiaticus, Lusius Saturninus, and Cornelius Lupus, with a long list of Roman knights, were all cut off by his villainy; and, in short, every act of cruelty in the reign of Claudius was imputed to him." To these charges Suillius answered, that he acted always under the immediate orders of the prince, and never of his own motion. Nero overruled that defence, averring, that he had inspected all the papers of the late emperor, and from those vouchers it plainly appeared, that not one prosecution was set on foot by the order of Claudius. The criminal resorted to the commands of Messalina; but, by shifting his ground, his cause grew

[1] This was Julia, the daughter of Germanicus.

weaker. Why, it was argued, was he the only person who lent himself to the wicked designs of that pernicious prostitute? Shall the perpetrator of evil deeds, who has received his hire, be allowed to transfer his guilt to the person who paid him the wages of his iniquity?

Suillius was condemned, and his effects were confiscated, except a part allowed to his son and granddaughter, in addition to what was left to them under the will of their mother, and their grandmother. He was banished to the islands called the Baleares. During the whole of the trial, he behaved with undaunted firmness, and even after the sentence his spirit was still unbroken. He was said to have lived in his lone retreat, not only at ease, but in voluptuous affluence. His enemies intended to wreak their malice on his son Nerulinus, and, with that view, charged him with extortion. Nero checked the prosecution; the ends of justice being, as he thought, sufficiently answered.

XLIV. It happened, at this time, that Octavius Sagitta, tribune of the people, fell in love to distraction with a married woman of the name of Pontia. By presents and unbounded generosity he seduced her to his embraces, and afterwards, by a promise of marriage, engaged her consent to a divorce from her husband. Pontia was no sooner free from the nuptial tie, than her imagination opened to her other prospects. She affected delays; her father made objections; she had hopes of a better match, and finally she refused to perform her contract. Octavius expostulated; he complained; he threatened; his reputation suffered and his fortune was ruined. His life was all that he had left, and that he was ready to sacrifice at her command. His suit, however earnest, made no impression. In despair he begged one night only; that small indulgence would assuage his sorrows, and take the sting from disappointment. The assignation was made. Pontia ordered her servant, who was privy to the intrigue, to watch her bedchamber. The lover went to his appointment. He carried with him one of his freedmen, and a poniard under his robe. The scene which usually occurs, when love is stung to jealousy, was acted between the parties; reproaches, fond endearments, rage, and tenderness, war and peace, took their turn.

Part of the night was passed in mutual enjoyment. At length, Octavius, in the moment of soft security, when

the unhappy victim thought all violence at an end, seized his dagger, and sheathed it in her heart. The maid rushed in to assist her mistress. Octavius wounded her, and made his escape. On the following day, the murder was reported abroad; and the hand that gave the blow was strongly suspected. Octavius, it was certain, had passed the night with the deceased; but his freedman boldly stood forth, and took the crime upon himself. It was his deed; an act of justice due to an injured master. This generous fortitude from the mouth of an assassin was heard with astonishment, and for some time gained credit, till the maid, who had recovered from her wound, disclosed the particulars of the whole transaction. Pontia's father appealed to the tribunal of the consuls, and Octavius, as soon as his office of tribune ceased, was condemned to suffer the penalties of the Cornelian law against assassins.[1]

XLV. In the course of the same year, another scene of libidinous passion was brought forward, more important than that which we have related, and, in the end, the cause of public calamity. Sabina Poppæa, at that time lived at Rome in a style of taste and elegance. She was the daughter of Titus Ollius, but she took her name from Poppæus Sabinus, her grandfather by the maternal line. Her father Ollius was, at one time, rising to the highest honours; but being a friend of Sejanus, he was involved in the ruin of that minister. The grandfather had figured on the stage of public business. He was of consular rank, and obtained the honour of a triumph. To be the known descendant of a man so distinguished, flattered the vanity of Poppæa. Virtue excepted, she possessed all the qualities that adorn the female character. Her mother was the reigning beauty of her time. From her the daughter inherited nobility of birth, with all the graces of an elegant form. Her fortune was equal to her rank; her conversation had every winning art; her talents were cultivated, and her wit refined. She knew how to assume an air of modesty, and yet pursue lascivious pleasures; in her deportment, decent; in her heart, a libertine. When she appeared in public, which was but seldom, she wore a veil, that shaded, or seemed to shade, her face; perhaps intending that her beauty should not wear out or tarnish to the eye; or because that style of dress was most becoming. To the voice of fame she

[1] He was sent into banishment.

paid no regard: her husband and her adulterer were equally welcome to her embraces. Love, with her, was not an affair of the heart. Knowing no attachment herself, she required none from others. Where she saw her interest, there she bestowed her favours; a politician even in her pleasures. She was married to Rufius Crispinus, a Roman knight, and was by him the mother of a son;[1] but Otho, a youth of expectation, luxurious, prodigal, and high in favour with Nero, attracted her regard. She yielded to his addresses, and, in a short time, married the adulterer.

XLVI. Otho, in company with the emperor, grew lavish in her praise. Her beauty and her elegant manners were his constant theme. He talked, perhaps, with the warmth and indiscretion of a lover; perhaps, with a design to inflame the passions of Nero, and from their mutual relish of the same enjoyments to derive new strength to support his interest. Rising from Nero's table, he was often heard to say, "I am going to the arms of her, who possesses every amiable accomplishment; by her birth ennobled; endeared by beauty; the wish of all beholders, and to the favoured man the source of true delight." Nero became enamoured. No time was lost. Poppæa received his visits. At the first interview she called forth all her charms, and insured her conquest. She admired the dignity of the prince. His air, his manner, and his looks were irresistible. By this well-acted fondness she gained entire dominion over his affections. Proud of her success, she thought it time to act her part with female airs and coy reluctance. If Nero wished to detain her more than a night or two, she could not think of complying; she was married to a man whom she loved. She could not risk the loss of a situation so perfectly happy. Otho led a life of taste and elegance, unrivalled in his pleasures. Under his roof she saw nothing but magnificence, in a style worthy of the highest station. She objected to Nero that he had contracted different habits. He lived in close connection with Acte, a low-born slave; and from so mean a commerce, what could be expected but sordid manners and degenerate sentiment! From that moment, Otho lost his interest with the prince: he

[1] The name of the son was Rufinus Crispinus, who, we are told by Suetonius, was thrown into the sea by order of Nero, because he was reported to act among his play-fellows the part of a general or an emperor. Otho, who succeeded so well with Poppæa, was afterwards emperor.

had orders neither to frequent the palace, nor to show himself in the train of attendants. At length, to remove a rival, Nero made him governor of Lusitania. Otho quitted Rome, and, till the breaking out of the civil wars, continued in the administration of his province, a firm and upright magistrate, in this instance exhibiting to the world that wonderful union of repugnant qualities which marked the man; in private life, luxurious, profligate, and prone to every vice; in his public capacity, prudent, just, and temperate in the use of power.

XLVII. It was in this juncture that Nero first threw off the mask. He had hitherto cloaked the vices of his nature. The person whom he dreaded most, was Cornelius Sylla; a man, in fact, of a dull and sluggish understanding; but his stupidity passed with Nero for profound thinking, and the deep reserve of a dangerous politician. In this idea he was confirmed by the malignity of one Graptus, a man enfranchised by the emperor, and from the reign of Tiberius hackneyed in the practice of courts. He framed an artful story. The Milvian bridge was, at that time, the fashionable scene of midnight revelry: being out of the limits of Rome, the emperor thought that he might riot, at that place, with unbounded freedom. Graptus told him, that a conspiracy had been formed against his life, and the villains lay in ambush on the Flaminian way; but as fortune would have it, the prince, by passing through the Sallustian gardens, escaped the snare. To give colour to this invented tale, he alleged the following circumstance: In one of the riots which were common in those dissolute times, a set of young men fell into a skirmish with the attendants of the emperor. This, he said, was a concerted plot, and Sylla was the author of it, though not so much as one of his clients, nor even a slave of his, was found to have been of the party. Sylla, in fact, had neither capacity nor spirit for an undertaking so big with danger; and yet, on the suggestion of Graptus, which was received as positive proof, he was obliged to quit his country, and reside, for the future, in the city of Marseilles.

XLVIII. During the same consulship, the senate gave audience to the deputies, from the magistrates and the people of Puteoli. The former complained of the licentiousness of the populace, and the latter retaliated, in bitter terms, against the pride and avarice of the nobles. It appeared that the mob rose in a tumultuous body,

discharging volleys of stones, and threatening to set fire to the houses. A general massacre was likely to be the consequence. Caius Cassius was despatched to quell the insurrection. His measures, too harsh and violent for the occasion, served only to irritate the people. He was recalled, at his own request, and the two Scribonii were sent to supply his place. They took with them a prætorian cohort. By the terror of a military force, and the execution of a few ringleaders, the public tranquillity was restored.

XLIX. A decree of the senate, which had no higher object than to authorise the people of Syracuse to exceed, in their public spectacles, the number of gladiators limited by law, would be matter too trite, and unworthy of notice, if the opposition, made by Pætus Thrasea, had not excited against that excellent man a number of enemies. They seized the opportunity to traduce his character. "If he is, as he pretends to be, seriously of opinion, that the public good requires liberty of speech and freedom of debate, why descend to things so frivolous in their nature? Are peace and war of no importance? When laws are in question; when tributes and imposts are the subject before the fathers, and when points of the first importance are in agitation, where is his eloquence then? Every senator, who rises in his place, has the privilege of moving whatever he conceives to be conducive to the public welfare; and what he moves, he has a right to discuss, to debate, and put to the vote. And yet to regulate the amphitheatre of Syracuse is the sole business of a professed and zealous patriot! Is the administration in all its parts so fair and perfect, that even Thrasea himself, if he held the reins of government, could find nothing to reform? If he suffers matters of the first importance to pass in silence, why amuse us with a mock debate on questions, wherein no man finds himself interested?"

The friends of Thrasea desired an explanation of his conduct; his answer was as follows: When he rose to make his objections to the law in question, he was not ignorant of the mismanagement that prevailed in all departments of the government; but the principle on which he acted, had in view the honour of the senate. When matters of little moment drew the attention of the fathers, men would see that affairs of importance could not escape a body of men, who thought nothing that concerned the public beneath their notice.

L. The complaints of the people, in the course of this year, against the oppressions practised by the collectors[1] of the revenue, were so loud and violent, that Nero was inclined to abolish the whole system of duties and taxes, thereby to serve the interests of humanity, and bestow on mankind the greatest blessing in his power. To this generous sentiment the fathers gave the highest applause; but the design they said, however noble, was altogether impracticable. To abrogate all taxes, were to cut off the resources of government, and dissolve the commonwealth. Repeal the imposts on trade, and what would be the consequence? The tribute paid by the provinces must, in like manner, be remitted. The several companies that farmed the revenue were established by the consuls and tribunes of Rome, in the period of liberty, when the old republic flourished in all its glory. The revenue system, which has since grown up, was farmed on a fair estimate, proportioned to the demands of government. It would, indeed, be highly proper to restrain within due bounds the conduct of the collectors, that the several duties which were sanctioned by the acquiescence of ages, might not, by oppression and rapacity, be converted into a grievance too rigorous to be endured.

LI. Nero issued a proclamation, directing that the revenue laws, till that time kept among the mysteries of state, should be drawn up in form, and entered on the public tables for the inspection of all degrees and ranks of men. It was also made a rule, that no arrear of more than a year's standing should be recovered by the taxgatherers, and, in all cases of complaint against those officers, the same should be heard and decided in a summary way, by the prætor at Rome, and in the provinces by the proprætors or proconsuls. To the soldiers all former privileges and immunities were preserved, with an exception of the duties on merchandise, if they entered into trade. Many other regulations were added, all just and equitable, and, for some time, strictly observed, but suffered afterwards to fall into disuse. The abolition, however, of the fortieth and the fiftieth penny, with many other exactions, invented by the avarice of the publicans, still continues in force. The exportation of corn, from the provinces beyond sea, was also put under proper regulations; the imposts were diminished;

[1] The oppressions exercised by this class of men are often mentioned by Tacitus, Livy, and other Roman historians.

the shipping employed in commerce was not to be rated in the estimate of the merchants' effects, and, of course, stood exempted from all duties.

LII. Sulpicius Camerinus and Pomponius Silvanus, who had governed in Africa with proconsular authority, were both accused of maladministration, and acquitted by the emperor. The accusers of Camerinus were few in number, and their allegations were private acts of cruelty to individuals, not rapine or extortion, or any charge of a public nature. Silvanus was beset by powerful enemies. They prayed time to produce their witnesses: the defendant pressed for an immediate hearing. He was rich, advanced in years, and had no children; the consequence was, that a strong party espoused his interest. He triumphed over his enemies, and his friends went unrewarded. They hoped by their services to merit his estate, but he survived them all.

LIII. During this whole period, a settled calm prevailed in Germany. The commanders, in that quarter, plainly saw that triumphal ornaments, granted, as they had been, on every trifling occasion, were no longer an honour. To preserve the peace of the provinces they thought their truest glory. Paulinus Pompeius and Lucius Vetus were then at the head of the legions. That the soldiery, however, might not languish in a state of inaction, Paulinus finished the great work of a bank, to prevent the inundations of the Rhine; a project begun by Drusus sixty-three years before. Vetus had conceived a vast design; he had in contemplation a canal, by which the waters of the Moselle and the Arar were to be communicated, to the end that the Roman forces might be able, for the future, to enter the Rhone from the Mediterranean, and passing thence into the Arar, proceed through the new channel into the Moselle, and sail down the Rhine into the German Ocean. This plan was on a great scale: fatiguing marches over a long tract of land would be no longer necessary, and a commodious navigation would be opened between the western and the northern seas.

Ælius Gracilis, who commanded in the Belgic Gaul, heard of this magnificent plan with the jealousy of a little mind. He gave notice to Vetus, that he and his legions must not think of entering the province of another officer. Such a step, he said, would have the appearance of a design to gain the affections of the people of Gaul, and,

by consequence, might give umbrage to the emperor. In this manner, as often happens, the danger of having too much merit laid aside a project of great importance to the public.

LIV. The Barbarians, having seen the long inactivity of the Roman armies, conceived a notion that the generals had it in command not to march against the enemy. In this persuasion, the Frisians, having ordered the weak, through sex or age, to be conveyed across the lakes, marched with the flower of their young men through woods and morasses towards the banks of the Rhine, where they took possession of a large tract, vacant, indeed, at the time, but in fact appropriated to the use of the Roman soldiers. In this emigration, the leading chiefs were Verritus and Malorix, both of them sovereign princes, if sovereign power may be said to exist in Germany. They had already fixed their habitations: they began to cultivate the soil, and the lands were sown in as full security as if they occupied their native soil; when Vibius Avitus, who succeeded Paulinus in the government of the province, threatened to attack them with his whole force, if they did not evacuate the country, or obtain a settlement from the emperor. Intimidated by these menaces, the German chiefs set out for Rome. Being there obliged to wait till Nero was at leisure from other business, they employed their time in seeing such curiosities as are usually shown to strangers. They were conducted to Pompey's theatre,[1] where the grandeur of the people, in one vast assembly, could not fail to make an impression. Rude minds have no taste for the exhibitions of the theatre. They gazed at everything with a face of wonder: the place for the populace, and the different seats assigned to the several orders of the state, engaged their attention. Curiosity was excited: they inquired which were the Roman knights, and which the senators. Among the last they perceived a few, who, by their exotic dress, were known to be foreigners. They soon learned that they were ambassadors from different states, and that the privilege of mixing with the fathers was granted by way of distinction, to do honour to men, who by their courage and fidelity surpassed the rest of the world. The answer gave offence to the two chieftains. In point of valour and integrity, the Germans, they said, were second to no people

[1] Pliny the elder says, that Pompey's theatre was large enough to hold forty thousand men.

upon earth. With this stroke of national pride, they rose abruptly, and took their seats among the senators. Their rough but honest simplicity diffused a general pleasure through the audience. It was considered as the sudden impulse of liberty; a glow of generous emulation. Nero granted to the two chiefs the privilege of Roman citizens, but, at the same time, declared, that the Frisians must depart from the lands which they had presumed to occupy. The Barbarians refused to submit. A detachment of the auxiliary horse was sent forward, with orders to dislodge them. The attack was made with vigour, and all who resisted, were either taken prisoners, or put to the sword.

LV. Another irruption was soon after made in the same quarter by the Ansibarians, a people respected for their own internal strength, and still more formidable, on account of the general sympathy with which the neighbouring states beheld their sufferings. They had been driven by the Chaucians from their native land, and having no place which they could call their country, they roamed about in quest of some retreat, where they might dwell in peace, although in exile. Boiocalus, a warlike chief, was at the head of this wandering nation. He had gained renown in arms, and distinguished himself by his faithful attachment to the interests of Rome. He urged, in vindication of his conduct, that in the revolt of the Cheruscans[1] he had been loaded with irons by the order of Arminius. Since that time, he had served in the Roman armies; at first under Tiberius, and afterwards under Germanicus; and now, at the end of fifty years, he was willing to add to his past services the merit of submitting himself and his people to the protection of the Romans. "The country in dispute," he said, "was of wide extent; and under colour of reserving it for the use of the legions, whole tracts of land remained unoccupied, waste, and desolate. Let the Roman soldiers depasture their cattle; let them retain lands for that purpose; but let them not, while they feed their horses, reduce mankind to the necessity of perishing by famine. Let them not prefer a dreary solitude to the interests of humanity. The affections of a people, willing to live in friendship with them, are preferable to a wide waste of barren lands. The exclusive possession of the country in question was by no means a novelty. It had been occupied,

[1] The revolt of the Cheruscans, in which Varus and his three legions perished.

first by the Chamavians; after them by the Tubantes; and finally, by the Usipians. The firmament over our heads is the mansion of the gods; the earth was given to man; and what remains unoccupied, lies in common for all." At these words, he looked up to the sun, and appealing to the whole planetary system, asked with a spirit of enthusiasm, as if the heavenly luminaries were actually present, whether an uncultivated desert, the desolation of nature, gave a prospect fit for them to survey. Would they not rather let loose the ocean, to overwhelm in a sudden deluge a race of men, who made it their trade to carry devastation through the nations, and make the world a wilderness?

LVI. Avitus answered in a decisive tone, that the law of the strongest must prevail. "The gods, whom Boiocalus invoked, had so ordained. By their high will, the Romans were invested with supreme authority: to give, or take away, was their prerogative; they were the sovereign arbiters, and would admit no other judges." Such was the answer given in public to the Ansibarians. To Boiocalus, in consideration of his former merit, an allotment of lands was privately offered. The German considered it as the price of treachery, and rejected it with disdain. "The earth," he said, "may not afford a spot where we may dwell in peace; a place where we may die we can never want." The interview ended here. Both sides departed with mutual animosity. The Ansibarians prepared for war. They endeavoured to rouse the Bructerians, the Tencterians, and other nations still more remote. Avitus sent despatches to Curtilius Mancia, the commander-in-chief on the Upper Rhine, with instructions to cross the river, and show himself in the rear of the enemy. In the meantime he put himself at the head of his legions, and entered the country of the Tencterians, threatening to carry sword and fire through their territories, if they did not forthwith renounce the confederacy. The Barbarians laid down their arms. The Bructerians in a panic followed their example. Terror and consternation spread through the country. In the cause of others none were willing to encounter certain danger.

In this distress, the Ansibarians, abandoned by all, retreated to the Usipians and Tubantes. Being there rejected, they sought protection from the Cattians, and afterwards from the Cheruscans. In the end, worn out with long and painful marches, nowhere received as

friends, in most places repulsed as enemies, and wanting everything in a foreign land, the whole nation perished. The young, and such as were able to carry arms, were put to the sword; the rest were sold to slavery.

LVII. In the course of the same summer, a battle was fought with great rage and slaughter, between the Hermundurians and the Cattians. The exclusive property of a river, which flowed between both nations, impregnated with stores of salt, was the cause of their mutual animosity. To the natural fierceness of Barbarians, who know no decision but that of the sword, they added the gloomy motives of superstition. According to the creed of those savage nations, that part of the world lay in the vicinity of the heavens, and thence the prayers of men were wafted to the ear of the gods. The whole region was, by consequence, peculiarly favoured; and to that circumstance it was to be ascribed, that the river and the adjacent woods teemed with quantities of salt, not, as in other places, a concretion on the seashore, formed by the foaming of the waves, but produced by the simple act of throwing the water from the stream on a pile of burning wood, where, by the conflict of opposite elements, the substance was engendered. For this salt a bloody battle was fought. Victory declared in favour of the Hermundurians. The event was the more destructive to the Cattians, as both armies, with their usual ferocity, had devoted the vanquished as a sacrifice to Mars and Mercury. By that horrible vow, men and horses, with whatever belonged to the routed army, were doomed to destruction. The vengeance meditated by the Cattians fell with redoubled fury on themselves.

About the same time, a dreadful and unforeseen disaster befell the Ubians, a people in alliance with Rome. By a sudden eruption of subterraneous fire, their farms, their villages, their cities, and their habitations, were all involved in one general conflagration. The flames extended far and wide, and well nigh reached the Roman colony lately founded in that part of Germany. The fire raged with such violence, that neither the rain from the heavens, nor the river-waters, could extinguish it. Every remedy failed, till the peasants, driven to desperation, threw in heaps of stones, and checked the fury of the flames. The mischief beginning to subside, they advanced with clubs, as if to attack a troop of wild beasts. Having beat down the fire, they stripped off their clothes, and throwing

them, wet and besmeared with filth, upon the flames, extinguished the conflagration.

LVIII. This year the tree, called RUMINALIS, which stood in the place assigned for public elections, and eight hundred and forty years before had given shelter to the infancy of Romulus and Remus, began to wither in all its branches. The sapless trunk seemed to threaten a total decay. This was considered as a dreadful prognostic, till new buds expanding into leaf, the tree recovered its former verdure.

BOOK XIV

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These transactions include near four years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
812	59	Caius Vipstanus Apronianus, Lucius Fonteius Capito.
813	60	Nero, 4th time, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.
814	61	Cæsonius Pætus, Petronius Turpilianus.
815	62	P. Marius Celsus, L. Asinius Gallus.

I. Caius Vipstanus and Lucius Fonteius succeeded to the consulship.[1] Nero was determined no longer to defer the black design which had lain for some time fostered in his heart. He had gained in four years a taste of power, and was now grown sanguine enough to think that he might hazard a daring stride in guilt. His love for Poppæa kindled every day to high ardour. To be the imperial wife was the ambition of that aspiring beauty; but while Agrippina lived, she could not hope to see Octavia divorced from the emperor. She began, by whispering calumny, to undermine the emperor's mother, and, at times, in a vein of pleasantry, to alarm the pride and jealousy of Nero. With an air of raillery she called him a pupil, still under tuition; a dependant on the will of others, in fancy guiding the reins of government, but, in reality, deprived of personal liberty. "For what reason was her marriage so long deferred? Had her person already lost the power of pleasing? Were the triumphal honours obtained by her ancestors a bar to her preferment? Or was it supposed that she was not of a fruitful constitution, capable of bearing children? Perhaps the sincerity of her love was called in question. No; the voice of a wife might be heard, and the pride and avarice with which an imperious mother insulted the senate and oppressed the people, might be exposed in open day. If, however, it was a settled point with Agrippina, that no one but the bosom plague of the emperor should be her daughter-in-law, Poppæa could return to the embraces of Otho;[2] with him she could retire to some remote corner of the world, where she might hear, indeed, of the emperor's disgrace, but at a distance, with the consolation of neither being a spectatress of the scene, nor a sharer in his afflictions." By these and such like suggestions, intermixed with tears and female artifice, she ensnared the heart of Nero. No one attempted to weaken her influence. To see the pride of Agrip-

[1] A.D. 59.

[2] Otho, afterwards emperor.

pina humbled was the wish of all; but that the son would renounce the ties of natural affection, and imbrue his hands in the blood of his mother, was what never entered the imagination of any man.

II. In the history of those times, transmitted to us by Cluvius, we read, that Agrippina, in her rage for power, did not scruple to meet the emperor about the middle of the day, as he rose from table, high in blood, and warm with wine. Having adorned her person to the best advantage, she hoped, in those moments, to incite desire, and allure him to the unnatural union. Wanton play and amorous dalliance were seen by the confidential attendants, and deemed a certain prelude to the act of criminal gratification. Against the artifices of one woman Seneca resolved to play off the charms of another, and Acté[1] was accordingly employed. The jealousy of the concubine was easily alarmed: she saw her own danger, and the infamy that awaited the prince. Being taught her lesson, she gave notice to Nero that he was publicly charged with incest, while his mother gloried in the crime. The army, she said, would revolt from a man plunged in vice of so deep a dye. Fabius Rusticus differs from this account. If we believe that author, Agrippina did not seek this vile poliution. It was the natural passion of Nero, and Acté had the address to wean him from it. Cluvius, however, is confirmed by the testimony of other writers. The report of common fame is also on his side. Men were willing to believe the worst of Agrippina. If she was not, in fact, guilty of a design so detestable, a new inclination, however shocking to nature, seemed probable in a woman of her character; who, in the prime of her youth, from motives of ambition, resigned her person to Lepidus;[2] who afterwards, with the same view, descended to be the prostitute of Pallas, and, to crown the whole, by an incestuous marriage with her uncle, avowed herself capable of the worst of crimes.

III. From this time Nero shunned the presence of his mother. Whenever she went to her gardens, or to either of her seats at Tusculum or Antium, he commended her taste for the pleasures of retirement. At length, detesting her wherever she was, he determined to despatch her at once. How to execute his purpose, whether by poison, or the poniard, was the only difficulty. The former seemed the most advisable; but to administer it at his own table might

[1] Acte has been already mentioned, xiii. 12.
[2] Marcus Æmilius Lepidus.

be dangerous, since the fate of Britannicus was too well known. To tamper with her domestics was equally unsafe. A woman of her cast, practised in guilt, and inured to evil deeds, would be upon her guard; and besides, by the habit of using antidotes, she was fortified against every kind of poison. To assassinate her, and yet conceal the murder, was impracticable. Nero had no settled plan, nor was there among his creatures a single person in whom he could confide.

In this embarrassment Anicetus offered his assistance. This man had a genius for the worst iniquity. From the rank of an enfranchised slave he rose to the command of the fleet that lay at Misenum. He had been tutor to Nero in his infancy, and always at variance with Agrippina. Mutual hostility produced mutual hatred. He proposed the model of a ship upon a new construction, formed in such a manner that in the open sea part might give way at once, and plunge Agrippina to the bottom. The ocean, he said, was the element of disasters; and if the vessel foundered, malignity itself could not convert into a crime what would appear to be the effect of adverse winds and boisterous waves. After her decease the prince would have nothing to do but to raise a temple to her memory. Altars and public monuments would be proofs of filial piety.

IV. Nero approved of the stratagem, and the circumstances of the time conspired to favour it. The court was then at Baiæ, to celebrate, during five days, the festival called the QUINQUATRUA.[1] Agrippina was invited to be of the party. To tempt her thither Nero changed his tone. "The humours of a parent claimed indulgence; for sudden starts of passion allowance ought to be made, and petty resentments could not be effaced too soon." By this artifice he hoped to circulate an opinion of his entire reconciliation, and Agrippina, he had no doubt, with the easy credulity of her sex, would be the dupe of a report that flattered her wishes. She sailed from Antium to attend the festival. The prince went to the sea-coast to receive her. He gave her his hand; he embraced her tenderly, and conducted her to a villa called Bauli, in a pleasant situation, washed by the sea, where it forms a bay between the cape of Misenum and the gulf of Baiæ. Among the vessels that lay at anchor, one in particular, more superb than the rest, seemed intended by its decorations to do honour to the emperor's mother. Agrippina was fond of sailing parties. She frequently made coasting

[1] A feast in honour of Minerva, beginning on the nineteenth of March, and continuing for five days.

voyages in a galley with three ranks of oars, and mariners selected from the fleet. The banquet, of which she was to partake, was fixed at a late hour, that the darkness of the night might favour the perpetration of an atrocious deed.

But the secret transpired: on the first intelligence, Agrippina, it is said, could scarce give credit to so black a story. She chose, however, to be conveyed to Baiæ in a land-carriage. Her fears, so soon as she arrived, were dissipated by the polite address of her son. He gave her the most gracious reception, and placed her at table above himself. He talked with frankness, and, by intermixing the sallies of youthful vivacity with more sedate conversation, had the skill to blend the gay, the airy, and the serious. He protracted the pleasures of the social meeting to a late hour, when Agrippina thought it time to retire. The prince attended her to the shore; he exchanged a thousand fond endearments, and, clasping her to his bosom, fixed his eyes upon her with ardent affection, perhaps intending, under the appearance of filial piety, to disguise his purpose; or, it might be, that the sight of a mother doomed to destruction, might make even a heart like his yield, for a moment, to the touch of nature.

V. That this iniquitous scene should not be wrapped in darkness, the care of Providence seems to have interposed. The night was calm and serene; the stars shot forth their brightest lustre, and the sea presented a smooth expanse. Agrippina went on board, attended by only two of her domestic train. One of them, Crepereius Gallus, took his place near the steerage; the other, a female attendant, by name Acerronia, stretched herself at the foot of the bed where her mistress lay, and in the fulness of her heart expressed her joy to see the son awakened to a sense of his duty, and the mother restored to his good graces. The vessel had made but little way, when, on a signal given, the deck over Agrippina's cabin fell in at once. Being loaded with lead, Crepereius was crushed under the weight. The props of the bedroom happening to be of a solid structure, bore up the load, and saved both Agrippina and her servant. Nor did the vessel, as was intended, fall to pieces at once. Consternation, hurry, and confusion followed. The innocent, in a panic, bustled to and fro, embarrassing and confounding such as were in the plot. To heave the ship on one side, and sink her at once, was the design of the accomplices: but not acting in concert, and the rest making contrary efforts, the vessel went down by slow degrees. This gave the passengers an opportunity of

escaping from the wreck, and trusting to the mercy of the waves.

Acerronia, in her fright, called herself Agrippina, and, with pathetic accents, implored the mariners to save the emperor's mother. The assassins fell upon her with their oars, with their poles, and with whatever instruments they could seize. She died under repeated blows. Agrippina hushed her fears; not a word escaping from her, she passed undistinguished by the murderers, without any other damage than a wound on her shoulder. She dashed into the sea, and, by struggling with all her efforts, kept herself above water till the small barks put off from the shore, and, coming in good time to her assistance, conveyed her up the Lucrine lake[1] to her own villa.

VI. She was now at leisure to reflect on the misery of her situation. The treachery of her son's letter, conceived in terms of affection, and his mock civility, were too apparent. Without a gust of wind, and without touching a rock, at a small distance from the shore, the vessel broke down from the upper deck, like a piece of mechanism constructed for the purpose. The death of Acerronia, and the wound which she herself received, were decisive circumstances. But even in that juncture she thought it best to temporise. Against powerful enemies not to see too much is the safest policy. She sent her freedman Agerinus to inform her son that, by the favour of the gods, and the good auspices of the emperor, she had escaped from a shipwreck. The news, she had no doubt, would affect her son, but, for the present, she wished he would forbear to visit her. In her situation, rest was all she wanted. Having despatched her messenger, she assumed an air of courage; she got her wound dressed, and used all proper applications. With an air of ease she called for the last will of Acerronia, and, having ordered an inventory to be made of her effects, secured everything under her own seal; acting in this single article without dissimulation.

VII. Nero in the meantime, expected, with impatience, an account of his mother's death. Intelligence at last was brought that she still survived, wounded, indeed, and knowing from what quarter the blow was aimed. The prince heard the news with terror and astonishment. In the hurry of his imagination, he saw his mother already at hand, fierce with indignation, calling aloud for vengeance,

1 The Lucrine Lake, now *Lago Lucrino*.

and rousing her slaves to an insurrection. She might have recourse to the army, and stir up a rebellion; she might open the whole dark transaction to the senate; she might carry her complaints to the ear of the people. Her wound, the wreck, the murder of her friends, every circumstance would inflame resentment. What course remained for him? Where was Seneca? and where was Burrhus? He had sent for them on the first alarm: they came with expedition; but whether strangers to the plot, remains uncertain. They stood, for some time, fixed in silence. To dissuade the emperor from his fell design, they knew was not in their power; and, in the present dilemma, they saw, perhaps, that Agrippina must fall, or Nero perish. Seneca, though on all other occasions ready to take the lead, fixed his eyes on Burrhus. After a pause, he desired to know whether it were advisable to order the soldiers to complete the business. Burrhus was of opinion, that the prætorian soldiers, devoted to the house of Cæsar, and still respecting the memory of Germanicus, would not be willing to spill the blood of his daughter. It was for Anicetus to finish the last act of the tragedy.

That bold assassin undertook the business. He desired to have the catastrophe in his own hands. Nero revived at the sound. From that day, he said, the imperial dignity would be his, and that mighty benefit would be conferred by an enfranchised slave. "Haste, fly," he cried; "take with you men fit for your purpose, and consummate all." Anicetus heard that a message was sent by Agrippina, and that Agerinus was actually arrived. His ready invention planned a new scene of villainy. While the messenger was in the act of addressing the prince, he dropped a poniard between his legs, and instantly, as if he had discovered a treasonable design, seized the man, and loaded him with irons, from that circumstance taking colour to charge Agrippina with a plot against the life of her son. When she was disposed of, a report that, in despair, she put an end to her life, would be an apt addition to the fable.

VIII. Meanwhile, the news of Agrippina's danger spread an alarm round the country. The general cry imputed it to accident. The people rushed in crowds to the seashore; they went on the piers that projected into the sea; they filled the boats; they waded as far as they could venture; stretching forth their hands, and calling aloud for help: the bay resounded with shrieks and lamentations,

with distracting questions, dissonant answers, and a wild confusion of voices. Amidst the uproar, numbers came with lighted torches. Finding that Agrippina was safe, they pressed forward to offer their congratulations, when a body of armed soldiers, threatening violence, obliged the whole crowd to disperse. Anicetus planted a guard round the mansion of Agrippina, and having burst open the gates he seized the slaves, and forced his way to her apartment.

A few domestics remained at the door to guard the entrance: fear had dispersed the rest. In the room the pale glimmer of a feeble light was seen, and only one maid in waiting. Before the ruffians broke in, Agrippina passed the moments in dreadful agitation: she wondered that no messenger had arrived from her son. What detained Agerinus? She listened, and on the coast where, not long before, the whole was tumult, noise, and confusion, a dismal silence prevailed, broken at intervals, by a sudden uproar, that added to the horror of the scene. Agrippina trembled for herself. Her servant was leaving the room: she called to her, "And do you too desert me?" In that instant she saw Anicetus entering the chamber. Herculeus, who had the command of a galley, and Oloaritus, a marine centurion, followed him. "If you come," said Agrippina, "from the prince, tell him I am well; if your intents are murderous, you are not sent by my son: the guilt of parricide is foreign to his heart." The ruffians surrounded her bed. The centurion of the marines was drawing his sword: at the sight Agrippina presented her person, "And here," she said, "PLUNGE YOUR SWORD IN MY WOMB." Herculeus, in that moment, gave the first blow with a club, and wounded her on the head. She expired under a number of mortal wounds.

IX. The facts here related stand confirmed by the concurrent testimony of historians. It is added, but not with equal authority, that Nero beheld his mother stretched in death, and praised the elegance of her form. This, however, is denied by other writers. The body was laid out on a common couch, such as is used at meals, and, without any other ceremony, burnt that very night. During the life of Nero, no honour was offered to her remains; no tomb was erected to tell where she lay: nor was there so much as a mound of earth to inclose the place. After some time an humble monument was raised by her domestics

on the road to Misenum, near the villa[1] of Cæsar the Dictator, which, from an eminence, commands a beautiful prospect of the sea and the bays along the coast. Mnester, one of the enfranchised slaves of Agrippina, attended the funeral. As soon as the pile was lighted, this man, unwilling to survive his mistress, or, perhaps, dreading the malice of her enemies, despatched himself with his own sword. Of her own dreadful catastrophe Agrippina had warning many years before, when, consulting the Chaldeans about the future lot of her son, she was told, that he would reign at Rome, and kill his mother. "Let him," she said, "let him kill me, but let him reign."

X. This dreadful parricide was no sooner executed than Nero began to feel the horrors of his guilt. He lay, during the rest of the night, on the rack of his own mind; silent, pensive, starting up with sudden fear, wild and distracted. He lifted his eyes in quest of daylight, yet dreaded its approach. The tribunes and centurions, by the advice of Burrhus, were the first to administer consolation. The flattery of these men raised him from despair. They grasped his hand, congratulating him on his escape from the dark designs of his mother. His friends crowded to the temples to offer up their thanks to the gods. The neighbouring cities of Campania followed their example. They offered victims, and sent addresses to the prince. Nero played a different part; he appeared with a dejected mien, weary of life, and inconsolable for the loss of his mother. But the face of a country cannot, like the features of man, assume a new appearance. The sea and the adjacent coast presented to his eyes a scene of guilt and horror. It was reported at the same time that the sound of trumpets was distinctly heard along the ridge of the hills, and groans and shrieks issued from Agrippina's grave. Nero removed to Naples, and from that place despatched letters to the senate, in substance as follows:

XI. "Agerinus, the freedman of Agrippina, and of all her creatures the highest in her confidence, was found armed with a poniard; and the blow being prevented, with the same spirit that planned the murder of her son, she despatched herself." The letter proceeded to state a number of past transactions: "Her ambition aimed at a share in

[1] Marius, Pompey, and Cæsar, had their villas in the neighbouring of *Baiæ*, all built on the ridge of hills, and looking, as Seneca says, more like military works, than rural seats.

the supreme power, and the prætorian bands were obliged to take an oath of fidelity to her. The senate and the people were to submit to the same indignity, and bear the yoke of female tyranny. Seeing her schemes defeated, she became an enemy to the fathers, to the soldiers, and the whole community: she neither suffered a donative to be distributed to the army, nor a largess to the populace. At her instigation prosecutions were set on foot against the best and most illustrious men in Rome. If she did not enter the senate, and give audience to the ambassadors of foreign nations, all would remember how that disgrace was prevented." The reign of Claudius did not escape his animadversion; but whatever were the enormities of that period, Agrippina, he said, was the cause of all. Her death was an event in which the good fortune of the empire was signally displayed. He gave a circumstantial account of the shipwreck: but what man existed, so absurd and stupid as to believe it the effect of chance? Was it probable that a woman, who had just escaped from the fury of the waves, would send a single ruffian to attempt the life of a prince, surrounded by his guards and his naval officers? The indignation of the public was not confined to Nero: with regard to him, who had plunged in guilt beyond all example, it was useless to complain. Censure was lost in mute astonishment. The popular odium fell on Seneca: his pen was seen in the prince's letters, and the attempt to gloss and varnish so vile a deed, was considered as the avowal of an accomplice.

XII. The voice of the people did not restrain the adulation of the senate. Several decrees were passed in a strain of servile flattery; such as supplications and solemn vows at all the altars throughout the city of Rome; the festival called the Quinquatrua (during which the late conspiracy was detected) was to be celebrated, for the future, with the addition of public games; the statue of Minerva, wrought in gold, to be placed in the senate-house, with that of the emperor near it; and finally, the anniversary of Agrippina's birthday to be unhallowed in the calendar. Pætus Thrasea had been often present, when the fathers descended to acts of meanness, and he did not rise in opposition; but, upon this occasion, he left his seat, and walked out of the house, by his virtue provoking future vengeance, yet doing no service to the cause of liberty.

There happened, about this time, a number of prodigies,

all deemed striking prognostics, but no consequences followed. A woman was delivered of a serpent: another died in the embrace of her husband, by a stroke of thunder. The sun suffered an eclipse,[1] and the fourteen quarters of Rome were struck with lightning. In these extraordinary appearances the hand of providence, it is evident, did not interpose; since the vices and tyranny of Nero continued to harass mankind for several years. The policy of the prince had now two objects in view: the first, to blacken the memory of his mother; and the second, to amuse the people with a show of his own clemency, when left, without control, to the bent of his own inclination. To this end, he recalled from banishment, to which they had been condemned by the vindictive spirit of Agrippina, two illustrious women, namely, Junia and Calpurnia, together with Valerius Capito, and Licinius Gabolus, both of prætorian rank. He permitted the ashes of Lollia Paulina[2] to be brought to Rome, and a mausoleum to be erected to her memory. To Iturius and Calvisius,[3] whom his own violence had driven into exile, he granted a free pardon. Silana[4] had paid her debt to nature. Towards the end of Agrippina's life, when the power of that princess began to decline, or her resentment to be appeased, she had obtained leave to return from her distant exile as far as Tarentum. At that place she closed her days.

XIII. Nero loitered in the towns of Campania, full of doubt and perplexity, unable to determine how he should enter the city of Rome. Would the senate receive him with a submissive and complying spirit? Could he rely on the temper of the people? These were points that made him anxious and irresolute. The vile advisers of his court (and never court more abounded with so pernicious a race) interfered to animate his drooping spirit. They assured him, with confidence, that the name of Agrippina was held in detestation, and, since her death, the affections of the people for the person of the emperor knew no bounds. He had only to show himself, and it would be seen that he reigned in the hearts of the multitude. To prepare the way, they desired leave to enter the city of Rome before him.

On their arrival, they found all things favourable beyond

[1] This eclipse was the day before the kalends of May, that is, on the 30th of April, A.D. 59.

[2] For Lollia Paulina, see xii. 22.

[3] Iturius and Calvisius banished by Nero.

[4] Silana was also banished by Nero.

their hopes; they saw the several tribes going forth in procession to meet the prince; the senate in their robes of state; whole crowds of women, with their children, ranged in classes according to their respective ages, in the streets through which Nero was to pass; rows of scaffolding built up, and an amphitheatre of spectators, as if a triumph were to enter the city. Nero made his entry, flushed with the pride of victory over the minds of willing slaves, and proceeded, amidst the acclamations of gazing multitudes, to the capitol, where he offered thanks to the gods. From that moment he threw off all restraint. The authority of his mother, feeble as it was, had hitherto curbed the violence of his passions: but that check being now removed, he broke out at once, and gave a full display of his character.

XIV. To acquire the fame of a charioteer, and to figure in the race with a curricle and four horses, had been long the favourite passion of Nero. He had besides another frivolous talent: he could play on the harp, and sing to his own performance. With this pitiful ambition he had been often the minstrel of convivial parties. He justified his taste by observing, that "in ancient times, it had been the practice of heroes and of kings. The names of illustrious persons, who consecrated their talents to the honour of the gods, were preserved in immortal verse. Apollo was the tutelar deity of melody and song; and, though invested with the higher attributes of inspiration and prophecy, he was represented, not only in the cities of Greece, but also in the Roman temples, with a lyre in his hand, and the dress of a musical performer." The rage of Nero for these amusements was not to be controlled. Seneca and Burrhus endeavoured to prevent the ridicule, to which a prince might expose himself by exhibiting his talents to the multitude. By their directions, a wide space, in the vale at the foot of the Vatican,[1] was inclosed for the use of the emperor, that he might there manage the reins, and practise all his skill, without being a spectacle for the public eye. But his love of fame was not to be confined within those narrow bounds. He invited the multitude. They extolled, with raptures, the abilities of a prince, who gratified their darling passion for public diversions.

The two governors were in hopes that their pupil, as soon

[1] This was a circus begun by Caligula, and finished by Nero. The church of St. Peter is built on this spot, and the obelisk which stood there, was placed before St. Peter's at a vast expense, by Pope Sixtus V.

as he had his frolic, would be sensible of the disgrace; but the effect was otherwise. The applause of the populace inspired him with fresh ardour. To keep himself in countenance, he conceived if he could bring the practice into fashion, that his own infamy would be lost in the disgrace of others. With this view, he cast his eye on the descendants of families once illustrious, but at that time fallen to decay. From that class of men he selected the most necessitous, such as would be easily tempted to let themselves out for hire. He retained them as actors, and produced them on the public stage. Their names I forbear to mention: though they are now no more, the honour of their ancestors claims respect. The disgrace recoils on him, who chose to employ his treasure, not for the noble end of preventing scandal, but to procure it. Nor was he willing to stop here: by vast rewards he bribed several Roman knights to descend into the arena, and present a show to the people. The situation of these unhappy men deserves our pity; for what are the bribes of an absolute prince, but the commands of him who has power to compel?

XV. Nero was not as yet hardy enough to expose his person on a public stage. To gratify his passion for scenic amusements, and at the same time to save appearances, he established an entertainment, called the JUVENILE SPORTS. To promote this institution, numbers of the first distinction enrolled their names. Neither rank, nor age, nor civil honours, were an exemption. All degrees embraced the theatrical art, and, with emulation, became the rivals of Greek and Roman mimicry; proud to languish at the soft cadence of effeminate notes, and to catch the graces of wanton deportment. Women of rank[1] studied the most lascivious characters. In the grove planted round the lake, where Augustus gave his naval engagement, booths and places of recreation were erected, to pamper luxury, and inflame desire. By the prince's orders sums of money were distributed. Good men, through motives of fear, accepted the donation; and to the profligate, whatever ministered to sensuality, was sure to be acceptable. Luxury and corruption triumphed.

The manners, it is true, had, long before this time, fallen into degeneracy; but in these new assemblies a torrent of

[1] We are told by Dio, that Ælia Catella, a woman of fourscore, exposed herself and old age to scorn, by dancing on the stage, among the court sycophants of the time.

vice bore down everything, beyond the example of former ages. Even in better days, when science and the liberal arts had not entirely lost their influence, virtue and modesty could scarce maintain their post; but in an age, that openly professed every species of depravity, what stand could be made by truth, by innocence, or by modest merit? The general corruption encouraged Nero to throw off all restraint. He mounted the stage, and became a public performer for the amusement of the people. With his harp in his hand, he entered the scene; he tuned the chords with a graceful air, and with delicate flourishes gave a prelude to his art. He stood in a circle of his friends, a prætorian cohort on guard, and the tribunes and centurions near his person. Burrhus was also present, pleasure in his countenance, and anguish at his heart. He grieved, while he applauded. At this time was instituted a company of Roman knights under the title of THE AUGUSTAN SOCIETY, consisting of young men in the prime of life, some of them libertines from inclination, and others hoping by their profligacy to gain preferment. They attended night and day, to applaud the prince; they admired the graces of his person, and, in the various notes of that exquisite voice, they heard the melody of the gods, who were all excelled by the enchanting talents of the prince. The tribe of sycophants assumed airs of grandeur, swelling with self-importance, as if they were all rising to preferment by their genius and their virtue.

XVI. Theatrical fame was not sufficient for the ambition of Nero: he wished to excel in poetry. All, who possessed the art of versification, were assembled to assist his studies. In this society of wits, young men, not yet qualified by their years to figure in the world, displayed the first essays of their genius. They met in the dearest intimacy. Scraps of poetry, by different hands,[1] were brought to the meeting, or composed on the spot; and those fragments, however unconnected, they endeavoured to weave into a regular poem, taking care to insert the words and phrases of the emperor, as the most brilliant ornaments of the piece. That this was their method, appears from a perusal of the several compositions, in which we see rhapsody without genius, verse without poetry, and nothing like the work of one creative fancy. Nor was philosophy disregarded by the emperor. At stated hours, when his convivial joys were finished, the

[1] Brotier compares this poetical patchwork to the *bouts rimes*, which exercised the minor poets of France in the last century.

professors of wisdom were admitted. Various systems were dogmatically supported; and to see the followers of different sects quarrel about an hypothesis was the amusement of Nero. He saw besides, among the venerable sages, some with formal mien and looks of austerity, who under an air of coyness plainly showed that they relished the pleasures of a court.

XVII. About this time a dreadful fray broke out between the inhabitants of Nuceria and Pompeii, two Italian colonies. The dispute, slight at the beginning, soon rose to violence, and terminated in blood. It happened that Livineius Regulus, who, as already mentioned, had been expelled the senate, gave a spectacle of gladiators. At this meeting jests and raillery, and the rough wit of country towns, flew about among the populace; abuse and scurrility followed; altercation excited anger; anger rose to fury; stones were thrown, and finally they had recourse to arms. The people of Pompeium, where the spectacle was given, were too strong for their adversaries. The Nucerians suffered in the conflict. Numbers of their friends, covered with wounds, were sent to Rome. Sons wept for their parents, and parents for their children. The senate, to whom the matter was referred by the prince, directed an inquiry before the consuls, and, upon their report, passed a decree, prohibiting, for the space of ten years, the like assemblies at Pompeium, and, moreover, dissolving certain societies established in that city, and incorporated contrary to law. Livineius and others, who appeared to be ringleaders in the riot, were ordered into banishment.

XVIII. At the suit of the Cyrenians, Pedius Blæsus was expelled the senate. The charge against him was, that he had pillaged the sacred treasures of Æsculapius, and, in the business of listing soldiers, had been guilty of receiving bribes, and committing various acts of gross partiality. A complaint was preferred by the same people against Acilius Strabo, a man of prætorian rank, who had been sent a commissioner by the emperor Claudius, with powers to ascertain the boundaries of the lands which formerly belonged to king Apion, and were by him bequeathed, with the rest of his dominions, to the Roman people. Various intruders had entered on the vacant possession, and from occupancy and length of time hoped to derive a legal title. The people, disappointed in their expectations, appealed from the sentence of Strabo. The senate, professing to know nothing of the commission granted by Claudius, referred the business to the decision

of the prince. Nero ratified the award made by Strabo; but, to show a mark of goodwill to the allies of Rome, he restored the lands in question to the persons who had been dispossessed.

XIX. In a short time after died Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, two illustrious citizens, eminent for the civil honours which they attained, and not less distinguished by their eloquence. Afer had been a shining ornament of the bar: Servilius entered the same career, but having left the forum, gave a signal proof of his genius by a well-digested history of Roman affairs. Elegant in his life and manners, he formed a contrast to the rough character of Afer, to whom in point of genius he was every way equal, in probity and morals his superior.[1]

XX. Nero entered on his fourth consulship, with Cornelius Cossus for his colleague [A.U.C. 813, A.D. 60]. On the model of the Greek olympics, he instituted public games to be celebrated every fifth year, and, for that reason, called quinquennial.[2] In this, as in all cases of innovation, the opinions of men were much at variance. By such as disliked the measure, it was observed, that even Pompey, by building a permanent theatre, gave offence to the thinking men of that day. Before that period, an occasional theatre, with scenery and benches to serve the purpose, was deemed sufficient; and, if the inquiry were carried back to ancient times, it would be found that the spectators had to stand during the whole representation. The reason was, that the people, accommodated with seats, might be tempted to waste whole days in idle amusements. Public spectacles were, indeed, of ancient origin, and, if still left to the direction of the prætor, might be exhibited with good order and propriety. But the new mode of pressing the citizens of Rome into the service of the stage had ruined all decorum. The manners had long since degenerated, and now, to work their total subversion, luxury was called in from every quarter of the globe; foreign nations were ransacked for the incentives of vice; and, whatever was in itself corrupt, or capable of diffusing corruption, was to be found at Rome. Exotic customs and a foreign taste infected the young men of the

[1] Domitius Afer was a man of ambition, willing to advance his fortune by the worst of crimes. *Quoquo facinore properus clarescere. Annals*, iv. 52. He is praised by Quintilian as an orator of considerable eloquence.

[2] Suetonius informs us, that Nero was the first that instituted, in imitation of the Greeks, a trial of skill in the three several arts of music, wrestling, and horse-racing, to be performed every five years, which he called *Neronia*.

time; dissipation, gymnastic arts, and infamous intrigues, were the fashion, encouraged by the prince and the senate, and not only encouraged, but established by their sanction, enforced by their authority.

"Under colour of promoting poetry and eloquence, the patricians of Rome disgraced themselves on the public stage. What further step remained? Nothing, but to bare their bodies; to anoint their limbs; to come forth naked in the lists; to wield the cæstus, and, throwing aside their military weapons, fight prizes for the entertainment of the rabble. Will the sanctity of the augur's office, or the judicial character[1] of the Roman knights, edify by the manners now in vogue? Will the former be held in higher reverence, because he has been lately taught to thrill with ecstasy at the soft airs of an effeminate song? And will the judge decide with greater ability, because he affects to have a taste, and to pronounce on music? Vice goes on increasing; the night is added to the day; and, in mixed assemblies, the profligate libertine, under covert of the dark, may safely gratify the base desires, which his imagination formed in the course of the day."

XXI. Licentious pleasure had a number of advocates; all of them the apologists of vice disguised under specious names. By these men it was argued, "that the citizens of Rome, in the earliest period, were addicted to public shows, and the expense kept pace with the wealth of the times. Pantomime players[2] were brought from Tuscany, and horse-races from Thurium. When Greece and Asia were reduced to subjection, the public games were exhibited with greater pomp; though it must be acknowledged that in two hundred years (the time that elapsed from the triumph of Lucius Mummius,[3] who first introduced theatrical representations) not one Roman citizen of rank or family was known to degrade himself by listing in a troop of comedians. But it is also true, that, by erecting a permanent theatre, a great annual expense was avoided. The magistrate is now no longer obliged to ruin his private fortune for the diversion of the public. The whole expenditure is transferred to the state, and, without encumbering a single individual, the people may enjoy the games of Greece. The contests between

[1] Among the Roman knights there were four *Decuriæ* appointed to exercise jurisdiction.

[2] The pantomime performers were brought to Rome from *Tuscany*.

[3] Lucius Mummius conquered Corinth, B.C. 146, and obtained the title of *Achaicus*.

poets and orators would raise a spirit of emulation, and promote the cause of literature. Nor will the judge be disgraced, if he lends an ear to the productions of genius, and shares the pleasures of a liberal mind. In the quinquennial festival, lately instituted, a few nights, every fifth year, would be dedicated, not to criminal gratifications, but to social gaiety, in a place fitted for a large assembly, and illuminated with such a glare of light, that clandestine vice would by consequence be excluded."

Such was the argument of the advocates for dissipation. It is but fair to acknowledge, that the celebration of the new festival was conducted without any offence against decency or good manners. Nor did the rage of the people for theatrical entertainments break out into any kind of excess. The pantomime performers, though restored to the theatre, were still excluded from such exhibitions as were held to be of a sacred nature. The prize of eloquence was not adjudged to any of the candidates; but it was thought a fit compliment to the emperor, to pronounce him conqueror. The Grecian garb, which was much in vogue during the festival, gave disgust, and from that time fell into disuse.

XXII. A comet having appeared, in this juncture, that phenomenon, according to the popular opinion, announced that governments were to be changed, and kings dethroned. In the imaginations of men Nero was already deposed, and who should be his successor was the question. The name of Rubellius Plautus resounded in every quarter. By the maternal line this eminent citizen was of the Julian house. A strict observer of ancient manners, he maintained a rigid austerity of character. Recluse and virtuous in his family, he lived remote from danger, but his fame, from the shade of obscurity, shone forth with brighter lustre. The report of his elevation was confirmed by an accident, slight in itself, but by vulgar error received as a sure prognostic. While Nero was at table at a villa called SUBLAQUEUM, on the borders of the Simbruine lakes, it happened that the victuals, which had been served up, received a stroke of lightning, and the banquet was overturned. The place was on the confines of Tivoli, where the ancestors of Plautus by his father's side derived their origin. The omen, for that reason, made a deeper impression, and the current opinion was, that Plautus was intended for imperial sway. The men, whom bold, but often misguided, ambition leads to take an active part in revolutions of government, were

all on his side. To suppress a rumour, so important, and big with danger, Nero sent a letter to Plautus, advising him "to consult the public tranquillity, and withdraw himself from the reach of calumny. He had patrimonial lands in Asia, where he might pass his youth, remote from enemies, and undisturbed by faction." Plautus understood the hint, and with his wife, Antistia, and a few friends, embarked for Asia.

In a short time after, Nero, by his rage for new gratifications, put his life in danger, and drew on himself a load of obloquy. He chose to bathe at the fountain-head of the Marcian waters,[1] which had been brought to Rome in an aqueduct of ancient structure. By this act of impurity he was thought to have polluted the sacred stream, and to have profaned the sanctity of the place. A fit of illness, which followed this frolic, left no doubt in the minds of the populace. The gods, they thought, pursued with vengeance the author of so vile a sacrilege.

XXIII. We left Corbulo employed in the demolition of Artaxata. That city being reduced to ashes, he judged it right, while the consternation of the people was still recent, to turn his arms against Tigranocerta. The destruction of that city would spread a general panic; or, if he suffered it to remain unhurt, the fame of his clemency would add new laurels to the conqueror. He began his march, and, that the Barbarians might not be driven to despair, preserved every appearance of a pacific disposition, still maintaining discipline with the strictest rigour. He knew, by experience, that he had to do with a people prone to change; cowards in the hour of danger, but, if occasion offered, prepared, by their natural genius, for a stroke of perfidy. At the sight of the Roman eagles the Armenians were variously affected. They submitted with humble supplications; they fled from their villages; they took shelter in their woods; and numbers, carrying off all that was dear to them, sought a retreat in their dens and caverns. To these different movements the Roman general adapted his measures; to the submissive he behaved with mercy; he ordered the fugitives to be pursued with vigour, but for such as lay hid in subterraneous places he felt no compassion. Having filled the entrances, and every vent of the caverns, with bushes and faggots, he set fire to the heap. The Barbarians perished in the flames.

[1] The Marcian waters were conveyed to Rome in aqueducts of great labour and expense by Ancus Marcius, one of the Roman kings.

His march lay on the frontier of the Mardians, a race of freebooters, who lived by depredation, secure on their hills and mountains from the assaults of the enemy. They poured down from their fastnesses, and insulted the Roman army. Corbulo sent a detachment of the Iberians to lay waste their country, and thus at the expense of foreign auxiliaries, without spilling a drop of Roman blood, he punished the insolence of the enemy.

XXIV. Corbulo had suffered no loss in the field of battle; but his men, exhausted by continual toil, and forced, for want of grain and vegetables, to subsist altogether on animal food, began to sink under their fatigue. The heat of the summer was intense; no water to allay their thirst; long and laborious marches still remained; and nothing to animate the drooping spirits of the army but the example of their general, who endured more than even the common soldiers. They reached, at length, a well cultivated country, and carried off a plentiful crop. The Armenians fled for shelter to two strong castles. One of them was taken by storm; the other, after resisting the first assault, was by a close blockade obliged to surrender. The army marched into the territories of the Tauranitians. In that country Corbulo narrowly escaped a snare laid for his life. A Barbarian of high distinction among his people, was found lurking with a concealed dagger near the general's tent. He was instantly seized, and, being put to the rack, not only confessed himself the author of the plot, but discovered his accomplices. The villains, who, under a mask of friendship, meditated a foul assassination, were on examination found guilty of the treachery, and put to death. Ambassadors arrived soon after from Tigranocerta, with intelligence that their gates stood open to receive the Roman army, and the inhabitants were ready to submit at discretion. As an earnest of hospitality and friendship they presented a golden crown. Corbulo received it with all marks of honour. To conciliate the affections of the people, he did no damage to their city, and left the natives in full possession of their effects.

XXV. The royal citadel, which was considered as the stronghold of the Armenian kings, did not immediately surrender. A band of stout and resolute young men threw themselves into the place, determined to hold out to the last. They had the spirit to sally out, but, after a battle under the walls, were driven back within their lines, and, the Romans entering sword in hand, the garrison laid down

their arms. This tide of success, however rapid, was in a great measure forwarded by the war, that kept the Parthians engaged in Hyrcania. From the last-mentioned country ambassadors had been sent to Rome, soliciting the alliance of the emperor, and, as an inducement, urging, that, in consequence of their rupture with Vologeses, they had made a powerful diversion in favour of the Roman army: the deputies, on their way back to their own country, had an interview with Corbulo. The general received them with marks of friendship, and fearing, if they passed over the Euphrates, that they might fall in with detached parties of the Parthian army, he ordered them to be escorted under a military guard, as far as the margin of the Red sea.[1] From that place their road was at a distance from the Parthian frontier.

XXVI. Meanwhile, Tiridates,[2] after a march through the territory of the Medians, was hovering on the extremities of Armenia, intending from that quarter to invade the country. To counteract his motions, Corbulo despatched Verulanus with the auxiliary forces, and, to support him, made a forced march at the head of the legions. Tiridates retired with precipitation, and, in despair, abandoned the war. The Roman general proceeded with severity against all who were known to be disaffected: he carried fire and sword through their country, and took upon himself the government of Armenia. The whole kingdom was reduced to subjection, when Tigranes arrived from Rome, by the appointment of Nero, to assume the regal diadem.

The new monarch was by birth a Cappadocian, of high nobility in that country, and grandson to king Archelaus;[3] but the length of time which he had passed at Rome in the condition of a hostage broke the vigour of his mind, and sunk him to the meanest servility. He was not received with the consent of the nation. A strong party still retained their old affection for the line of the Arsacides; but an inveterate antipathy to the Parthians, on account of their pride and arrogance, inclined the majority to accept a king from Rome. Corbulo placed Tigranes on the throne, and assigned him a body-guard, consisting of a thousand legionary soldiers, three cohorts from the allied forces, and two

[1] The shortest way to Hyrcania was by the Caspian Sea; but, for the reason given by Tacitus, the *Red Sea* was thought more eligible.

[2] Tiridates was brother to Vologeses, the Parthian king.

[3] Archelaus was king of Cappadocia.

squadrons of horse. That his new kingdom might not prove unwieldy, parts of the country, as they happened to lie contiguous to the neighbouring princes, were parcelled out to Pharasmanes,[1] to Polemon, Aristobulus, and Antiochus. Having made these arrangements, Corbulo marched back into Syria, to take upon him the administration of that province, vacant by the death of Ummidius Quadratus,[2] the late governor.

XXVII. In the course of the same year, Laodicea, a celebrated city in Asia, was destroyed by an earthquake; and though Rome in so great a calamity contributed no kind of aid, it was soon rebuilt, and, by the internal resources of the inhabitants, recovered its former splendour. In Italy, the ancient city of Puteoli received new privileges, with the title of the Neronian Colony. The veteran soldiers, entitled to their discharge from the service, were incorporated with the citizens of Tarentum, and Antium; but the measure did not increase population in those deserted places. The soldiers rambled back to the provinces, where they had formerly served, and, by the habits of a military life, being little inclined to conjugal cares and the education of children, the greatest part mouldered away without issue. The old system of colonisation was at this time greatly altered. Entire legions were not, as had been the practice, settled together, with their tribunes, their centurions, and soldiers, in one regular body, forming a society of men known to each other, and by sentiments of mutual affection inclined to act with a spirit of union. A colony, at the time we speak of, was no more than a motley mixture, drawn together from different armies, without a chief at their head, without a principle to unite them, and, in fact, no better than a mere conflux of people from distant parts of the globe; a wild heterogeneous multitude, but not a colony.

XXVIII. The election of prætors had been hitherto subject to the discretion of the senate; but the spirit of competition breaking out with unusual violence, Nero interposed his authority. He found three candidates more than usual. By giving to each the command of a legion he allayed the ferment. He also made a considerable addition to the dignity of the senate, by an ordinance requiring that, in all appeals from an inferior judicature to that assembly, a

[1] Pharasmanes has been often mentioned as king of *Iberia;* Polemon, king of *Pontus;* Aristobulus, king of *Armenia Minor;* and Antiochus of *Commagene.*
[2] See *Annals*, xii. 45.

sum equal[1] to what was customary in like cases before the emperor, should be deposited by the appellant, to wait the final determination. Before this rule was established, an appeal to the fathers was open to all, without being subject to costs, or any kind of penalty. Towards the end of the year, Vibius Secundus, a Roman knight, was accused by the Moors of rapine and extortion, and, being found guilty of the charge, was banished out of Italy. For so mild a sentence he was indebted to the weight and influence of his brother, Vibius Crispus.

XXIX. During the consulship of Cæsonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus[2] [A.U.C. 814, A.D. 61], a dreadful calamity befell the army in Britain. Aulus Didius, as has been mentioned, aimed at no extension of territory, content with maintaining the conquest already made. Veranius, who succeeded him, did little more: he made a few incursions into the country of the Silures, and was hindered by death from prosecuting the war with vigour. He had been respected during his life for the severity of his manners; in his end, the mask fell off, and his last will discovered the low ambition of a servile flatterer, who, in those moments could offer incense to Nero, and add, with vain ostentation, that, if he lived two years, it was his design to make the whole island obedient to the authority of the prince. Paulinus Suetonius succeeded to the command; an officer of distinguished merit. To be compared with Corbulo was his ambition. His military talents gave him pretensions, and the voice of the people, who never leave exalted merit without a rival, raised him to the highest eminence. By subduing the mutinous spirit of the Britons he hoped to equal the brilliant success of Corbulo in Armenia. With this view, he resolved to subdue the isle of Mona; a place inhabited by a warlike people, and a common refuge for all the discontented Britons. In order to facilitate his approach to a difficult and deceitful shore, he ordered a number of flat-

[1] The sum, by way of penalty for a frivolous and vexatious appeal, was one third of the money in dispute between the parties.

[2] Petronius Turpilianus, during his consulship, was the author of a law called *Lex Petronia*, by which the master was no longer at liberty, at his will and pleasure, to compel any of his slaves to fight the wild beasts; but a just ground of complaint appearing before the proper magistrate, that mode of punishment was enforced. He was also the author of a decree called the *Turpilian Decree*, by which all, who began a prosecution, and either harassed the defendant by delays, or abandoned the cause, were subjected to heavy penalties. Two regulations so just, that it is wonderful how they escaped the notice of Tacitus.

bottomed boats to be constructed. In these he wafted over the infantry, while the cavalry, partly by fording over the shallows, and partly by swimming their horses, advanced to gain a footing on the island.

XXX. On the opposite shore stood the Britons, close embodied, and prepared for action. Women were seen rushing through the ranks in wild disorder; their apparel funereal; their hair loose to the wind, in their hands flaming torches, and their whole appearance resembling the frantic rage of the Furies. The Druids[1] were ranged in order, with hands uplifted, invoking the gods, and pouring forth horrible imprecations. The novelty of the sight struck the Romans with awe and terror. They stood in stupid amazement, as if their limbs were benumbed, riveted to one spot, a mark for the enemy. The exhortations of the general diffused new vigour through the ranks, and the men, by mutual reproaches, inflamed each other to deeds of valour. They felt the disgrace of yielding to a troop of women, and a band of fanatic priests; they advanced their standards, and rushed on to the attack with impetuous fury. The Britons perished in the flames which they themselves had kindled. The island fell, and a garrison was established to retain it in subjection. The religious groves, dedicated to superstition and barbarous rites, were levelled to the ground. In those recesses, the natives imbrued their altars with the blood of their prisoners, and in the entrails of men explored the will of the gods. While Suetonius was employed in making his arrangements to secure the island, he received intelligence that Britain had revolted, and that the whole province was up in arms.

XXXI. Prasutagus, the late king of the Icenians, in the course of a long reign had amassed considerable wealth. By his will he left the whole to his two daughters and the emperor in equal shares, conceiving, by that stroke of policy, that he should provide at once for the tranquillity of his kingdom and his family. The event was otherwise. His dominions were ravaged by the centurions; the slaves pillaged his house, and his effects were seized as lawful plunder. His wife, Boadicea, was disgraced with cruel stripes; her daughters were ravished, and the most illustrious of the Icenians were, by force, deprived of the possessions which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. The whole country was considered as a legacy bequeathed to the

[1] For an account of the Druids, see Cæsar's Commentaries.

plunderers. The relations of the deceased king were reduced to slavery. Exasperated by these acts of violence, and dreading worse calamities, the Icenians had recourse to arms. The Trinobantians joined in the revolt. The neighbouring states, not as yet taught to crouch in bondage, pledged themselves, in secret councils, to stand forth in the cause of liberty. What chiefly fired their indignation was the conduct of the veterans, lately planted as a colony at Camalodunum. These men treated the Britons with cruelty and oppression; they drove the natives from their habitations, and calling them by the opprobrious names of slaves and captives, added insult to their tyranny. In these acts of oppression, the veterans were supported by the common soldiers; a set of men, by their habits of life, trained to licentiousness, and, in their turn, expecting to reap the same advantages. The temple built in honour of Claudius was another cause of discontent. In the eye of the Britons it seemed the citadel of eternal slavery. The priests, appointed to officiate at the altars, with a pretended zeal for religion, devoured the whole substance of the country. To overrun a colony, which lay quite naked and exposed, without a single fortification to defend it, did not appear to the incensed and angry Britons an enterprise that threatened either danger or difficulty. The fact was, the Roman generals attended to improvements of taste and elegance, but neglected the useful. They embellished the province, and took no care to defend it.

XXXII. While the Britons were preparing to throw off the yoke, the statue of victory, erected at Camalodunum, fell from its base, without any apparent cause, and lay extended on the ground with its face averted, as if the goddess yielded to the enemies of Rome. Women in restless ecstasy rushed among the people, and with frantic screams denounced impending ruin. In the council chamber of the Romans hideous clamours were heard in a foreign accent; savage howlings filled the theatre, and near the mouth of the Thames the image of a colony in ruins was seen in the transparent water; the sea was purpled with blood, and at the tide of ebb, the figures of human bodies were traced on the sand. By these appearances the Romans were sunk in despair, while the Britons anticipated a glorious victory. Suetonius, in the meantime, was detained in the isle of Mona. In this alarming crisis, the veterans sent to Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, for a rein

forcement. Two hundred men, and those not completely armed, were all that officer could spare. The colony had but a handful of soldiers. Their temple was strongly fortified, and there they hoped to make a stand. But even for the defence of that place, no measures were concerted. Secret enemies mixed in all their deliberations. No fosse was made; no palisade thrown up; nor were the women, and such as were disabled by age or infirmity, sent out of the garrison. Unguarded and unprepared, they were taken by surprise, and, in the moment of profound peace, overpowered by the Barbarians in one general assault. The colony was laid waste with fire and sword.

The temple held out, but, after a siege of two days, was taken by storm. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the relief of the place. The Britons, flushed with success, advanced to give him battle. The legion was put to the rout, and the infantry cut to pieces. Cerealis escaped with the cavalry to his intrenchments. Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, alarmed at the scene of carnage which he beheld on every side, and further dreading the indignation of a people, whom by rapine and oppression he had driven to despair, betook himself to flight, and crossed over into Gaul.

XXXIII. Suetonius, undismayed by this disaster, marched through the heart of the country as far as London;[1] a place not dignified with the name of a colony, but the chief residence of merchants, and the great mart of trade and commerce. At that place he meant to fix the seat of war; but reflecting on the scanty numbers of his little army, and the fatal rashness of Cerealis, he resolved to quit that station, and by giving up one post, secure the rest of the province. Neither supplications, nor the tears of the inhabitants, could induce him to change his plan. The signal for the march was given. All who chose to follow his banners were taken under his protection. Of all who, on account of their advanced age, the weakness of their sex, or the attractions of the situation, thought proper to remain behind, not one escaped the rage of the Barbarians. The inhabitants of Verulamium,[2] a municipal town, were in like manner put to the sword. The genius of a savage people leads them always in quest of plunder; and, accordingly, the Britons left behind them all places of strength.

[1] London, even at that time, was the seat of trade and commerce.
[2] *St. Albans.*

Wherever they expected feeble resistance, and considerable booty, there they were sure to attack with the fiercest rage. Military skill was not the talent of Barbarians. The number massacred in the places which have been mentioned, amounted to no less than seventy thousand, all citizens or allies of Rome. To make prisoners, and reserve them for slavery, or to exchange them, was not in the idea of a people, who despised all the laws of war. The halter and the gibbet, slaughter and desolation, fire and sword, were the marks of savage valour. Aware that vengeance would overtake them, they were resolved to make sure of their revenge, and glut themselves with the blood of their enemies.

XXXIV. The fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and the auxiliaries from the adjacent stations, having joined Suetonius, his army amounted to little less than ten thousand men. Thus reinforced, he resolved, without loss of time, to bring on a decisive action. For this purpose he chose a spot encircled with woods, narrow at the entrance, and sheltered in the rear by a thick forest. In that situation he had no fear of an ambuscade. The enemy, he knew, had no approach, but in front. An open plain lay before him. He drew up his men in the following order: the legions in close array formed the centre; the light-armed troops were stationed at hand to serve as occasion might require; the cavalry took post in the wings. The Britons brought into the field an incredible multitude. They formed no regular line of battle. Detached parties and loose battalions displayed their numbers, in frantic transport bounding with exultation, and so sure of victory, that they placed their wives in waggons at the extremity of the plain, where they might survey the scene of action, and behold the wonders of British valour.

XXXV. Boadicea in a warlike car, with her two daughters before her, drove through the ranks. She harangued the different nations in their turn: "This," she said, "is not the first time that the Britons have been led to battle by a woman. But now she did not come to boast the pride of a long line of ancestry, nor even to recover her kingdom and the plundered wealth of her family. She took the field, like the meanest among them, to assert the cause of public liberty, and to seek revenge for her body seamed with ignominious stripes, and her two daughters infamously ravished. From the pride and arrogance of the Romans nothing is sacred; all are subject to violation; the old

endure the scourge, and the virgins are deflowered. But the vindictive gods are now at hand. A Roman legion dared to face the warlike Britons: with their lives they paid for their rashness; those who survived the carnage of that day, lie poorly hid behind their intrenchments, meditating nothing but how to save themselves by an ignominious flight. From the din of preparation, and the shouts of the British army, the Romans, even now, shrink back with terror. What will be their case when the assault begins? Look round, and view your numbers. Behold the proud display of warlike spirits, and consider the motives for which we draw the avenging sword. On this spot we must either conquer, or die with glory. There is no alternative. Though a woman, my resolution is fixed; the men, if they please, may survive with infamy, and live in bondage."

XXXVI. Suetonius, in a moment of such importance, did not remain silent. He expected everything from the valour of his men, and yet urged every topic that could inspire and animate them to the attack. "Despise," he said, "the savage uproar, the yells and shouts of undisciplined Barbarians. In that mixed multitude, the women out-number the men. Void of spirit, unprovided with arms, they are not soldiers who come to offer battle; they are dastards, runaways, the refuse of your swords, who have often fled before you, and will again betake themselves to flight when they see the conqueror flaming in the ranks of war. In all engagements it is the valour of a few that turns the fortune of the day. It will be your immortal glory, that with a scanty number you can equal the exploits of a great and powerful army. Keep your ranks; discharge your javelins; rush forward to a close attack; bear down all with your bucklers, and hew a passage with your swords. Pursue the vanquished, and never think of spoil and plunder. Conquer, and victory gives you everything." This speech was received with warlike acclamations. The soldiers burned with impatience for the onset, the veterans brandished their javelins, and the ranks displayed such an intrepid countenance, that Suetonius, anticipating the victory, gave the signal for the charge.

XXXVII. The engagement began. The Roman legion presented a close-embodied line. The narrow defile gave them the shelter of a rampart. The Britons advanced

with ferocity, and discharged their darts at random. In that instant, the Romans rushed forward in the form of a wedge. The auxiliaries followed with equal ardour. The cavalry, at the same time, bore down upon the enemy, and, with their pikes, overpowered all who dared to make a stand. The Britons betook themselves to flight, but their waggons in the rear obstructed their passage. A dreadful slaughter followed. Neither sex nor age was spared. The cattle, falling in one promiscuous carnage, added to the heaps of slain. The glory of the day was equal to the most splendid victory of ancient times. According to some writers, no less than eighty thousand Britons were put to the sword. The Romans lost about four hundred men, and the wounded did not exceed that number. Boadicea, by a dose of poison, put a period to her life. Pænius Posthumus, præfect in the camp of the second legion, as soon as he heard of the brave exploits of the fourteenth and twentieth legions, felt the disgrace of having, in disobedience to the orders of his general, robbed the soldiers under his command of their share in so complete a victory. Stung with remorse, he fell upon his sword, and expired on the spot.

XXXVIII. Suetonius called in all his forces, and, having ordered them to pitch their tents, kept the field in readiness for new emergencies, intending not to close the campaign till he put an end to the war. By directions from the emperor a reinforcement of two thousand legionary soldiers, eight auxiliary cohorts, and a thousand horse arrived from Germany. By this accession of strength the ninth legion was completed. The cohorts and cavalry were sent into new quarters, and the country round wherever the people had declared open hostility, or were suspected of treachery, was laid waste with fire and sword. Famine was the evil that chiefly distressed the enemy employed in warlike preparations, they had neglected the cultivation of their lands, depending altogether on the success of their arms, and the booty which they hoped to seize from the Romans. Fierce and determined in the cause of liberty, they were rendered still more obstinate by the misunderstanding that subsisted between the Roman generals. Julius Classicianus had succeeded to the post vacant by the sudden flight of Catus Decianus. Being at variance with Suetonius, he did not scruple to sacrifice the public good to private animosity. He spread a report

that another commander-in-chief might be soon expected, and in him the Britons would find a man, who would bring with him neither illwill to the natives, nor the pride of victory. The vanquished would, by consequence, meet with moderation and humanity. Classicianus did not stop here: in his despatches to Rome, he pressed the necessity of recalling Suetonius. The war would, otherwise, never be brought to a conclusion by an officer who owed all his disasters to his own want of conduct, and his success to the good fortune of the empire.

XXXIX. In consequence of these complaints, Polycletus, one of the emperor's freedmen, was sent from Rome to inquire into the state of Britain. The weight and authority of such a messenger, Nero flattered himself, would produce a reconciliation between the hostile generals, and dispose the Britons to a more pacific temper. Polycletus set out with a large retinue, and, on his journey through Italy and Gaul, made his grandeur a burden to the people. On his arrival in Britain he overawed the Roman soldiers; but his magnificent airs and assumed importance met with nothing from the Britons but contempt and derision. Notwithstanding the misfortunes of the natives, the flame of liberty was not extinguished. The exorbitant power of a manumitted slave was a novelty which those ferocious islanders could not digest. They saw an army that fought with valour, and a general who led them on to victory; but both were obliged to wait the nod of a wretched bondsman. In the report made by this man the state of affairs was such as gave no jealousy to Nero. Suetonius, therefore, was continued in his government. It happened, in a short time afterwards, that a few ships were wrecked on the coast, and all on board perished in the waves. This was considered as a calamity of war, and, on that account, Suetonius was recalled. Petronius Turpilianus, whose consulship had just then expired, succeeded to the command. Under him a languid state of tranquillity followed. The general saw the passive disposition of the Britons, and not to provoke hostilities was the rule of his conduct. He remained inactive, content to decorate his want of enterprise with the name of peace.

XL. This year was remarkable for two atrocious crimes; one, the act of a senator, and the other perpetrated by the daring spirit of a slave. Domitius Balbus, of prætorian rank, was, at that time, far advanced in years. His wealth,

and his want of issue, made him obnoxious to the arts of ill-designing men. His relation, Valerius Fabianus, a man high in rank, and likely to obtain the first honours of the state, forged his will. To give colour to the fraud, he drew into his plot Vincius Rufinus and Terentius Lentinus, two Roman knights, who chose to act in concert with Antonius Primus and Asinius Marcellus. Antonius was a prompt and daring spirit, ready for any mischief. Marcellus was grandson to the renowned Asinius Pollio: his character was, till that time, without a stain; but his favourite maxim was, that poverty is the worst of evils. In the presence of those conspirators, and other witnesses of inferior note, Fabianus sealed the will. The fraud being brought to light before the senate, the author of it, with three of his accomplices, namely, Antonius, Rufinus, and Terentius, were condemned to suffer the penalties of the Cornelian law.[1] Marcellus found in the favour of the prince, and the dignity of his ancestors, a powerful protection. He was saved from punishment, not from infamy.

XLI. The same day was fatal to two others of rank and distinction. Pompeius Ælianus, a young man who had already passed with honour through the office of quæstor, was charged as an accessary in the guilt of Fabianus. He was banished, not only from Italy, but from Spain, the place of his birth. Valerius Ponticus met with equal severity. The crime alleged against him was, that, with a design to elude the jurisdiction of the præfect of Rome, he had accused several delinquents before the prætor; intending, in the first instance, under colour of a legal process, and afterwards, by abandoning the prosecution, to defeat the ends of justice. The fathers added a clause to their decree, whereby all persons concerned either in procuring or conducting for hire a collusive action, were to be treated as public prevaricators,[2] and to suffer the pains and penalties inflicted by the law on such as stood convicted of a false and calumnious accusation.

XLII. The second daring crime that marked the year, as mentioned above, was the act of a slave. This man murdered his master, Pedanius Secundus, at that time præfect of the city. His motive for this desperate act

[1] The Cornelian law was enacted by Cornelius Sulla the dictator, who made banishment to an island the sentence to be passed on all who should suppress a true will, or forge a false one.

[2] That punishment was either *exile*, *relegation* to an island, or degradation from the offender's rank.

was either because his liberty, after a bargain made,[1] was still withheld, or, being enamoured of a foreign pathic, he could not endure his master as his rival. Every slave in the family where the murder was committed, was by ancient usage subject to capital punishment; but the populace, touched with compassion for so many innocent men, opposed the execution with rage and tumult little short of a seditious insurrection. In the senate many of the fathers embraced the popular side, but the majority declared for the rigour of the law without innovation. In the debate on this occasion, Caius Cassius spoke to the following effect:

XLIII. "I have been often present, conscript fathers, when motions have been made in this assembly for new decrees, repugnant to the laws in being, and utterly subversive of all ancient establishments. To those measures I made no opposition, though well convinced, that the regulations made by our ancestors were the best, the wisest, the most conducive to the public good. To change that system is to change for the worse. This has ever been my settled opinion; but I forbore to take a part in your debates, that I might not be thought bigoted either to antiquity, or to my own way of thinking. I had another reason for my conduct. The weight and influence which I flattered myself I had acquired in this assembly, might, by frequently troubling you, lose its effect. I determined, therefore, to reserve myself for some important conjuncture when my feeble voice might be of use. That conjuncture occurs this very day. A man of consular rank, without a friend to assist him, without any one person to oppose the ruffian's blow, no notice given, no discovery made, has been in his own house barbarously murdered. The law which dooms every slave under the roof to execution is still in force. Repeal that law, and, if you will, let this horrible deed pass with impunity; but when you have done it, which of us can think himself safe? Who can depend on his rank or dignity, when the first magistrate of your city dies under the assassin's stroke? Who can hope to live in security amongst his slaves, when so large a number as four hundred could not defend Pedanius Secundus? Will our domestics assist us in the hour of need, when we see, in the instance before us,

[1] Slaves were in the habit of saving money in order to purchase their freedom.

that neither their own danger nor the terrors of the law could induce them to protect their master? Will it be said that the murderer struck his blow to revenge a personal injury? What was the injury? The paternal estate of a ruffian, perhaps, was in danger; or the foreign pathic, whom they were going to ravish from him, descended to him from his ancestors. If that be so, the deed was lawful, and, by consequence, we, conscript fathers, ought to pronounce it justifiable homicide.

XLIV. "But let me ask you; are we, at this time of day, to support by argument, what has been long settled by the wisdom of ages? Suppose the point in dispute were a new question, to be now decided for the first time: can we imagine that a ruffian, who had formed a black design to murder his master, kept the whole so closely locked up in his breast, that, in the agitations of a guilty mind, nothing escaped from him? Not a menace, not so much as a rash word to give the alarm? Nothing, we are told, of this sort happened; we are to believe that the assassin brooded over his horrible purpose in sullen silence; that he prepared his dagger unseen by every eye, and that his fellow-slaves knew nothing of it. Be it so; did he pass unseen through the train of attendants that guarded the bed-chamber? Did he open the door unperceived by all? Did he enter with a light, and strike the mortal blow, without the knowledge of any person whatever?

"Between the first design, and the final execution of evil deeds, symptoms of guilt are often seen. If our slaves are faithful, if they give timely intelligence, we may live secure in our houses; or if we must fall by the murderer's dagger, it is a satisfaction to know, that justice will overtake the guilty. The mind and temper of the slave, though born on the master's estate, or even in his house, inbibing with his first milk affection and gratitude to the family, were always suspected by our ancestors. At present, we have in our service whole nations of slaves; the scum of mankind, collected from all quarters of the globe; a race of men, who bring with them foreign rites, and the religion of their country, or, probably, no religion at all. In such a conflux, if the laws are silent, what protection remains for the master? But, it is said, the innocent may suffer with the guilty. To this I answer, when an army, seized with a general panic, turns its back on the enemy, and, to restore military

discipline, the men are drawn out and decimated; what distinction is then made between the gallant soldier and the coward who fled from his post? In political justice there is often something not strictly right: but partial evil is counterbalanced by the good of the whole."

XLV. To this reasoning no reply was made, and yet a murmur of disapprobation ran through the assembly. The number doomed to suffer, their age, their sex, and the undoubted innocence of the greatest part, awakened sentiments of compassion; but the majority was for letting the law take its course. Their opinion prevailed. The popular cry was still for mercy. The rabble rose in a tumultuous body, and with stones and firebrands stopped the execution. To quell their fury, Nero issued a proclamation, and by his order the streets were lined with soldiers under arms. The unhappy victims suffered death. Cingonius Varro moved, that even the freedmen, who were actually in the house at the time of the murder, should, by a decree of the senate, be banished out of Italy. To this Nero answered, that since mercy was not allowed to mitigate the system of ancient laws, to increase their rigour by new pains and penalties, would be an act of cruelty.

XLVI. During the same consulship, Tarquitius Priscus, at the suit of the people of Bithynia, was convicted of extortion, and condemned to make restitution. The senate remembered the violence of this man in the prosecution against Statilius Taurus, his own proconsul in Africa, and now retaliated with a vindictive spirit. The people in both the Gauls were reviewed and rated by Quintus Volusius, Sextius Africanus, and Trebellius Maximus. The two former, elate with family pride, passed their time in mutual jealousy, thwarting each other, and struggling for pre-eminence. They looked down with contempt on Trebellius; but their petty animosities served only to degrade themselves, and give to their colleague a decided superiority.

XLVII. In the course of this year died Memmius Regulus, distinguished by his virtues, and his unblemished character. Admired for his constancy and unshaken firmness, he rose to as high a pitch of credit and authority, as can be attained under a government, where the grandeur of the prince throws a shade over the merit of every private citizen. As a proof of this, we have the following anecdote. Nero being confined with a fit of illness, the tribe of sycophants, fluttering about his person, poured forth the

anguish of their hearts, and, "if anything happened to the emperor, the day," they said, "that put a period to his life, would be the last of the empire." "No," replied the prince, "a pillar of the state will still remain." The courtiers stood at gaze, wondering who that person could be; Nero told them, "Memmius Regulus is the man." Strange as it may seem, Regulus survived that opinion of his virtue. In his love of retirement he found a retreat from danger. A man, whose family had lately risen to honours, gave no alarm; and his fortune raised no envy. It was in the same year that Nero dedicated a gymnasium, or public school for athletic exercises, and, with the obliging facility of Greek manners, gave orders that the senators and Roman knights, without any expense on their part, should be provided with oil, to prepare their limbs for that elegant exhibition.

XLVIII. During the consulship of Publius Marius and Lucius Asinius [A.U.C. 815, A.D. 62], a prosecution was set on foot against Antistius, then invested with the office of prætor. The conduct of this man, when tribune of the people, has been already mentioned. The charge against him was, that being the author of sarcastic verses against the emperor, he produced his poem to a large company at the table of Ostorius Scapula. For this libel he was arraigned on the law of majesty. The cause was conducted by Cossutianus Capito, who had been lately raised, by the interest of Tigellinus, his father-in-law, to the senatorian order. The law of majesty had fallen into disuse, and was now revived, for the first time in the reign of Nero, not, as was imagined, to make Antistius feel its severity, but, in fact, to give the emperor an opportunity, after judgment of death was passed, to interpose his tribunitian authority, and, by preventing the execution, add new lustre to his name. Ostorius Scapula was called as a witness. He remembered nothing of the verses in question. The evidence of others was believed, and, thereupon, Junius Marcellus, consul elect, moved, that the criminal, divested in the first instance of his prætorship, should suffer death according to the laws in force, and the practice under former emperors. The rest of the senate concurring in the same opinion, Pætus Thrasea rose to oppose the motion. He began with honourable mention of the prince, nor did he take upon him to defend the conduct of Antistius. On the contrary, he blamed the licentious spirit of the man in terms of severity; but under a virtuous emperor, and in a

senate left to act with independence, the question, he said, was not the magnitude of the crime, nor what punishment the rigour of the law would warrant. The executioner, the gibbet, and the halter, were, for some time, unknown at Rome. Other pains and penalties were provided by law, and those might be inflicted, without branding the judges with cruelty, and the age with infamy. Antistius may be condemned to banishment; his effects may be confiscated. Let him pass the remainder of his days in one of the islands. His life, in that situation, will be protracted misery. He will there continue to languish in exile, a burden to himself, yet a living monument of the equity and moderation of the times.

XLIX. The firmness with which Thrasea delivered his sentiments inspired the senate with the same ardour. The consul put the question, and the fathers divided.[1] The majority voted with Thrasea. The dissentients were but a small number. Amongst them was Aulus Vitellius,[2] of all the flattering crew, the most corrupt and servile; fluent in invective; eager to attack the most eminent characters, and ever sure, with the confusion of a little mind, to shrink from the reply. He heard his adversary with silent patience. The consuls, however, did not presume to close the business by a decree in form: they chose to make their report to the emperor, and wait his pleasure. Nero, for some time, balanced between shame and resentment. At length his answer was, "That Antistius, without provocation, or any cause of complaint, had distilled the venom of his pen on the name and character of his sovereign. The matter had been referred to the senate, and justice required a punishment adequate to the crime. Nevertheless, as it had been from the first his resolution to mitigate a rigorous sentence, he would not now control the moderation of the fathers. They might determine, as to their wisdom should seem meet. They were even at liberty to acquit the criminal altogether." From this answer it was evident, that the conduct of the senate had given offence at court. The consuls, however, were not inclined to alter their report. Thrasea maintained his former opinion, and all who had voted with him followed his example. Some were unwilling, by a change of sentiment, to expose the prince to the popular odium; others thought themselves safe in a large

[1] The senate often decided, without calling on each member for his opinion, by *dividing the house*; "*per discessionem.*"

[2] Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

majority; and Thrasea, with his usual elevation of mind, would not recede from the dignity of his character.

L. On a charge of the same complexion as the former, Fabricius Veiento was involved in similar danger. In certain writings, which he called the LAST WILLS of persons deceased, he had inserted strokes of satire reflecting on several members of the senate, and others of the sacerdotal order. Talius Geminus was the prosecutor. He added another allegation, charging, that the criminal abused his credit at court, and disposed of the favours of the prince, and the honours of the state, by bargain and sale, for his own private emolument. This last article roused the resentment of Nero; he removed the cause to his own tribunal. Veiento was banished out of Italy. His books were condemned to the flames, but eagerly sought, and universally read. Men perused with avidity what was procured with danger. When no longer prohibited, the work sunk into oblivion.

LI. Meanwhile, the public grievances went on with increasing violence, and the means of redress diminished every day. Burrhus died at this time, whether in the course of nature, or by poison, cannot now be known. The general opinion ascribed his death to a fit of illness. He was seized with a disorder in the throat, and the inflammation in the glands swelling to a prodigious size, suffocation followed. There was, however, a current report, that, under a pretence of administering a proper gargle, poison was mixed in the medicine, by order of Nero, and that Burrhus, having discovered the villainy, as soon as he perceived the prince entering his room, turned from him with aversion, and to all inquiries shortly answered, "I am well at present." He died universally lamented. His virtues were long remembered, and long regretted. Nor was the public grief alleviated by the two persons who succeeded to his employments, namely, Fenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus,[1] the former a man of undoubted innocence, but the innocence that proceeds from want of spirit. Tigellinus stood distinguished by a life of debauchery, and the infamy of his character. Rufus owed his advancement to the voice of the people, who were pleased with his upright management of the public stores. Tigellinus was a favourite of the emperor. The early vices of the man

[1] Tigellinus rose from obscurity to be in high favour with Nero. He was the grand teacher of debauchery and every vice. Juvenal has recorded him, Sat. i. 155. See an account of the prodigious banquet given by this man, *Annals*, xv. 37.

recommended him to notice. The command of the prætorian guards, which had been intrusted to Burrhus only, was granted to those two by a joint commission. The impression, which they had given of their characters, was confirmed by their conduct in office. Tigellinus gained an absolute ascendant over the mind of a debauched and profligate emperor. In all scenes of revelry he was a constant companion. Rufus obtained the goodwill of the soldiers and the people, but his merit ruined him with the prince.

LII. By the death of Burrhus, Seneca lost the chief support of his power. The friend of upright measures was snatched away, and virtue could no longer make head against the corruption of a court, governed altogether by the wild and profligate. By that set of men Seneca was undermined. They blackened his character, and loaded him with various imputations. "His wealth was exorbitant, above the condition of a private citizen; and yet his unappeasable avarice went on without intermission, every day grasping at more. His rage for popularity was no less violent. He courted the affections of the people, and by the grandeur of his villas, and the beauty of his gardens, hoped to vie with imperial splendour. In matters of taste and genius he allows no rival. He claims the whole province of eloquence as his own; and since Nero showed his taste for poetry, from that moment Seneca began to court the muse, and he too has his copy of verses.

"To the other diversions of the prince he is an avowed, an open enemy. The skill of the charioteer provokes his raillery; he sneers at the management of horses; and the melody of the prince's voice is a subject for his wit and ridicule. In all this what is his drift? Why truly, that, in the whole extent of the empire, there should be nothing worthy of praise but what flows from his superior talents. But Nero is no longer the pupil of this subtle philosopher; he has attained the prime season of manhood, and may now discard his tutor. He has before his eyes the brightest model for his conduct, the example of his own illustrious ancestors."

LIII. These insidious arts were not unknown to Seneca. There were still at court a few in the interests of virtue, and from such men he received intelligence of all that passed. Finding that the prince had withdrawn his friendship, and no longer admitted him to his conversation, he demanded an audience, and spoke to the following effect: "It is now, Cæsar, the fourteenth year, since I was placed near your person; of your reign it is the eighth. In that space of time

you have lavished upon me both wealth and honours, with so liberal a hand, that to complete my happiness nothing now is necessary but moderation and contentment. In the humble request, which I presume to make, I shall take the liberty to cite a few examples, far, indeed, above my condition, but worthy of you. Augustus, your illustrious ancestor, permitted Marcus Agrippa to retire to Mitylene; he allowed Mæcenas to live almost a stranger in Rome, and in the heart of the city[1] to dwell as it were in solitude. The former of those illustrious men had been the companion of his wars; the latter supported the weight of his administration: both, it is true, received ample rewards, but rewards fairly earned by great and eminent services. For myself, if you except some attainments in literature, the fruit of studies pursued in the shade of retirement, what merit can I assume? My feeble talents are supposed to have seasoned your mind with the first tincture of letters, and that honour is beyond all recompense.

"But your liberality knows no bounds. You have loaded me with favours, and with riches. When I reflect on your generosity, I say to myself, Shall a man of my level, without family pretensions, the son of a simple knight, born in a distant province,[2] presume to rank with the grandees of Rome? My name, the name of a new man, figures among those who boast a long and splendid line of ancestors. Where is now the mind, which long since knew, that to be content with little is true happiness? The philosopher is employed in laying out gardens, and improving pleasure-grounds. He delights in the extent of ample villas; he enjoys a large rent-roll, and has sums of money laid out at interest. I have but one apology; your munificence was a command, and it was not for me to resist.

LIV. "But the measure of generosity on your part, and submission on mine, is now complete. What a prince could give, you have bestowed; what a friend could take, I have received. More will only serve to irritate envy, and inflame the malice of my enemies. You indeed tower above the passions of ill-designing men; I am open to their attacks; I stand in need of protection. In a campaign, or on a march, if I found myself fatigued and worn out with toil, I should not hesitate to sue for some indulgence. Life is a state of warfare; it is a long campaign, in which a man in years, sinking under

[1] Mæcenas had a house and magnificent gardens near Mount Esquiline.
[2] Seneca was a native of Spain; born at *Corduba*, now *Cordova*.

a load of cares, and even by his riches made obnoxious, may crave leave to retire. I am willing to resign my wealth: let the auditors of the imperial revenue take the account, and let the whole return to its fountain-head. By this act of self-denial I shall not be reduced to poverty; I shall part with that superfluity which glitters in the eyes of my enemies: and for the rest, the time, which is spent in the improving of gardens, and the embellishing of villas, I shall transfer to myself, and for the future lay it out in the cultivation of my mind. You are in the vigour of your days; a long train of years lies before you. In full possession of the sovereign power, you have learnt the art of reigning. Old age may be permitted to seek repose. It will, hereafter, be your glory, that you knew how to choose men of moderation, who could descend from the summit of fortune, to dwell with peace and humble content in the vale of life."

LV. Nero replied as follows: "If I give an immediate answer to a speech of prepared eloquence, the power of doing it I derive from you. The faculty of speaking not only when the matter has been premeditated, but also on sudden occasions, I possess (if I do possess it) by your care and instruction. Augustus, it is true, released Agrippa and Mæcenas from the fatigue of business; but he did it, at a time, when his authority was established on the firmest basis, and his own experience was equal to the cares of government. He did not, however, resume the grants which he had made. What those eminent citizens obtained, they deserved in war and civil commotions; for in those busy scenes Augustus passed his youth. Had my lot been the same, your sword would not have been idle. What the conjuncture demanded, you supplied: you formed my mind to science, and you assisted me with your wisdom and advice. The advantages which I derive from you are not of a perishable nature; they will cleave to me through life. As to the favours which it was in my power to grant, such as houses, gardens, and sums of money, they are precarious gifts, subject to accidents and the caprice of fortune. Presents of that kind may seem magnificent; but they fall short of what I have bestowed on others, who had neither your accomplishments, nor your merit. I could mention freedmen, who flourish in higher splendour; but I blush to name them. I blush, that you, who are the first in my esteem, should not, at the same time, be the first man in my dominions.

LVI. "I grant that you are advanced in years, but the

vigour of your constitution is still unbroken. You are equal to business, and the fruit of your labours you can still enjoy. My reign is but just begun; and what has been my liberality? Vitellius was three times consul, and Claudius was his friend: are you to be deemed inferior to the former? and must I, in point of munificence, yield to the latter? Volusius, by a long life of parsimony, raised an immoderate fortune; and shall not my generosity put you on a level with a man of that description? The impetuosity of youth may hurry me beyond the bounds of prudence: it will then be yours to recall my wandering steps, and lead me to the paths of honour. You helped to form my youthful understanding, and to what you polished you still can give life and energy. If you resign your wealth, can you suppose that your moderation will be deemed the cause? If you desert your prince, will your love of quiet be thought the motive? Far otherwise: my avarice will be arraigned; my cruelty will be the general topic. The praise, indeed, of wisdom may pursue you in your retreat; but will it be generous to build your fame on the disgrace and ruin of your friend?"

To this flattering speech Nero added fond embraces, and all the external marks of affection. Inclined by nature to disguise his sentiments, and by habit exercised in the arts of dissimulation, he knew how to hide under the surface of friendship the secret malice of his heart. Seneca answered in a submissive tone. He returned his best thanks, the usual close of every conference in the cabinet of the prince. He resolved, however, to change his mode of living: he resigned his power, and retained no appearance of his former splendour: the crowd of visitors no longer frequented his house; he dismissed his train of followers, and but rarely appeared abroad, willing to be considered as an infirm old man, obliged to take care of his health at home, or a philosopher, absorbed in abstract speculations.

LVII. Seneca's influence was now in its wane. To ruin the credit of Fenius Rufus was the next object. In this his enemies found no difficulty. The crime of being attached to Agrippina was sufficient. Tigellinus, in the meantime, rose to the highest pitch of credit and influence at court. Possessing a genius for every mischief, and having no other talents, he resolved to draw the prince into a confederacy in guilt. Congenial vices, he had no doubt, would render him still more dear to his master. With this view he began to watch the passions of Nero, and to explore the secrets of his heart

He found that the two persons whom the emperor dreaded most were Plautus and Sylla; both lately removed out of Italy; the former into Asia, and the latter to Narbon Gaul. Tigellinus began his secret hostilities against them both. He talked of their rank and high descent. Plautus, he observed, was not far distant from the armies in the east; and Sylla was near the legions in Germany. For himself, he had not, like Burrhus, the art of managing parties for his own private advantage. The welfare of his sovereign was his only object. At Rome, he could insure the safety of the prince. If plots were formed, by vigilance and activity they might be crushed in the bud. But for distant provinces who could answer? The name of Sylla, rendered famous by the celebrated dictator of that name, would rouse and animate the people of Gaul. In Asia the grandson of Drusus would have a number of adherents, and might, by consequence, excite the nations to a revolt. Sylla, indeed, was indigent and distressed: but his very poverty would be a source of courage, a motive for vigorous enterprise; and though he seemed to languish in repose and indolence, his love of ease was a cloak to cover his ambition. He waited for an opportunity to avow his dark designs.

Plautus, on the other hand, possessed immoderate wealth. To lead a sluggish life was not in his temper or his character: he did not even affect it. He copied, with emulation, the manners of the ancient Romans, and to his austerity added the maxims of the stoic sect: a sect at all times fond of public commotions, proud, fierce, and turbulent. By this reasoning Nero was convinced. No delay intervened. Assassins were despatched. On the sixth day they landed at Marseilles, where, without notice, or so much as a hint to alarm him, Sylla was taken by surprise at his own table, and instantly murdered. His head was conveyed to Rome. Nero amused himself with the sight; he saw that the hairs were grown grey before their time, and in that circumstance found a subject for mirth and brutal raillery.

LVIII. The murder of Plautus could not be executed with equal secrecy. His friends were numerous, and his life was valuable to many. The place lay remote; a voyage was to be performed, and, in the meantime, the plot began to transpire. A report prevailed at Rome, that Plautus had put himself under the protection of Corbulo, who was then at the head of powerful armies; a man, in that evil period, when merit and innocence were capital crimes, likely to fall a devoted

victim. The rumour further added, that in favour of Plautus all Asia was up in arms, and that the ruffians sent from Rome had either failed in their resolution, or, not finding themselves in force, had gone over to the opposite party. The whole story was without foundation; but, according to custom, credulity swallowed it, and idle men added from their own invention. Plautus, in the meantime, received intelligence of the design against his life by one of his freedmen, who, having the advantage of a fair wind, got the start of the centurions despatched by Nero. This faithful servant was sent by Lucius Antistius, his master's father-in-law, with advice, that no time was to be lost. In such a crisis, sloth would ill become a man whose life was in danger. To fall a tame and passive victim were to die an ignominious death. He had but to exert his most strenuous efforts, and good men, touched with compassion, would espouse his cause. The bold and turbulent would be sure to join him. Nothing should be left untried. It was only necessary to defeat sixty men (for that was the number employed in this bloody tragedy): before Nero could receive intelligence, and despatch another band of ruffians, there would be time to concert bold and vigorous measures. The flame of war might be kindled all over Asia, and, by this resolute conduct, he might save his life. At the worst, by daring bravely, his case would not be more desperate. Courage might suffer, but it could not suffer more than cowardice.

LIX. This spirited advice had no effect on Plautus. Banished from his country, without arms, or any means of defence, he saw no gleam of hope, and was, therefore, unwilling to be the dupe of visionary schemes. Perhaps his affection for his wife and children softened and disarmed his mind. The emperor, if not exasperated by resistance, he imagined, would act with lenity towards his unhappy family. According to some historians, the advice sent by Antistius was of a different tendency, importing that there was no danger to alarm him. We are further told, that, by the exhortation of two philosophers, by name Cæranus, a Greek by birth, and Musonius, of Tuscan origin, he had been taught that, though life is a series of toil, and danger, and calamity, to wait with patience till the stroke of death delivered him from a scene of misery, would be heroic fortitude. Thus much is certain: he was surprised by the assassins in the middle of the day, disarmed and naked, attending to the refreshment and exercise of his body.

In that condition a centurion despatched him, while

Pelagon, one of the eunuchs, stood a spectator of the tragic scene. This wretch was sent by Nero to superintend the ruffians, like the minister of a despotic prince, placed over the guards and tools of iniquity to see his master's orders strictly executed. The head of the deceased was carried to Rome. At the sight of the dismal object, the emperor cried out (I give his very words), "Nero, now you may safely marry Poppæa. What obstacle remains to defer a match, long intended, and often deferred on account of this very Plautus, and men of his description? Octavia may be divorced without delay: her conduct, it is true, has been blameless, but the imperial name of her father, and the esteem of the people, have made her in my eyes an object of terror and detestation." Having thus fortified his mind, he despatched a letter to the senate, written in guarded terms, without so much as glancing at the murder of Sylla and Plautus. He mentioned them both, charging them with seditious machinations, by which he himself was kept in a constant alarm, lest some dreadful convulsion should, by their means, shake the empire to its foundation. The fathers decreed public vows and supplications to the gods. Sylla and Plautus, though no longer in being, were expelled the senate; and with this mockery, to every good mind more grievous than the worst oppression, the people were amused and insulted.

LX. Nero finding, by the slavish tenor of the decree, that the fathers were willing to transform his vices into virtues, resolved to balance no longer. He repudiated Octavia, alleging her sterility for his reason, and immediately married Poppæa. This woman, some time the concubine of the emperor, and now his wife, continued to govern him with unbounded sway. Not content with her new dignity, she suborned a domestic servant of Octavia to charge his mistress with a dishonourable intrigue with one of her slaves. For this purpose they chose for the pretended adulterer a man of the name of Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, remarkable for his skill on the flute. The female servants were put to the torture. Some of them, overcome by pain and agony, confessed whatever was demanded of them; but the greatest part persevered, with constancy, to vindicate the honour of their mistress. Tigellinus stood near at hand, pressing them with questions. One of them had the spirit to answer, "The person of Octavia is freer from pollution than your mouth." Sentence was pronounced against Octavia. With no more ceremony than what is usual

among citizens of ordinary rank, she was dismissed from the palace. The house of Burrhus, and the estates of Plautus, two fatal presents! were allotted for her separate use. She was soon after banished to Campania, under a military guard. Murmurs of discontent were heard in every quarter of Rome. The common people spoke out without reserve. To rules of caution and political wisdom their rough manners made them strangers, and the meanness of their condition left them nothing to fear. Their clamours were so loud and violent, that Nero gave orders to recall Octavia, but without affection, and without remorse.

LXI. The populace, transported with joy by this event, pressed in crowds to the capitol, to offer up their thanks to the gods. The statues of Poppæa were dashed to the ground, while those of Octavia, adorned with wreaths of flowers, were carried in triumph on men's shoulders, and placed in the forum and in the temples. The multitude went in a tumultuous body to greet the emperor; they surrounded his palace; they desired him to come forth and receive their congratulations. A band of soldiers rushed forth sword in hand, and obliged the crowd to disperse. Whatever was pulled down during the riot, was restored to its place, and the statues of Poppæa were once more erected. But her malice to Octavia was not to be appeased. To inveterate hatred she added her dread of a popular insurrection, in consequence of which, Nero might be compelled to renounce his passion for her person.

She threw herself at his feet: "I am not now," she said, "in a situation to contend for our nuptial union, though dearer to me than life itself. But my life is in danger. The slaves and followers of Octavia, calling their own clamour the voice of the people, have committed, in a time of profound peace, public outrages little short of open rebellion. They are in arms against their sovereign. They want nothing but a leader, and, in civil commotions, that want is soon supplied. What has Octavia now to do, but to leave her retreat in Campania, and show herself to the people of Rome? She, who in her absence can raise a tumult so fierce and violent, will soon discover the extent of her power. But what is my crime? What have I committed? Whom have I offended? The people may see me the mother of legitimate heirs to the house of Cæsar; but, perhaps, they would fain reserve the imperial dignity for the issue of an Egyptian minstrel. Submit to Octavia,

since your interest will have it so: recall her to your embrace, but do it voluntarily, that the rabble may not give the law to their sovereign. You must either adopt that measure, or, by just vengeance on the guilty, provide for your own safety and the public peace. The first alarm was easily quelled; a second insurrection may prove fatal. Should the mob have reason to despair of seeing Octavia the partner of Nero's bed, they may, in their wisdom, find for her another husband."

LXII. This artful speech, tending at once to inflame the prince with resentment, and alarm his fears, had its effect. Nero heard the whole with mixed emotions of rage and terror. That Octavia was guilty with one of her slaves, was a device of which men could be no longer made the dupes. The firmness of her servants on the rack removed even the shadow of suspicion. A new stratagem was now to be tried. A man was to be found who would dare to confess the guilt; and if the same person could, with some colour of probability, be charged with a conspiracy against the state, the plot would lie the deeper. For this dark design, no one so fit as Anicetus, the commander of the fleet at Misenum, and the murderer of the prince's mother. This officer, for some time after that atrocious deed, enjoyed the smiles of the emperor, but soon experienced the common fate of all pernicious miscreants: he was favoured at first, and detested afterwards. It is the nature of great men, when their turn is served, to consider their tools as a living reproach, and standing witnesses against themselves. Nero summoned Anicetus to his presence: he thanked him for services already performed. "By you," he said, "I was delivered from the snares of an ambitious mother. A deed of greater moment still remains. Set me free from the furious spirit of an imperious wife. To effect this you need not so much as raise your hand. Neither sword nor dagger will be wanted. Confess yourself guilty of adultery with Octavia; I ask no more." He concluded with a promise of ample rewards, to be managed, indeed, with secrecy, but without bound or measure, and, in the end, a safe retreat in some delightful country. "And now," he said, "accept the offers which I have made, or certain death awaits you."

Anicetus undertook the business. Practised in guilt, and by the success of his former crimes inspired with courage, he went even beyond his commission. In the presence of certain chosen persons, whom Nero summoned to a

secret council, he told his story with circumstances that showed he had no need of a prompter. He was banished to the island of Sardinia. At that place he continued to live in affluence, and died, a last, in the course of nature.

LXIII. Nero issued a proclamation, declaring the guilt of Octavia, and, in express terms, averring, that, to obtain the command of the fleet at Misenum, she had prostituted her person to Anicetus. He added, that by the use of medicines to procure abortion, she had thrown a veil over her adulterous commerce. In this public declaration, the objection on account of sterility, so lately urged, was no more remembered. The facts, however, were said to be clearly proved. She was banished to the isle of Pandaturia. The public mind was never so deeply touched with compassion. The banishment of Agrippina, by order of Tiberius, was remembered by many; and that of Julia,[1] in the reign of Claudius, was still more fresh in the memory of all: but these two unfortunate exiles had attained the vigour of their days, and were, by consequence, better enabled to endure the stroke of adversity. They had known scenes of happiness, and, in the recollection of better times, could lose, or, at least, assuage, the sense of present evils. To Octavia the celebration of her nuptials was little different from a funeral ceremony. She was led to a house, where she could discover nothing but memorials of affliction; her father carried off by poison,[2] and her brother, in a short time afterwards, destroyed by the same detestable machination. She saw herself superseded by the allurements of a female slave; she saw the affections of her husband alienated from herself, and a marriage, by which her ruin was completed, openly celebrated with Poppæa. Above all, she underwent a cruel accusation, to an ingenuous mind worse than death. At the time when the storm burst upon her, she was only in the twentieth year of her age, and, even then, in the bloom of life, delivered to the custody of centurions and soldiers. Her present afflictions, she plainly saw, were a prelude to her impending fate. She was cut off from all the comforts of life; but the tranquillity of the grave was still denied to her.

LXIV. In a few days afterwards she received a mandate, commanding her to end her days. Alarmed and terrified,

[1] Julia, the daugher of Germanicus and Agrippina, was banished by the emperor Claudius.

[2] The emperor Claudius, her father, and her brother Britannicus, were both poisoned.

she descended to supplications; she admitted herself to be a widow; she claimed no higher title than that of the emperor's sister;[1] she invoked the race of Germanicus, the common ancestors of Nero and herself, and, in the anguish of her heart, regretted even Agrippina, during whose life, she said, her marriage would have been a state of wretchedness, but would not have brought her to an untimely end. Amidst these effusions of sorrow, the ruffians seized her, and, having bound her limbs, opened her veins. Her blood was chilled with fear, and did not issue at the wound. The assassins carried her to a bath of intense heat, where she was suffocated by the vapour. To complete the horror of this barbarous tragedy, her head was cut off, and sent to Rome, to glut the eyes of Poppæa.

Such were the transactions, for which the fathers decreed oblations to the gods. I mention the fact in this place, that the reader of this, or any other history of those disastrous times, may know, once for all, that as often as banishment, or a bloody execution, was ordered, the senate never failed to thank the gods for their bounty. Those solemn acts, which, in the earlier periods of Rome, were the pious gratitude of the people for increasing happiness, were now profanely and abominably converted to memorials of horror and public misery. This may be received as a general truth; and yet whenever a decree occurs, remarkable either for a new strain of adulation, or the base servility of the times, it is my intention not to pass it by in silence.

LXV. In the course of this year, Nero is said to have destroyed by poison the most considerable of his freedmen. Among those Doriphorus had opposed the marriage with Poppæa, and for that crime lost his life. Pallas was in possession of exorbitant wealth; but, living to a great age, he delayed the eager avarice of the emperor. He was murdered for his riches. Romanus, another of the freedmen, endeavoured, by clandestine calumny, to accomplish the ruin of Seneca. He charged the philosopher with being an accomplice in the machinations of Caius Piso; but the blow, warded off by Seneca, recoiled upon the accuser. By this incident Piso was alarmed for his own safety. A dark conspiracy followed, big with danger to Nero, but abortive in the end.

[1] Nero was adopted by Claudius, her father, and consequently was brother to Octavia.

BOOK XV

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the soldiers—The senate convened—Their base and servile flattery—Oblations decreed to the gods—The month of April styled by the name Nero.

These transactions passed in little more than three years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
815	62	continued, Marius Celsus, Asinius Gallus.
816	63	Memmius Regulus, Verginius Rufus.
817	64	C. Læcanius Bassus, M. Licinius Crassus.
818	65	Licinius Nerva Silianus, M. Vestinus Atticus.

I. DURING these transactions, Vologeses, king of the Parthians, began to raise new commotions in the east. The success of Corbulo alarmed his jealousy; he saw, with wounded pride, the defeat of his brother, Tiridates; and, in his room, Tigranes, an alien prince,[1] seated on the throne of Armenia. The honour of the Arsacides was tarnished by these events, and he was determined to restore its former lustre. But the struggle was to be with a great and powerful empire. Treaties of alliance, long in force and long respected by the two nations, held him in suspense. By nature anxious and irresolute, he formed no settled plan. He was at variance with the Hyrcanians, and, after a long and obstinate conflict, that brave and powerful nation still made head against him. While he continued wavering, fresh intelligence fired him with indignation. Tigranes marched his army into the territory of the Adiabenians, a people bordering on Armenia, and laid waste their country. The enterprise did not resemble the sudden incursion of Barbarians roving in quest of prey; a regular war seemed to be declared in form. The chiefs of the Adiabenians saw, with resentment, their lands made a scene of desolation, not by a Roman army, but by a foreigner, a despicable hostage, who for years had lived at Rome undistinguished from the common slaves.

Monobazus, the sovereign of the province, inflamed the discontents of the people, and, at the same time, roused the pride of Vologeses by frequent messages, importing, that he knew not which way to turn, nor from what quarter to expect relief. Armenia, he said, was lost, and the neighbouring states, if not reinforced by the Parthians, must be all involved in the same calamity, perhaps, with the consent of the people, as Rome, it was well known, made a distinction between the nations that fell by conquest, and

[1] Tigranes descended from the nobility of Cappadocia, was sent by Nero to ascend the throne of Armenia. *Annals*, xiv. 26.

those that submitted at discretion. Tiridates, by his behaviour, added force to these complaints. Driven from his throne, he appeared with all the silent dignity of distress, or, if he spoke occasionally, his words were few, short, and sententious. "Mighty kingdoms," he said, "are not supported by inactivity. Men and arms, and warlike preparations, are necessary. The conqueror has always justice on his side. In a private station, to defend their property is the virtue of individuals; but to invade the possessions of others is the prerogative and the glory of kings."

II. Roused by these incentives, Vologeses summoned a council, and, seating Tiridates next himself, spoke in substance as follows: "You see before you a prince descended from the same father with myself. Acknowledging the right of primogeniture, he ceded to me the diadem of Parthia: in return I placed him on the throne of Armenia, the third kingdom among the eastern nations. Media, in fact, is the second, and Pacorus, at that time, was in possession. By this arrangement, I provided for my family, and by the measure, extinguished for ever those unnatural jealousies, which formerly envenomed brothers against brothers. This system, it seems, has given umbrage to the Romans; they declare against it; and though they never broke with Parthia without paying dearly for their temerity, they now are willing to provoke a war, and rush on their own destruction. Thus much I am willing to declare; the possessions, which have descended to me from my ancestors, shall never be dismembered; but I had rather maintain them by the justice of my cause, than by the decision of the sword. I avow the principle, and if, in consequence of it, I have been too much inclined to pacific measures, the vigour of my future conduct shall make atonement. The national honour, in the meantime, has suffered no diminution. Your glory is unimpaired, and I have added to it the virtues of moderation; virtues, which the gods approve, and which no sove reign, however great and flourishing, ought to despise."

Having thus delivered his sentiments, he placed the regal diadem on the head of Tiridates, and, at the same time, gave to Moneses, an officer of distinguished rank, the command of the cavalry, which, by established usage, is always appointed to attend the person of the monarch. He added the auxiliaries sent by the Adiabenians, and, with that force, ordered him to march against Tigranes, in order to exterminate the usurper from the throne of Armenia. In the

meantime, he proposed to compromise the war with the Hyrcanians, and fall with the whole weight of his kingdom on the Roman provinces.

III. Corbulo was no sooner apprised of these transactions, than he despatched, to support Tigranes, two legions, under the command of Verulanus Severus and Vettius Bolanus. In their private instructions those officers had it in command, to proceed with caution, and act on the defensive, without pushing on their operations with too much vigour. A decisive campaign was not Corbulo's plan. He wished to protract the war, and, in the meantime, stated, in his letters to the emperor, the necessity of appointing a commander, with a special commission to protect Armenia, as he foresaw a storm gathering in the province of Syria. If Vologeses made an irruption in that quarter, a powerful army would be wanted to repel the invader. With the rest of his legions he formed a chain of posts along the banks of the Euphrates, and, having made a powerful levy of provincial forces, he secured all the passes against the inroads of the enemy. In order to make sure of water in a country not well supplied by nature, he erected strong castles near the springs and fountains; and, where the stations were inconvenient, he choked up a number of rivulets with heaps of sand, with intent to conceal their source from the Parthian army.

IV. While Corbulo was thus concerting measures for the defence of Syria, Moneses advanced by rapid marches, and with all his forces entered Armenia. He hoped to outstrip the fame that flies before an enterprising general, and to fall upon Tigranes by surprise. That prince, aware of the design, had thrown himself into the city of Tigranocerta, a place surrounded by high walls,[1] and defended by a numerous garrison. The river Nicephorius, with a current sufficiently broad, washes a considerable part of the walls. A deep trench enclosed the rest. There was a competent number of soldiers to man the works, and provisions had been laid in with due precaution. Some of the foraging parties, having rashly ventured too far, were surrounded by the enemy. This check, however, instead of disheartening the garrison, served only to inspire them with a spirit of revenge. The operations of a siege are ill suited to the genius of the Parthians, whose courage always fails in a

[1] The walls were fifty cubits high, so we are told by Appian, in his History of the Mithridatic War.

close engagement. A few arrows thrown at random made no impression on men sheltered by their fortifications. The besiegers could only amuse themselves with a feeble attack. An attempt was made by the Adiabenians to carry the works by assault. They advanced their scaling-ladders and other military engines, but were soon repulsed, and, the garrison sallying out, the whole corps was cut to pieces.

V. Corbulo was not of a temper to be elated with success. He chose to act with moderation in prosperity, and, accordingly, despatched an embassy to expostulate with Vologeses on the violence with which he had invaded a Roman province, and not only besieged the cohorts of the empire, but also a king in alliance with Rome. If the Parthian prince did not raise the siege, he threatened to advance with the strength of his army, and encamp in the heart of the country. Casperius, a centurion, was charged with this commission. He met the king in the city of Nisibis, distant about seven and thirty miles from Tigranocerta, and there delivered his orders in a tone of firmness. To avoid a war with Rome had been for some time the fixed resolution of Vologeses, and the success of the present enterprise gave him no reason to alter his sentiments.

The siege promised no kind of advantage; Tigranes possessed a stronghold, well garrisoned, and provided with ample supplies; the forces, that attempted to storm the works, met with a total overthrow; the Roman legions were in possession of Armenia, and others were in readiness, not only to cover the province of Syria, but to push the war into the Parthian territories: his cavalry suffered for want of forage, and all vegetation being destroyed by a swarm of locusts, neither grass nor foliage could be found. Determined by these considerations, yet disguising his fear, Vologeses, with the specious appearance of a pacific disposition, returned for answer to Casperius, that he should send ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to solicit the cession of Armenia, and the re-establishment of peace between the two nations. Meanwhile he sent despatches to Moneses, with orders to abandon the siege of Tigranocerta, and, without further delay, returned to his capital.

VI. These events, ascribed by the general voice to the conduct of the general, and the terror impressed on the mind of Vologeses, were extolled in terms of the highest commendation. And yet malignity was at work. Some would have it, "that there was at the bottom a secret com-

pact to make an end of the war." According to their sinister interpretation, "it was stipulated that Vologeses should return to his own dominions, and that Armenia should be evacuated by Tigranes. With what other view were the Roman soldiers withdrawn from Tigranocerta? Why give up, by an ill-judged peace, what had been so well defended in time of war? Could the army find, at the extremity of Cappadocia, in huts suddenly thrown up, better winter quarters, than in the capital of a kingdom, which had been preserved by force of arms? Peace is held forth; but it is, in fact, no more than a truce, a suspension of arms, that Vologeses may have to contend with another general, and that Corbulo should not be obliged to hazard the great renown, which he had acquired during a service of so many years."

The fact was, Corbulo, as we have stated, required a new commander for the special purpose of defending Armenia, and the nomination of Cæsennius Pætus was already announced. That officer arrived in a short time. A division of the forces was allotted to each commander. The fourth and twelfth legions, with the fifth lately arrived from Mæsia, and a body of auxiliaries from Pontus, from Galatia and Cappadocia, were put under the command of Pætus. The third, the sixth, and tenth legions, with the forces of Syria, were assigned to Corbulo. Both commanders were to act in concert, or to push the war in different quarters, as the occasion might require. But the spirit of Corbulo could not brook a rival; and Pætus, though to be second in command under such a general would have been his highest glory, began to aspire above himself. He despised the fame acquired by Corbulo, declaring all his best exploits to be no better than boasted victories, without bloodshed, and without booty; mere pretended sieges, in which not a single place was carried by assault. For himself, he was resolved to carry on the war for more substantial purposes. By imposing tributes and taxes on the vanquished, he meant to reduce them to subjection, and, for the shadow of an oriental king, he would establish the rights of conquest, and the authority of the Roman name.

VII. In this juncture, the ambassadors who had been sent by Vologeses to treat with Nero, returned back to their own country. Their negotiation was unsuccessful, and the Parthians declared war. Pætus embraced the opportunity to signalise his valour. He entered Armenia at the head of two legions; the fourth commanded by Funisu-

lanus Vettonianus, and the twelfth by Calavius Sabinus. His first approach was attended with unpropitious omens. In passing over a bridge, which lay across the Euphrates, the horse that carried the consular ornaments, taking fright without any apparent cause, broke from the ranks, and fled at full speed. A victim, likewise, intended for sacrifice, standing near the unfinished fortifications of the winter camp, escaped out of the intrenchments. Nor was this all: the javelins, in the hands of the soldiers, emitted sudden flashes of fire; and this prodigy was the more alarming as the Parthians brandished the same weapon.

VIII. Portents and prodigies had no effect on Pætus. Without waiting to fortify his winter encampment, and without providing a sufficient store of grain, he marched his army over mount Taurus, determined, as he gave out, to recover Tigranocerta, and lay waste the country through which Corbulo had passed with vain parade. In his progress some forts and castles were stormed, and it is certain that his share of glory and of booty would have been considerable, if to enjoy the former with moderation, and to secure the latter, had been his talent. He overran by rapid marches vast tracts of country, where no conquest could be maintained. His provisions, in the meantime, went to decay, and, the winter season approaching fast, he was obliged to return with his army. His despatches to Nero were in a style as grand as if he had ended the war, high-sounding, pompous, full of vainglory, but without any solid advantage.

IX. In the meantime Corbulo never neglected the banks of the Euphrates. To his former chain of posts he added new stations; and lest the enemy, who showed themselves in detached parties on the opposite plains, should be able to obstruct the building of a bridge over the river, he ordered a number of vessels of large size to be braced together with great beams, and on that foundation raised a superstructure of towers armed with slings and warlike engines. From this floating battery he annoyed the enemy with a discharge of stones and javelins, thrown to such a length, that the Parthians could not retaliate with their darts. Under this shelter the bridge was finished. The allied cohorts passed over to the opposite hills. The legions followed, and pitched their camp. The whole of these operations was executed with such rapidity, and so formidable a display of strength, that the Parthians abandoned their enterprise, and, without attempting anything

against the Syrians, drew off their forces to the invasion of Armenia.

X. Pætus had fixed his headquarters in that country, little aware of the storm ready to burst upon him, and so much off his guard, that he suffered the fifth legion to remain in Pontus, at a considerable distance, while he still weakened his numbers by granting leave of absence to his soldiers without reserve. In this situation he received intelligence of the approach of Vologeses with a powerful army. He called the twelfth legion to his assistance, and, by the necessity of that reinforcement, betrayed to the enemy the feeble condition of his army. He was, notwithstanding, sufficiently strong to maintain his post, and baffle all the efforts of the Parthians, had it been in the genius of the man to pursue with firmness either his own idea, or the counsel of others. But in pressing exigencies, he no sooner embraced the plan recommended by officers of known experience, than his little spirit was stung with jealousy, and lest he should be thought to stand in need of advice, he was sure to adopt very different measures, always changing for the worse.

On the first approach of the Parthians, he sallied out of his intrenchments, determined to hazard a battle. Ditches and ramparts, he said, were not given to him in commission, nor had he any need of that defence: the soldier and the sword were all he wanted. In this vapouring strain he led his legions to the field; but a centurion, and a few soldiers, who had been sent to reconnoitre the enemy, being cut off, his courage failed, and he sounded a retreat. He was no sooner in his camp, than, perceiving that Vologeses had not pressed on the rear, he once more grew bold, and, in a fit of valour, ordered three thousand of his best infantry to take post on the next eminence of mount Taurus, to dispute the pass with the Parthian king. The Pannonians, who formed the strength of his cavalry, were drawn up on the open plain. He placed his wife and her infant son in a castle called Arsamosata, and left a cohort to defend the place. In this manner he contrived to divide an army, which, acting with united force, would have been able to repel the attack of a wild and desultory enemy. When pressed by Vologeses, we are told, it was with difficulty that he could submit to acquaint Corbulo with his situation. That officer did not hurry to his assistance. To augment the glory of delivering him, he was willing to let the danger

increase. In the meantime, he ordered a detachment of a thousand men, drafted from each of his three legions, and a body of eight hundred horse, with an equal number from the cohorts, to hold themselves in readiness for a sudden enterprise.

XI. Vologeses knew from his scouts that his passage over mount Taurus was obstructed by the Roman infantry, and that the plain was occupied by the Pannonian horse; but the news did not deter him from pursuing his march. He fell with impetuous fury on the cavalry, who fled with precipitation. The legionary soldiers, in like manner, abandoned their post. A tower, commanded by Tarquitius Crescus, a centurion, was the only place that held out. That officer made several sallies with success, routing such of the enemy as dared to approach the walls, and pursuing the runaways with great slaughter; till by a volley of combustibles thrown in by the besiegers, the works were set on fire. The gallant centurion perished in the flames. Some of the garrison escaped unhurt, and made the best of their way to distant wilds. The wounded returned to the camp, and their related wonders, magnifying, beyond all bounds, the valour of the Parthian king, the number of his troops, and their ferocity in battle. A panic pervaded the army. Men, who feared for themselves, swallowed all that was said with easy credulity. Pætus felt the pressure of his misfortunes. He seemed to resign the command, unable to struggle with adversity. He sent again to Corbulo, with earnest prayers entreating him to save the Roman eagles, with the standards of an unfortunate army, and the army itself, from impending ruin. In the meantime, he and his men would hold out to the last, determined to live or die in the service of their country.

XII. Corbulo, as usual, firm and collected in the moment of danger, prepared for the expedition. Having left a sufficient force to guard his posts on the banks of the Euphrates, he moved forward towards Armenia, taking the shortest route through Commagena, and next through Cappadocia, both fertile countries, and capable of furnishing supplies for his army. Besides the usual train attending on a march, he took with him a number of camels, loaded with grain, to answer the double purpose of preventing the want of provisions, and of striking the enemy with the terror of an unusual appearance. Pactius, a centurion of principal rank, was the first from the vanquished army that encountered

Corbulo on his march. The common men came up soon after, all endeavouring by various excuses to palliate their disgrace. The general ordered them to join their colours, and try to gain their pardon from Pætus. The merciful disposition of that officer might incline him to forgive; but, for himself, he favoured none but such as conquered by their valour. He then addressed his own legions, visiting the ranks, and inspiring all with zeal and ardour. He called to mind their past exploits, and opened to their view a new field of glory. "It is not," he said, "the towns and villages of Armenia that now demand our swords: a Roman camp invokes our aid, and two legions look to us for relief. Their delivery from the Barbarians will be the reward of victory. If to a private soldier the civic crown,[1] delivered by the hand of his general, is the brightest recompense for the life of a citizen saved; how much greater will be the glory of the present enterprise, in which the number of the distressed is equal to those who bring relief, and, by consequence, every soldier in this army may save his man!" By this discourse one general spirit was diffused through the ranks. The men had private motives to inflame their courage; they felt for their brothers; they wished to succour their relations, and, without halting night or day, pursued their march with alacrity and vigour.

XIII. Meanwhile Vologeses pressed on the siege. He assaulted the intrenchments; he endeavoured to storm a castle, where the weaker sex, the aged and infirm, were lodged for security. In these several attacks, he came to a closer engagement than usually consists with the military genius of his country. By a show of temerity he hoped to bring on a decisive action. The Romans remained close in their tents, content with a safe post within their intrenchments; some in deference to the orders of their general; others, through want of spirit, tamely waiting to be relieved by Corbulo. If, in the meantime, the enemy overpowered them, they called to mind, by way of consolation, the example of two Roman armies that passed under the yoke; one at Caudium, and the other at Numantia. By those two events submission, in their present distress, would be fully justified, since neither the Samnites, nor the Carthaginians, those famous rivals of the Roman re-

[1] The civic crown for saving the life of a citizen, was often granted by the emperor: but the consular commanders had the same power at the head of their armies.

public, could be compared with the extensive power of the Parthian empire: and moreover, the boasted virtue of the ancient Romans, however decorated by the praises of posterity, was always pliant in misfortune, and willing to make terms with the conqueror. By this unwarlike spirit of his army Pætus was driven to despair. He wrote to Vologeses. His letter was more in the style of reproach than the language of a suppliant. "Hostilities," he said, "were commenced by the Parthians to wrest the kingdom of Armenia from the Romans; a kingdom always in the power of the emperor, or governed by kings invested by him with the regal diadem. Peace is equally the interest of both nations. From the present juncture no conclusion can be drawn, since the whole weight of Parthia is employed against two legions, and Rome has it still in her power to arm in her cause the remaining nations of the world."

XIV. Vologeses, without entering into the question of right, returned for answer, "that he must wait for his two brothers, Pacorus and Tiridates; when they arrived, a convention might be held, and there the rights of Armenia would be adjusted. The gods would then decide the fate of the Roman legions." Pætus sent another embassy, requesting an interview. The king sent Vasaces, his general of the cavalry, to act in the royal name. At that meeting Pætus cited a number of ancient precedents. He talked of Lucullus, Pompey, and the emperors of Rome, who had dealt out the sceptre of Armenia. Vasaces coolly answered, that some shadow of right must be allowed to have been claimed by the Romans; but the substantial power was always vested in the Parthian kings. After much debate it was agreed, that on the next day, Monobazus, the Adiabenian, should attend as a witness to the compact. In his presence it was agreed that, the siege being raised, the Roman legions should forthwith evacuate Armenia; that the strongholds, with their stores and magazines, should be delivered up to the Parthians: and, these conditions duly performed, Vologeses was to be at liberty, by his ambassadors, to negotiate with Nero.

XV. These preliminaries being settled, Pætus ordered a bridge to be built over the Arsanias, a river that flowed by the side of his camp. For this work his pretext was, that it would be convenient to his army when the march began: but the fact was, the Parthians, knowing the utility

of a bridge, had made it an article of the treaty, intending, at the same time, that it should remain a monument of their victory. The Roman troops, instead of using the bridge, filed off another way. A report was spread abroad, that the legions had passed under the yoke, and, in addition to that disgrace, suffered all the humiliating circumstances, which usually attend the overthrow of an army. The Armenians gave some colour to the report. Before the Romans marched out, they entered the intrenchments, and formed a line on each side, in order to fix on the slaves and beasts of burden that formerly belonged to themselves. Not content with seizing what they called their own property, they laid violent hands on the apparel of the soldiers, who yielded with fear and trembling, to avoid a new cause of quarrel.

Vologeses, as a monument of his victory, raised a pile of dead bodies, and arms taken from the enemy: but declined to be a spectator of the legions in their flight. He first indulged his pride, and then sought the fame of moderation. He waded across the Arsanius, mounted on an elephant, while his train and his near relations followed him on horseback. The reason was, a report prevailed, that, by the fraudulent contrivance of the builders, the whole fabric of the bridge would give way at once; but by those, who made the experiment, it was found to be a firm and solid structure.

XVI. The besieged, it is now clear, were provided with grain in such abundance, that, on their departure, they burned their magazines; and, on the other hand, by the account given by Corbulo, it appears, that the Parthians, having consumed their whole stock of provisions, were on the point of raising the siege, at the very time when he was within three days' march of the place. Upon the same authority, it may be averred as a fact, that Pætus, under the sanction of a solemn oath, sworn under the eagles, and in the presence of witnesses sent by Vologeses, took upon him to engage, that no Roman should set his foot within the territories of Armenia, till Nero's pleasure touching the terms of the treaty should arrive from Rome. These assertions, it may be said, were suggested by malignity, to aggravate the infamy of an unwarlike officer; but it is now known, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that Pætus made a forced march of no less than forty miles in one day; leaving behind him the sick and wounded, and flying with as much disorder and confusion as if he had been

routed in the field of battle. Corbulo met the fugitives on the banks of the Euphrates. He received them without parade, and without that display of military pomp which might seem a triumph over the fate of the vanquished. His men beheld with regret the disgrace of their fellow soldiers, and tears gushed from every eye. The usual forms of military salutation were suppressed by the general condolence. The pride of courage and the sense of glory, which, in the day of prosperity, are natural passions, were now converted into grief and sympathy. The lower the condition of the soldier, the more sincere his sorrow. In that class of men the honest emotions of the heart appeared without disguise.

XVII. The conference between the two commanders was short, and without ceremony. Corbulo complained that all his labours were rendered abortive, whereas the war might have been terminated by the total overthrow of the Parthians. Pætus observed in reply, that all things were still in the same condition. He proposed to turn the eagles against the enemy, and, since Vologeses had withdrawn his forces, by their joint force Armenia would be easily reduced. Corbulo rejected the offer. He had no such orders from the emperor. It was the danger, in which the legions were involved, that drew him out of his province, and, since it was uncertain where the Parthians would make their next attempt, he was determined to return into Syria with his army; and if his infantry, harassed out with fatiguing marches, could keep pace with the Parthian cavalry, who with their usual velocity could traverse the open plains, he should hold himself indebted to his own good fortune for so signal an event. Pætus fixed his winter quarters in Cappadocia. Vologeses sent despatches to Corbulo, requiring, that the strongholds and fortresses on the banks of the Euphrates should be razed to the ground, and the river left, as heretofore, the common boundary of the two empires. Corbulo had no objection, provided both parties withdrew their garrisons, and left Armenia a free and independent country. The Parthian monarch, after some hesitation, acceded to the terms. The castles erected, by Corbulo's order, on the banks of the Euphrates, were all demolished, and the Armenians were left to their natural liberty.

XVIII. Meanwhile trophies of victory were erected at Rome, and triumphal arches on the mount of the capitol.

This was ordered by the senate, while the war was still depending; nor was the work discontinued, when the event was known. The public eye was amused at the expense of truth. To add to the imposition, and to appear free from all solicitude about foreign affairs, Nero ordered all the damaged grain, that lay in the public stores, to be thrown into the Tiber. By this act of ostentation an idea of great abundance was to be impressed on the minds of the people. Nor did he suffer the price of corn to be raised, though near two hundred vessels, loaded with grain, were lost in the harbour by the violence of a storm, and a hundred more, working their way up the Tiber, were destroyed by the accident of fire. At the same time Nero committed the care of the public imposts to three men of consular rank, namely, Lucius Piso, Ducennius Geminus, and Pompeius Paulinus. In making this arrangement he animadverted with severity on the conduct of former emperors, whose extravagance made heavy anticipations of the revenue; whereas he himself, by his frugality, paid annually into the treasury, for the exigencies of the state, six millions of sesterces.

XIX. A custom, highly unjust and prejudicial to the rights of others, was, at this time, in general vogue. When the time drew near for the election of magistrates, or the allotment of provinces, it was the practice of men, who had no issue,[1] to become fathers by adoption. Having served their turn in a contest with real parents for the prætorship, and the administration of provinces, they emancipated their pretended sons, and resumed their former state. Against this abuse warm remonstrances were made to the senate. The complainants urged the rights of nature, the care and expense of rearing children, while the compensation by law established was wrested from them by fraud, by artifice, and the facility of feigned adoptions. It was surely a sufficient advantage to such as had no children, that they could live free from all charge and solicitude, without leaving the road to favour, to preferment, and honours open to them in common with men who are of service to the community. Real parents are taught by the laws to expect the reward due to useful members of the community; but the laws are eluded, and the promised

[1] It was a settled rule of law, that in all elections for the magistracy, or the government of provinces, the preference should be given to the candidate who had the greatest number of children.

reward is snatched away, if such, as have raised no heirs to themselves, are allowed to become parents without paternal affection, and childless again without regret. The deception of a moment serves to counterbalance whole years of expectation, and the true father sees all his hopes defeated. The senate passed a decree, by which it was provided, that in all cases, either of election to the magistracy, or succession by testament, no regard should be paid to adoptions merely colourable.

XX. Claudius Timarchus, a native of Crete, was cited to answer a prosecution commenced against him. Besides the allegations usually laid to the charge of such as rise in the provinces to overgrown wealth, and become the oppressors of their inferior neighbours, an expression, that fell from him, excited the indignation of the senate. This man, it seems, had made it his boast, that addresses of public thanks to the proconsular governors of Crete depended entirely on his weight and influence. Pætus Thrasea seized this opportunity to convert the incident to the public good. He gave his opinion that the offender ought to be banished from the isle of Crete, and proceeded as follows: "Experience has taught us, conscript fathers, that the wisest laws and the best examples of virtue owe their origin to the actual commission of crimes and misdemeanours. Men of integrity make it their study, on such occasions, to deduce good from evil. To the corrupt practices of public orators we are indebted for the Cincian law,[1] and for the Julian to the intrigues and open bribery of the candidates for public honours. The Calpurnian regulations[2] were produced by the avarice and rapacity of the magistrates. Guilt must precede the punishment, and reformation grows out of abuse. We have now before us the pride and insolence of petty tyrants in the provinces. To check the mischief, let us come to a resolution, consistent with good faith, and worthy of the Roman name. Protection is due to our allies; but let us remember, that, to adorn our names, we are not to depend on the voice of foreign nations. Our fellow-citizens are the best judges of our conduct.

[1] The Cincian Law against venal advocates has been mentioned, xi. 5. Laws were also established by Augustus, called *Leges Juliæ*, to prevent bribery at elections.

[2] The Culpurnian Law was introduced by Lucius Calpurnius Piso, *de pecuniis repetundis*, to compel restitution from such as were convicted of extortion.

XXI. "The old republic was not content with sending prætors and consuls to administer the provinces. Men who sustained no public character were often commissioned to visit the remotest colonies, in order to report the condition of each, and the temper with which the people submitted to the authority of government. By the judgment of individuals, whole nations were kept in awe. What is our practice now? We pay court to the colonies; we flatter the provinces, and by the influence of some powerful leader, we receive public thanks for our administration. In like manner, accusations are framed at the will and pleasure of some overgrown provincial. Let the right of complaining still remain; and, by exercising that right, let the provinces show their importance; but let them not, by false encomiums, impose upon our judgment. The praise, that springs from cabal and faction, is more pernicious than even malice or cruelty. Let both be suppressed. More mischief is done by the governor who wishes to oblige than by him who shows himself not afraid of offending. It is the misfortune of certain virtues to provoke ill-will. In that class may be reckoned inflexible severity, and the firmness that never yields to intrigue, or the arts of designing men. Hence it happens, that every new governor opens a promising scene, but the last act seldom corresponds with the outset. In the end we see an humble candidate for the suffrages of the province. Remove the evil, and government, in every quarter, will be more upright, more just, more uniform. By prosecutions, avarice and rapine have received a check. Abolish the custom of giving public thanks, and you suppress the pitiful ambition which, for vain applause, can stoop to mean compliances."

XXII. This speech was received with the unanimous assent of the fathers. The proposition, notwithstanding, could not be formed into a decree, the consuls refusing to make their report. The prince interposed in the business, and, with his authority, a law was passed, forbidding any person whatever to move in a provincial assembly[1] for a vote of thanks to the proconsul or prætor, or to

[1] It was a frequent practice of the provinces, to send a deputation to the senate, with an address of thanks to the proconsuls or prætors, who were returned to Rome, for the blessings enjoyed by the people under their administration; and this contrivance served to advance the fame of the men who condescended to intrigue for applause, and thereby open their road to the highest honours of the state.

send a deputation to Rome for that purpose. During the same consulship, the gymnasium, or place of athletic exercises, was struck with lightning, and burnt to the ground. The statue of Nero was found in the ruins, melted down to a shapeless mass. The celebrated city of Pompeii in Campania was overthrown by an earthquake, and well-nigh demolished. Lælia, the vestal virgin, departed this life; and Cornelia, descended from the family of the Cossi, succeeded to the vacant office.

XXIII. During the consulship of Memmius Regulus and Verginius Rufus [A.U.C. 816, A.D. 63], Poppæa was delivered of a daughter. The exultation of Nero was beyond all mortal joy. He called the new-born infant Augusta, and gave the same title to her mother. The child was brought into the world at Antium, where Nero himself was born. The senate, before the birth, had offered vows to the gods for the safe delivery of Poppæa. They fulfilled their obligations, and voted additional honours. Days of supplication were appointed: a temple was voted to the goddess of fecundity; athletic sports were instituted on the model of the religious games practised at Antium; golden statues of the two goddesses of Fortune were to be erected on the throne of Jupiter Capitolinus; and in honour of the Claudian and Domitian families, Circensian games were to be celebrated at Antium, in imitation of the public spectacles exhibited at Bovillæ to commemorate the Julian race. But these honours were of short duration: the infant died in less than four months, and the monuments of human vanity faded away. But new modes of flattery were soon displayed: the child was canonised for a goddess; a temple was decreed to her, with an altar, a bed of state, a priest, and religious ceremonies.

Nero's grief, like his joy at the birth, was without bounds or measure. At the time when the senate went in crowds to Antium, to congratulate the prince on the delivery of Poppæa, a circumstance occurred worthy of notice. Pætus Thrasea was ordered by Nero not to appear upon that occasion. The affront was deemed a prelude to the ruin of that eminent citizen. He received the mandate with his usual firmness, calm and undismayed. A report prevailed soon after, that Nero, in conversation with Seneca, made it his boast, that he was reconciled to Thrasea, and in return the philosopher wished him joy. In consequence of this incident the glory of those excellent men rose to

the highest pitch; but their danger kept pace with their glory.

XXIV. In the beginning of the spring ambassadors from Vologeses arrived at Rome, with letters from the king, their master, in substance declaring, "that he would not revive the question of right, so often urged and fully discussed, since the gods, the sovereign arbiters of nations, had delivered Armenia into the hands of the Parthians, not without disgrace to the Roman name. Tigranes had been hemmed in by a close blockade; Pætus and his legions were enveloped in the like distress, and, in the moment when destruction hung over them, the whole army was suffered to decamp. The Parthians displayed at once their superior valour and their moderation. But even in the present juncture Tiridates had no objection to a long journey to Rome, in order to be there invested with the sovereignty; but, being of the order of the Magi, the duties of the sacerdotal function required his personal attendance. He was willing, however, to proceed to the Roman camp, and there receive the regal diadem under the eagles, and the image of the emperor, in the presence of the legions."

XXV. The style of this letter differed essentially from the account transmitted by Pætus, who represented the affairs of the east in a flourishing situation. To ascertain the truth, a centurion, who had travelled with the ambassadors, was interrogated concerning the state of Armenia. The Romans, he replied, have evacuated the country. Nero felt the insulting mockery of being asked to yield what the Barbarians had seized by force. He summoned a council of the leading men at Rome, to determine, by their advice, which was most eligible, a difficult and laborious war, or an ignominious peace. All declared for war. The conduct of it was committed to Corbulo, who, by the experience of so many years, knew both the temper of the Roman army, and the genius of the enemy. The misconduct of Pætus had brought disgrace on the Roman name; and to hazard the same calamities from the incapacity of another officer, was not advisable.

The Parthian deputies received their answer, but were dismissed with handsome presents, leaving them room to infer from the mild behaviour of the emperor, that Tiridates, if he made the request in person, might succeed to the extent of his wishes. The civil administration of

Syria was committed to Cestius, but the whole military authority was assigned to Corbulo. The fifteenth legion, then in Pannonia under the command of Marius Celsus, was ordered to join the army. Directions were also given to the kings and tetrarchs of the east, as also to the governors and imperial procurators of the several provinces in those parts, to submit in everything to the commander-in-chief. Corbulo was now invested with powers little short of what the Roman people committed to Pompey[1] in the war against the pirates. Pætus, in the meantime, returned to Rome, not without apprehensions of being called to a severe account. Nero appeased his fears, content with a few sallies of mirth and ridicule. His words were: "I make haste to pardon you, lest a state of suspense should injure a man of your sensibility. Since you are so apt to take fright, delay on my part might hurt your nerves, and bring on a fit of illness."

XXVI. Corbulo expected no advantage to the service from the fourth and twelfth legions, the bravest of their men being all cut off, and the survivors still remaining covered with consternation. He removed them into Syria; and, in exchange, reinforced himself with the sixth legion, and the third; both in full vigour, inured to hardship, and no less distinguished by their success than by their valour. To these he added the fifth legion, which happened to be quartered in Pontus, and, by consequence, had not suffered in the late defeat. The fifteenth legion had lately joined the army, as also a body of select troops from Illyricum and Egypt, with the cavalry, the cohorts, and auxiliaries sent by the confederate kings. The whole force assembled at Melitene, where Corbulo proposed to cross the Euphrates. His first care was to purify his army by a solemn lustration.[2] Those rites performed, he called his men to a meeting, and in a spirited harangue painted forth the auspicious government of the reigning prince; he mentioned his own exploits, and imputed to the imbecility of Pætus all the disasters that happened. The whole of his discourse was delivered in a style of authority, the true eloquence of a soldier.

[1] Pompey was employed as a commander-in-chief in the piratic war, with a commission giving to him supreme authority in every province to the extent of fifty miles from the sea-coast. By the decree of the senate on that occasion, Velleius Paterculus observes, almost the whole Roman world was subjected to the will of one man.

[2] This superstitious ceremony is described by Livy. The soldiers were drawn out on an open plain, and crowned with laurel wreaths, while victims were sacrificed to the god of war. The general harangued his men upon the occasion.

XXVII. He began his march without delay, and chose the road formerly traversed by Lucullus, having first given orders to his men to open the passes, and remove the obstructions, with which time and long disuse had choked up part of the way. He heard that ambassadors from Tiridates and Vologeses were advancing with overtures of peace, and having no inclination to treat them with disdain, he sent forward some chosen centurions, with instructions neither harsh nor arrogant, in substance stating, "that the misunderstanding between the two nations might still be compromised, without proceeding to the decision of the sword. Both armies had fought with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, in some instances favourable to the Romans, in others to the Parthians; and from those events both sides might derive a lesson against the pride and insolence of victory. It was the interest of Tiridates to receive, at the hands of the Roman emperor, a kingdom in a flourishing state, before hostile armies laid a scene of desolation; and Vologeses would consult his own advantage, as well as that of his people, by preferring the friendship of Rome to wild ambition and the havoc of a destructive war. The internal dissensions that distract the kingdom of Parthia are too well known. It is also known that Vologeses has for his subjects fierce and barbarous nations, whom no law can check, no government can control. Nero, on the contrary, sees a settled calm throughout the Roman world, and, except the rupture with Parthia, has no other war upon his hands." Such was Corbulo's answer. To give it weight, he added the terrors of the sword. The grandees of Armenia, who had been the first to revolt, were driven out of their possessions, and their castles were levelled to the ground. Between the weak, who made no resistance, and the brave and resolute, no distinction was made. All were involved in one common danger; no place was safe; hills and mountains, no less than the open plain, were filled with consternation.

XXVIII. The name of Corbulo was not, as is usual among adverse nations, hated by the enemy. He was, on the contrary, held in high esteem, and, by consequence, his advice had great weight with the Barbarians. Vologeses did not wish for a general war. He desired a truce in favour of some particular provinces. Tiridates proposed an interview with the Roman general. An early day was appointed. The place for the congress was chosen by the prince on the very spot where Pætus and his legions were invested. The scene of

their late victory flattered the pride of the Barbarians. Corbulo did not decline the meeting. The face of things he knew was changed, and the reverse of fortune was glorious to himself. The disgrace of Pætus gave him no anxiety. Having resolved to pay the last funeral rites to the slaughtered soldiers, whose bodies lay weltering on the field, he chose, for that purpose, the son of the vanquished general, then a military tribune, and ordered him to march at the head of the companies appointed to perform that melancholy duty. On the day fixed for the convention, Tiberius Alexander, a Roman knight, who had been sent by Nero to superintend the operations of the campaign, and with him Vivianus Annius, son-in-law to Corbulo, but not yet of senatorian age,[1] though, in the absence of his superior officer, he was appointed to command the fifth legion, arrived in the camp of Tiridates, in the character of hostages, chosen, not only to remove from the mind of the prince all suspicion, but at the same time to do him honour. The Parthian and the Roman general proceeded to the interview, each attended by twenty horsemen. As soon as they drew near, Tiridates leaped from his horse. Corbulo returned the compliment. They advanced on foot, and took each other by the hand.

XXIX. The Roman general addressed the prince. He praised the judgment of a young man, who had the moderation to prefer pacific measures to the calamities of war. Tiridates expatiated on the splendour of his illustrious line, and then taking a milder tone, agreed to set out on a journey to Rome. In a juncture when the affairs of Parthia were in a flourishing state, a prince, descended from the Arsacides, humbling himself before the emperor, would present to the Roman people a new scene of glory. It was then settled as a preliminary article, that Tiridates should lay down the regal diadem at the foot of Nero's statue, and never again resume it, till delivered to him by the hand of the emperor. The parties embraced each other, and the convention ended.

In a few days afterwards the two armies were drawn out with great military pomp. On one side stood the Parthian cavalry, ranged in battalions, with all the pride of eastern magnificence. The Roman legions appeared on the opposite ground, the eagles glittering to the eye, the banners displayed, and the images of the gods, in regular order, forming a kind of temple. In the centre stood a tribunal, and upon it a curule chair supporting the statue of Nero. Tiridates ap-

[1] Not yet five and twenty.

proached. Having immolated victims with the usual rites, he took the diadem from his brow, and laid it at the foot of the statue. The spectators gazed with earnest ardour, and every bosom heavy with mixed emotions. The place where the legions were besieged and forced to capitulate was before the eye, and the same spot exhibited a reverse of fortune. They saw Tiridates on the point of setting out for Rome, a spectacle to the nations through which he was to pass, and to exhibit, in the presence of Nero, the humble condition of a suppliant prince; how little better than a captive!

XXX. To the glory resulting from these events, Corbulo added the graceful qualities of affability and condescension. He invited Tiridates to a banquet. The prince was struck with the novelty of Roman manners. Every object awakened his curiosity. He desired to know the reason of all that he observed. When the watch[1] was stationed, why was it announced by a centurion? Why did the company, when the banquet closed, rise from table at the sound of the trumpet? And why was the fire on the augural altar lighted with a torch? The Roman general answered all inquiries, not without partiality for his country. He aggrandised everything, and gave the Parthian the noblest idea of the manners and institutions of the ancient Romans. On the following day Tiridates desired reasonable time to prepare for so long a journey, and, before he undertook it, desired that he might be at liberty to visit his mother and his brothers. His request was granted. The prince delivered up his daughter, as a hostage, and despatched letters to Nero in terms of submission.

XXXI. He met his two brothers, Pacorus in Media, and Vologeses at Ecbatana.[2] The Parthian king was not inattentive to the interest of Tiridates. He had already sent despatches to Corbulo, requesting that his brother should not be disgraced by any circumstance that looked like a badge of slavery; that he should not be obliged to surrender his sword; that the honour of embracing the governors of the several provinces should not be denied to him; that he should not undergo the humiliating affront of waiting at their gates, or in their ante-chambers; and that at Rome he should be treated with all the marks of distinction usually paid to the consuls. The truth is, the Parthian king, trained up in all

[1] The night in a Roman camp was divided into four watches, each for the space of three hours.

[2] Vologeses, king of Parthia, and Pacorus, king of Media, were brothers to Tiridates.

the pride of despotism, knew but little of the Romans. He was not informed, that it is the character and policy of that people to maintain, with zeal, the substantial interests of the empire, without any regard to petty formalities, the mere shadow of dominion.

XXXII. In the course of the year Nero granted the rights and privileges of Latium to the maritime nations at the foot of the Alps. He likewise assigned to the Roman knights distinct seats in the circus, advancing them before the space allotted to the populace. Till this regulation took place, the knights were mixed indiscriminately with the multitude, the Roscian law [1] extending to no more than fourteen rows of the theatre. A spectacle of gladiators was exhibited this year, in nothing inferior to the magnificence displayed on former occasions; but a number of senators, and women of illustrious rank, descended into the arena,[2] and, by exhibiting their persons in the lists, brought disgrace on themselves and their families.

XXXIII. In the consulship of Caius Læcanius and Marcus Licinius [A.U.C. 817, A.D. 64], Nero's passion for theatrical fame broke out with a degree of vehemence not to be resisted. He had hitherto performed in private only, during the sports of the Roman youth, called the JUVENALIA; but, upon those occasions, he was confined to his own palace or his gardens; a sphere too limited for such bright ambition, and so fine a voice. He glowed with impatience to present himself before the public eye, but had not yet the courage to make his first appearance at Rome. Naples was deemed a Greek city, and, for that reason, a proper place to begin his career of glory. With the laurels which he was there to acquire, he might pass over into Greece, and after gaining, by victory in song, the glorious crown which antiquity considered as a sacred prize, he might return to Rome, with his honours blooming round him, and by his celebrity inflame the curiosity of the populace. With this idea he pursued his plan. The theatre at Naples was crowded with spectators. Not only the inhabitants of the city, but a prodigious multitude from all the municipal

[1] The *Roscian Law* assigned fourteen rows in the theatre to the Roman knights; but was silent as to the *Circus*, where the senators, the knights, and the commonalty, were mixed in a promiscuous concourse.

[2] Suetonius says that Nero engaged four hundred senators, and six hundred Roman knights, some of them of fair fortune and character, to enter the lists as gladiators, and encounter the wild beasts. He also invited the vestal virgins to see the wrestlers, because, as he said, at Olympia the priestesses of Ceres were allowed the privilege of seeing that diversion.

towns and colonies in the neighbourhood, flocked together, attracted by the novelty of a spectacle so very extraordinary. All who followed the prince, to pay their court, or as persons belonging to his train, attended on the occasion. The menial servants, and even the common soldiers, were admitted to enjoy the pleasures of the day.

XXXIV. The theatre, of course, was crowded. An accident happened, which men in general considered as an evil omen: with the emperor it passed for a certain sign of the favour and protection of the gods. As soon as the audience dispersed, the theatre tumbled to pieces. No other mischief followed. Nero seized the opportunity to compose hymns of gratitude. He sung them himself, celebrating with melodious airs his happy escape from the ruin. Being now determined to cross the Adriatic, he stopped at Beneventum. At that place Vatinius entertained him with a show of gladiators. Of all the detestable characters that disgraced the court of Nero, this man was the most pernicious. He was bred up in a shoemaker's stall. Deformed in his person, he possessed a vein of ribaldry and vulgar humour, which qualified him to succeed as buffoon. In the character of a jester he recommended himself to notice, but soon forsook his scurrility for the trade of an informer; and having by the ruin of the worthiest citizens arrived at eminence in guilt, he rose to wealth and power, the most dangerous miscreant of that evil period!

XXXV. Nero was a constant spectator of the sports exhibited at Beneventum; but even amidst his diversions his heart knew no pause from cruelty. He compelled Torquatus Silanus to put an end to his life, for no other reason, than because he united to the splendour of the Junian family the honour of being great-grandson to Augustus. The prosecutors, suborned for the business, alleged against him, that, having prodigally wasted his fortune in gifts and largesses, he had no resource left but war and civil commotion. With that design he retained about his person men of rank and distinction, employed in various offices: he had his secretaries, his treasurers, and paymasters, all in the style of imperial dignity, even then anticipating what his ambition aimed at. This charge being made in form, such of his freedmen as were known to be in the confidence of their master were seized, and loaded with fetters. Silanus saw that his doom was impending, and, to prevent the sentence of condemnation, opened the veins of both

his arms. Nero, according to his custom, expressed himself in terms of lenity. "The guilt of Silanus," he said, "was manifest: and though, by an act of despair, he showed that his crimes admitted no defence, his life would have been spared, had he thought proper to trust to the clemency of his judge."

XXXVI. In a short time after, Nero, for reasons not sufficiently explained, resolved to defer his expedition into Greece. He returned to Rome, cherishing in imagination a new design to visit the eastern nations, and Egypt in particular. This project had been for some time settled in his mind. He announced it by a proclamation, in which he assured the people, that his absence would be of short duration, and, in the interval, the peace and good order of the commonwealth would be in no kind of danger. For the success of his voyage, he went to offer up prayers in the capitol. He proceeded thence to the temple of Vesta. Being there seized with a sudden tremor in every joint, arising either from a superstitious fear of the goddess, or from a troubled conscience, which never ceased to goad and persecute him, he renounced his enterprise altogether, artfully pretending that the love of his country, which he felt warm at his heart, was dearer to him than all other considerations. "I have seen," he said, "the dejected looks of the people; I have heard the murmurs of complaint: the idea of so long a voyage afflicts the citizens; and, indeed, how should it be otherwise, when the shortest excursion I could make was always sure to depress their spirits? The sight of their prince has, at all times, been their comfort and their best support. In private families the pledges of natural affection can soften the resolutions of a father, and mould him to their purpose: the people of Rome have the same ascendant over the mind of their sovereign. I feel their influence: I yield to their wishes." With these and such like expressions he amused the multitude. Their love of public spectacles made them eager for his presence, and, above all, they dreaded, if he left the capital, a dearth of provisions. The senate and the leading men looked on with indifference, unable to decide which was most to be dreaded, his presence in the city, or his tyranny at a distance. They agreed at length (as in alarming cases fear is always in haste to conclude), that what happened was the worst evil that could befall them.

XXXVII. Nero wished it to be believed that Rome

was the place in which he most delighted. To diffuse this opinion, he established convivial meetings in all the squares and public places. The whole city seemed to be his house. Of the various feasts given upon this occasion, that which was prepared for the prince, by Tigellinus, exceeded in profusion and luxury everything of the kind. I shall here give a description of this celebrated entertainment, that the reader, from one example, may form his idea of the prodigality of the times, and that history may not be encumbered with a repetition of the same enormities. Tigellinus gave his banquet on the lake of Agrippa,[1] on a platform of prodigious size,[2] built for the reception of the guests.

To move this magnificent edifice to and fro on the water, he prepared a number of boats superbly decorated with gold and ivory. The rowers were a band of pathics. Each had his station, according to his age, or his skill in the science of debauchery. The country round was ransacked for game and animals of the chase. Fish was brought from every sea, and even from the ocean. On the borders of the lake brothels were erected, and filled with women of illustrious rank. On the opposite bank was seen a band of harlots, who made no secret of their vices, or their persons. In wanton dance and lascivious attitudes they displayed their naked charms. When night came on, a sudden illumination from the adjacent groves and buildings blazed over the lake. A concert of music, vocal and instrumental, enlivened the scene. Nero rioted in all kinds of lascivious pleasure. Between lawful and unlawful gratifications he made no distinction. Corruption seemed to be at a stand, if, at the end of a few days, he had not devised a new abomination to fill the measure of his crimes. He personated a woman, and in that character was given in marriage to one of his infamous herd, a pathic named Pythagoras. The emperor of Rome, with the affected airs of female delicacy, put on the nuptial veil. The augurs assisted at the ceremony; the portion of the bride was openly paid; the genial bed was displayed to view; nuptial torches were lighted up; the whole was public, not even excepting the endearments which, in a natural marriage, decency reserves for the shades of night.

[1] The lake of Agrippa was in the gardens adjoining to his house, near the Pantheon.

[2] This platform was constructed by a great number of timbers fastened together, and left to float on the water.

XXXVIII. A dreadful calamity followed in a short time after, by some ascribed to chance, and by others to the execrable wickedness of Nero. The authority of historians is on both sides, and which preponderates it is not easy to determine. It is, however, certain, that of all the disasters that ever befell the city of Rome from the rage of fire, this was the worst, the most violent, and destructive. The flame broke out in that part of the circus which adjoins, on one side, to Mount Palatine, and, on the other, to Mount Cælius. It caught a number of shops stored with combustible goods, and, gathering force from the winds, spread with rapidity from one end of the circus to the other. Neither the thick walls of houses, nor the enclosure of temples, nor any other building, could check the rapid progress of the flames. A dreadful conflagration followed. The level parts of the city were destroyed. The fire communicated to the higher buildings, and, again laying hold of inferior places, spread with a degree of velocity that nothing could resist. The form of the streets, long and narrow, with frequent windings, and no regular opening, according to the plan of ancient Rome, contributed to increase the mischief. The shrieks and lamentations of women, the infirmities of age, and the weakness of the young and tender, added misery to the dreadful scene. Some endeavoured to provide for themselves, others to save their friends, in one part dragging along the lame and impotent, in another waiting to receive the tardy, or expecting relief themselves; they hurried, they lingered, they obstructed one another; they looked behind, and the fire broke out in front; they escaped from the flames, and in their place of refuge found no safety; the fire raged in every quarter; all were involved in one general conflagration.

The unhappy wretches fled to places remote, and thought themselves secure, but soon perceived the flames raging round them. Which way to turn, what to avoid or what to seek, no one could tell. They crowded the streets; they fell prostrate on the ground; they lay stretched in the fields, in consternation and dismay resigned to their fate. Numbers lost their whole substance, even the tools and implements by which they gained their livelihood, and, in that distress, did not wish to survive. Others, wild with affliction for their friends and relations whom they could not save, embraced a voluntary death, and perished in the flames. During the whole of this dismal scene, no man dared to attempt any-

thing that might check the violence of the dreadful calamity. A crew of incendiaries stood near at hand denouncing vengeance on all who offered to interfere. Some were so abandoned as to heap fuel on the flames. They threw in firebrands and flaming torches, proclaiming aloud, that they had authority for what they did. Whether, in fact, they had received such horrible orders, or, under that device, meant to plunder with greater licentiousness, cannot now be known.

XXXIX. During the whole of this terrible conflagration, Nero remained at Antium, without a thought of returning to the city, till the fire approached the building by which he had communicated the gardens of Mæcenas[1] with the imperial palace. All help, however, was too late. The palace, the contiguous edifices, and every house adjoining, were laid in ruins. To relieve the unhappy people, wandering in distress without a place of shelter, he opened the Field of Mars, as also the magnificent buildings raised by Agrippa,[2] and even his own imperial gardens.[3] He ordered a number of sheds to be thrown up with all possible despatch, for the use of the populace. Household utensils and all kinds of necessary implements were brought from Ostia, and other cities in the neighbourhood. The price of grain was reduced to three sesterces. For acts like these, munificent and well-timed, Nero might hope for a return of popular favour; but his expectations were in vain; no man was touched with gratitude. A report prevailed[4] that, while the city was in a blaze, Nero went to his own theatre, and there, mounting the stage, sung the destruction of Troy, as a happy allusion to the present misfortune.

XL. On the sixth day the fire was subdued at the foot of Mount Esquiline. This was effected, by demolishing a number of buildings, and thereby leaving a void space, where for want of materials the flame expired. The minds of men had scarce begun to recover from their consternation, when the fire broke out a second time with no less fury than before. This happened, however, in a more open quarter, where fewer lives were lost; but the temples of the gods, the porticoes and buildings raised for the decoration of the city, were levelled to the ground. The

[1] The gardens of Mæcenas were near the Esquiline.

[2] The monuments of Agrippa were, his house, his gardens, his baths, and the Pantheon. The last remains at this day.

[3] Nero's gardens joined to the Vatican.

[4] Suetonius says, in express terms, that Nero beheld the conflagration from a tower on the top of Mæcenas's house, and, being highly pleased with so grand a sight, went to his own theatre, and in his scenic dress tuned his harp, and sung the destruction of Troy.

popular odium was now more inflamed than ever, as this second alarm began in the house of Tigellinus, formerly the mansion of Æmilius. A suspicion prevailed, that to build a new city, and give it his own name, was the ambition of Nero. Of the fourteen quarters, into which Rome was divided, four only were left entire, three were reduced to ashes, and the remaining seven presented nothing better than a heap of shattered houses, half in ruins.

XLI. The number of houses, temples, and insulated mansions, destroyed by the fire cannot be ascertained. But the most venerable monuments of antiquity, which the worship of ages had rendered sacred, were laid in ruins: amongst these were the temple dedicated to the moon by Servius Tullius; the fane and the great altar consecrated by Evander, the Arcadian, to Hercules, his visitor and his guest;[1] the chapel of JUPITER STATOR, built by Romulus; the palace of Numa, and the temple of Vesta, with the tutelar gods of Rome. With these were consumed the trophies of so many victories, the inimitable works of the Grecian artists, with the precious monuments of literature and ancient genius, all at present remembered by men advanced in years, but irrecoverably lost. Not even the splendour, with which the new city rose out of the ruins of the old, could compensate for that lamented disaster. It did not escape observation, that the fire broke out on the fourteenth before the calends of July,[2] a day remarkable for the conflagration kindled by the Senones, when those Barbarians took the city of Rome by storm, and burnt it to the ground. Men of reflection, who refined on everything with minute curiosity, calculated the number of years, months, and days, from the foundation of Rome to the firing of it by the Gauls; and from that calamity to the present they found the interval of time precisely the same.

XLII. Nero did not blush to convert to his own use the public ruins of his country. He built a magnificent palace, in which the objects that excited admiration were neither gold nor precious stones. Those decorations, long since introduced by luxury, were grown stale, and hackneyed to the eye. A different species of magnificence was now consulted: expansive lakes and fields of vast extent were intermixed with pleasing variety; woods and forests stretched to an immeasurable length, presenting gloom and solitude

[1] Evander was originally a native of Arcadia in Greece. The visit of Hercules forms a beautiful episode in Virgil's *Æneid*, book viii.

[2] The eighteenth of June.

amidst scenes of open space, where the eye wandered with surprise over an unbounded prospect. This prodigious plan was carried on under the direction of two surveyors, whose names were Severus and Celer. Bold and original in their projects, these men undertook to conquer nature, and to perform wonders even beyond the imagination and the riches of the prince. They promised to form a navigable canal from the Lake Avernus[1] to the mouth of the Tiber. The experiment, like the genius of the men, was bold and grand; but it was to be carried over a long tract of barren land, and, in some places, through opposing mountains. The country round was parched and dry, without one humid spot, except the Pomptinian marsh, from which water could be expected. A scheme so vast could not be accomplished without immoderate labour, and, if practicable, the end was in no proportion to the expense and labour. But the prodigious and almost impossible had charms for the enterprising spirit of Nero. He began to hew a passage through the hills that surround the Lake Avernus, and some traces of his deluded hopes are visible at this day.

XLIII. The ground, which, after marking out his own domain, Nero left to the public, was not laid out for the new city in a hurry and without judgment, as was the case after the irruption of the Gauls. A regular plan was formed; the streets were made wide and long; the elevation[2] of the houses was defined, with an open area before the doors, and porticoes to secure and adorn the front. The expense of the porticoes Nero undertook to defray out of his own revenue. He promised, besides, as soon as the work was finished, to clear the ground, and leave a clear space to every house, without any charge to the occupier. In order to excite a spirit of industry and emulation, he held forth rewards proportioned to the rank of each individual, provided the buildings were finished in a limited time. The rubbish, by his order, was removed to the marshes of Ostia, and the ships that brought corn up the river were to return loaded with the refuse of the workmen. Add to all this, the several houses, built on a new principle, were to be raised to a certain elevation, without beams or wood-work, on arches of stone from the quarries of Alba or Gabii; those materials being impervious, and of a nature to resist the force of fire. The

1 The Lake Avernus was in the neighbourhood of Baiæ.

2 Strabo says, that by an ordinance of Augustus, no new-built house was to be more than seventy feet high.

springs of water, which had been before that time intercepted by individuals for their separate use, were no longer suffered to be diverted from their channel, but left to the care of commissioners, that the public might be properly supplied, and, in case of fire, have a reservoir at hand to stop the progress of the mischief.

It was also settled, that the houses should no longer be contiguous, with slight party-walls to divide them; but every house was to stand detached, surrounded and insulated by its own enclosure. These regulations, it must be admitted, were of public utility, and added much to the embellishment of the new city. But still the old plan of Rome was not without its advocates. It was thought more conducive to the health of the inhabitants. The narrowness of the streets and the elevation of the buildings served to exclude the rays of the sun; whereas the more open space, having neither shade nor shelter, left men exposed to the intense heat of the day.

XLIV. These several regulations were, no doubt, the best that human wisdom could suggest. The next care was to propitiate the gods. The Sibylline books were consulted, and the consequence was, that supplications were decreed to Vulcan, to Ceres, and Proserpine. A band of matrons offered their prayers and sacrifices to Juno, first in the capitol, and next on the nearest margin of the sea, where they supplied themselves with water, to sprinkle the temple and the statue of the goddess. A select number of women, who had husbands actually living, laid the deities on their sacred beds,[1] and kept midnight vigils with the usual solemnity. But neither these religious ceremonies, nor the liberal donations of the prince could efface from the minds of men the prevailing opinion, that Rome was set on fire by his own orders. The infamy of that horrible transaction still adhered to him. In order, if possible, to remove the imputation, he determined to transfer the guilt to others. For this purpose he punished, with exquisite torture, a race of men detested for their evil practices, by vulgar appellation commonly called Christians.

The name was derived from Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius, suffered under Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judæa. By that event the sect, of which he was the founder, received a blow, which, for a time, checked the growth of a dangerous superstition;[2] but it revived soon after, and

[1] The beds on which the gods and goddesses were extended at all public festivals, were called *Lectisternia*.

[2] This was the first persecution of the Christians.

spread with recruited vigour, not only in Judæa, the soil that gave it birth, but even in the city of Rome, the common sink into which everything infamous and abominable flows like a torrent from all quarters of the world. Nero proceeded with his usual artifice. He found a set of profligate and abandoned wretches, who were induced to confess themselves guilty, and, on the evidence of such men, a number of Christians were convicted, not indeed, upon clear evidence of their having set the city on fire, but rather on account of their sullen hatred of the whole human race. They were put to death with exquisite cruelty, and to their sufferings Nero added mockery and derision. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and left to be devoured by dogs; others were nailed to the cross; numbers were burnt alive; and many, covered over with inflammable matter, were lighted up, when the day declined, to serve as torches during the night.

For the convenience of seeing this tragic spectacle, the emperor lent his own gardens. He added the sports of the circus, and assisted in person, sometimes driving a curricle, and occasionally mixing with the rabble in his coachman's dress. At length the cruelty of these proceedings filled every breast with compassion. Humanity relented in favour of the Christians. The manners of that people were, no doubt, of a pernicious tendency, and their crimes called for the hand of justice: but it was evident, that they fell a sacrifice, not for the public good, but to glut the rage and cruelty of one man only.

XLV. Meanwhile, to supply the unbounded prodigality of the prince, all Italy was ravaged; the provinces were plundered; and the allies of Rome, with the several places that enjoyed the title of free cities, were put under contribution The very gods were taxed. Their temples in the city were rifled of their treasures, and heaps of massy gold, which, through a series of ages, the virtue of the Roman people, either returning thanks for victories, or performing their vows made in the hour of distress, had dedicated to religious uses, were now produced to answer the demands of riot and extravagance. In Greece and Asia rapacity was not content with seizing the votive offerings that adorned the temples, but even the very statues of the gods were deemed lawful prey. To carry this impious robbery into execution, Acratus and Secundus Carinas were sent with a special commission: the former, one of Nero's freedmen, of a genius ready for

any black design: the latter, a man of literature, with the Greek philosophy fluent in his mouth, and not one virtue at his heart. It was a report current at the time, that Seneca, wishing to throw from himself all responsibility for these impious acts, desired leave to retire to some part of Italy. Not being able to succeed in his request, he feigned a nervous disorder, and never stirred out of his room. If credit be due to some writers, a dose of poison was prepared for him by Cleonicus, one of his freedmen, by the instigation of Nero. The philosopher, however, warned by the same servant, whose courage failed him, or, perhaps, shielded from danger by his own wary disposition, escaped the snare. He lived at that very time on the most simple diet; wild apples, that grew in the woods, were his food; and water from the clear purling stream served to quench his thirst.

XLVI. About the same time a body of gladiators detained in custody at Præneste, made an attempt to recover their liberty. The military guard was called out, and the tumult died away. The incident, notwithstanding, revived the memory of Spartacus.[1] The calamities, that followed the daring enterprise of that adventurer, became the general topic, and filled the minds of all with dreadful apprehensions. Such is the genius of the populace, ever prone to sudden innovations, yet terrified at the approach of danger. In a few days after, advice was received, that the fleet had suffered by a violent storm. This was not an event of war, for there never was a period of such profound tranquillity; but Nero had ordered the ships, on a stated day, to assemble on the coast of Campania. The dangers of the sea never entered into his consideration. His orders were peremptory. The pilots, to mark their zeal, set sail, in tempestuous weather from the port of Formiæ. While they were endeavouring to double the cape of Misenum, a squall of wind from the south threw them on the coast of Cuma, where a number of the larger galleys, and almost all the smaller vessels, were dashed to pieces.

XLVII. Towards the close of the year omens and prodigies filled the minds of the people with apprehensions of impending mischief. Such dreadful peals of thunder were never known. A comet appeared, and that phenomenon was a certain prelude to some bloody act to be committed by Nero. Monstrous births, such as men and beasts with double heads, were seen in the streets and public ways; and in the midst of sacrifices, which required victims big with young, the like con-

[1] Spartacus, a gladiator, kindled up the Servile War.

ceptions fell from the entrails of animals slain at the altar. In the territory of Placentia, a calf was dropped with its head growing at the extreme part of the leg. The construction of the soothsayers was, that another head was preparing for the government of the world, but would prove weak, insufficient, and be soon detected, like the monstrous productions, which did not rest concealed in the womb, but came before their time, and lay exposed to public view near the high road.

XLVIII. Silius Nerva and Atticus Vestinus entered on their consulship [A.U.C. 818, A.D. 65]. In that juncture a deep conspiracy was formed, and carried on with such a spirit of enterprise, that in the moment of its birth it was almost ripe for execution. Senators, Roman knights, military men, and even women, gave in their names with emulation, all incited by their zeal for Caius Piso, and their detestation of Nero. Piso was descended from the house of Calpurnius, by his paternal line related to the first families in Rome. His virtues, or his amiable qualities that resembled virtues, made him the idol of the people. An orator of high distinction, he employed his eloquence in the defence of his fellow-citizens; possessed of great wealth, he was generous to his friends; by nature courteous, he was affable and polite to all. To these accomplishments he united a graceful figure and an engaging countenance. In his moral conduct neither strict nor regular, he led a life of voluptuous ease, fond of pomp and splendour, and, at times, free and luxurious in his pleasures. His irregularities served to grace his character. At a time when vice had charms for all orders of men, it was not expected, that the sovereign should lead a life of austerity and self-denial.

XLIX. The conspiracy did not originate from the ambition of Piso. Among so many bold and generous spirits, it is not easy to name the person who first set the whole in motion. Subrius Flavius, a tribune of the prætorian guards, and Sulpicius Asper, were the active leaders. The firmness with which they afterwards met their fate, sufficiently marks their characters. Annæus Lucan, the celebrated poet, and Plautius Lateranus, consul elect, entered into the plot with ardour and inflamed resentment. Lucan had personal provocations: Nero was an enemy to his rising fame; not being able to vie with that eminent genius, he ordered him not to make his verses public, determined to silence what he vainly strove to emulate. Lateranus brought with him no private animosity: he acted on nobler principles; the love of his country inspired him, and he knew no other motive. Flavius Scevinus and Afranius

Quinctianus, both of senatorian rank, stood forward to guide the enterprise with a degree of spirit little expected from the tenor of their lives. Scevinus, addicted to his pleasures, passed his days in luxury, sloth, and languor. Quinctianus was decried for the effeminacy of his manners. Nero had lampooned him in a copy of defamatory verses, and to revenge the injury Quinctianus became a patriot.

L. The conspirators had frequent meetings. They inveighed against the vices of Nero; they painted forth in glaring colours all his atrocious deeds, by which the empire was brought to the brink of ruin; they urged the necessity of choosing a successor equal to the task of restoring a distressed and tottering state, and, in the interval, enlisted in their confederacy several Roman knights, namely, Tullius Senecio, Cervarius Proculus, Vulcatius Araricus, Julius Tugurinus, Munatius Gratus, Antonius Natalis, and Martius Festus. Senecio, the first in the list, had lived in the closest intimacy with the prince, and, being still obliged to wear the mask, he found the interval big with anxiety, mistrust, and danger. Antonius Natalis was the bosom friend and confidential agent of Piso; the rest had their separate views, and in a revolution hoped to find their private advantage. There were, besides Subrius Flavius and Sulpicius Asper already mentioned, a number of military men ready to draw their swords in the cause. In this class were Granius Silvanus and Statius Proximus, both tribunes of the prætorian bands; Maximus Scaurus and Venetus Paullus, two centurions. But the main strength and pillar of the party was Fenius Rufus, commander-in-chief of the prætorian guards; a man of principle, and for the integrity of his conduct esteemed and honoured by the people. But Tigellinus stood in higher favour with the prince, and by his cruel devices no less than by his taste for riot and debauchery, so ingratiated himself, that he was able to supplant the prætorian præfect, and by secret accusations to endanger his life. He represented him to Nero as the favoured lover of Agrippina,[1] still cherishing a regard for her memory, and lying in wait for an opportunity to revenge her wrongs.

Rufus inclined to the discontented party, and, at length, declared himself willing to assist their enterprise. Encouraged by this accession of strength, the conspirators began to think of the decisive blow, and to deliberate about the time and place. We are told that Subrius Flavius resolved to take to himself the glory of the deed. Two different schemes occurred

[1] Agrippina, Nero's murdered mother.

to him. One was, while the prince was singing on the stage, to despatch him in the sight of the whole theatre. His second project was, while Nero was rambling abroad in his midnight frolics, to set fire to the palace, and in the tumult, to take him by surprise, unattended by his guards. The last seemed to be the safest measure. The tyrant, unseen and unassisted, would fall a devoted victim, and die in solitude. On the other hand, the idea of a brave exploit, performed in the presence of applauding numbers, fired the generous ardour of that heroic mind. But prudential considerations had too much weight. He wished to gain immortal fame, and he thought of his own personal safety; a tame reflection, always adverse to every great and noble enterprise.

LI. While the conspirators lingered in suspense, prolonging the awful period of their hopes and fears, a woman, of the name of Epicharis, apprised of the plot (by what means is still a mystery), began to animate their drooping spirit, and to blame their cold delay. What made her conduct singular on this occasion was, that, before this time, not one great or honourable sentiment was ever known to have entered her heart. Seeing the business languish, she retired in disgust, and went into Campania. But a spirit like hers could not be at rest. She endeavoured to seduce the officers of the fleet then lying at Misenum. She began her approaches to Volusius Proculus, an officer who had under his command a thousand marines. He was one of the assassins employed in the tragic catastrophe of Nero's mother. His reward, he thought, was in no proportion to the magnitude of the crime. Being known to Epicharis, or having then contracted a recent friendship, he began to disclose the secrets of his heart. He enumerated his exploits in Nero's service, and complained of the ingratitude with which he was ill requited; avowing, at the same time, a fixed resolution to revenge himself, whenever an opportunity offered. The woman, from this discourse, conceived hopes of gaining a proselyte, and by his means a number of others. She saw that a revolt in the fleet would be of the greatest moment. Nero was fond of sailing parties on the coast of Misenum and Puteoli, and would, by consequence, put himself in the power of the mariners.

Epicharis entered into close conference with Proculus; she recapitulated the various acts of cruelty committed by Nero. The fathers, she said, had no doubt remaining; they were of one mind; all agreed, that a tyrant, who overturned the laws and constitution of his country, ought to fall a sacrifice to an

injured people. She added, that Proculus would do well to co-operate with the friends of liberty. If he kindled the same spirit in the minds of the soldiers, a sure reward would wait him. In the fervour of her zeal, she had the prudence to conceal the names of the conspirators. That precaution served to screen her afterwards, when the marine officer turned informer, and betrayed the whole to Nero. She was cited to answer, and confronted with her accuser; but the charge, resting entirely on the evidence of one man, without a circumstance to support it, was easily eluded. Epicharis, notwithstanding, was detained in custody. Nero's suspicions were not to be removed. The accusation was destitute of proof, but he was not the less inclined to believe the worst.

LII. The undaunted firmness of Epicharis did not quiet the apprehensions of the conspirators. Dreading a discovery, they determined to execute their purpose without delay. The place they fixed upon was a villa belonging to Piso, in the neighbourhood of Baiæ, where the emperor, attracted by the beauties of that delightful spot, was used to enjoy the pleasure of bathing, and his convivial parties, divested of his guards, and unencumbered by the parade of state. Piso objected to the measure. "What would the world say, if his table were imbrued with blood, and the gods of hospitality violated by the murder of a prince, however detested for his atrocious deeds? Rome was the proper theatre for such a catastrophe. The scene should be in his own palace, that haughty mansion built with the spoils of plundered citizens. The blow for liberty would be still more noble before an assembly of the people. The actions of men, who dared nobly for the public, should be seen by the public eye."

Such were the objections advanced by Piso in the presence of the conspirators: in his heart he had other reasons. He dreaded Lucius Silanus, knowing his high descent, and the race accomplishments which he had acquired under the care of Caius Cassius, who had trained him from his youth, and formed his mind to everything great and honourable. A man thus distinguished might aspire to the imperial dignity. All who stood aloof from the conspiracy would be ready to second his ambition, and, most probably, would be joined by others, whom the fate of a devoted prince, cut off by treachery, might touch with compassion. Piso was supposed to have another secret motive: he knew the genius and the ardent spirit of Vestinus, the consul. A man of his character might think of restoring the old republic, or be for choosing another emperor,

to show mankind that the sovereign power was a gift to be disposed of according to his will and pleasure. Vestinus, in fact, had no share in the conspiracy, though he was afterwards charged as an accomplice, and, under that pretence, doomed to death by the unappeasable malice and the cruelty of Nero.

LIII. At length the conspirators fixed their day. They chose the time of the public games, which were soon to be performed in the circus, according to established usage, in honour of Ceres. During that festival, the emperor, who rarely showed himself to the people, but remained sequestered in his palace or his gardens, would not fail to attend his favourite diversions; and, in that scene of gaiety, access to his person would not be difficult. The assault was to be made in the following manner. Lateranus, a man of undaunted resolution, and an athletic form, was to approach the prince, with an humble air of supplication, as if to entreat relief for himself and family; and, in the act of falling at his feet, to overthrow him by some sudden exertion, and by his weight keep him stretched on the ground. In that condition the tribunes, the centurions, and the rest of the conspirators, as the opportunity offered, and as courage prompted, were to fall on, and sacrifice their victim to the just resentments of the people.

Scevinus claimed the honour of being the first to strike. For this purpose, he had taken a dagger from the temple of Health, in Etruria, or, as some writers will have it, from the temple of Fortune, in the city of Ferentum. This instrument he carried constantly about him, as a sacred weapon, dedicated to the cause of liberty. It was further settled, that, during the tumult Piso was to take his post in the temple of Ceres, and there remain till such time as Fenius and his confederates should call him forth, and conduct him to the camp. To conciliate the favour of the people, Antonia, the daughter of the late emperor, was to appear in the cavalcade. This last circumstance, since it is related by Pliny, must rest upon his authority. If it came from a less respectable quarter, I should think myself at liberty to suppress it: but it may be proper to ask, Is it probable that Antonia would hazard her reputation, and even her life, in a project so uncertain, and so big with danger? Is it probable that Piso, distinguished by his conjugal affection, could agree at once to abandon a wife whom he loved, and marry another to gratify his own wild ambition? But it may be said, of all the passions that inflame the human mind, ambition is the most fierce and ardent, of power to extinguish every other sentiment.

LIV. In a conspiracy like the present, so widely diffused among persons of different ages, rank, sex, and condition, some of them poor, and others rich, it may well be matter of wonder, that nothing transpired, till the discovery burst out at once from the house of Scevinus. This active partisan, on the day preceding the intended execution of the plot, had a long conference with Antonius Natalis; after which he returned home, and having sealed his will, unsheathed his sacred dagger, already mentioned. Finding it blunted by long disuse, he gave it to Milichus, his freedman, to be well whetted, and sharpened at the point. In the meantime, he went to his meal, more sumptuously served than had been his custom. To his favourite slaves he granted their freedom, and among the rest distributed sums of money. He affected an air of gaiety; he talked of indifferent things, with counterfeited cheerfulness; but a cloud hung over him, and too plainly showed, that some grand design was labouring in his breast. He desired the same Milichus to prepare bandages for the bracing of wounds, and applications to stop the effusion of blood. If this man was, before that time, apprised of the plot, he had till then acted with integrity; but the more probable opinion is, that he was never trusted, and now from all the circumstances drew his own conclusion.

The reward of treachery no sooner presented itself to the servile mind of an enfranchised slave, than he saw wealth and power inviting him to betray his master. The temptation was bright and dazzling; every principle gave way; the life of his patron was set at nought; and for the gift of freedom no sense of gratitude remained. He advised with his wife, and female advice was the worst he could take. The woman, with all the art and malice of her sex, alarmed his fears. Other slaves, she said, and other freedmen, had an eye on all that passed. The silence of one could be of no use. The whole would be brought to light; and he, who first made the discovery, would be entitled to the reward.

LV. At the dawn of day Milichus made the best of his way to the gardens of Servilius. Being refused admittance, he declared that he had business of the first importance, nothing less than the discovery of a dark and dangerous conspiracy. The porter conducted him to Epaphroditus, one of Nero's freedmen, who introduced him to the presence of his master. Milichus informed the emperor of his danger, and laid open the machinations of his enemies, with all that he knew and all that he conjectured. He produced the dagger, destined to

give the mortal stab, and desired to be confronted with the criminal.

Scevinus was seized by the soldiers, and dragged in custody to answer the charge. "The dagger," he said, "was a sacred relic, left to him by his ancestors. He had preserved it with veneration, and kept it safe in his chamber, till the perfidy of a slave surreptitiously conveyed it away. As to his will, he had often changed it, often signed and sealed a new one, without any distinction of days. He had been always generous to his domestics; nor was it now for the first time that he had given freedom to some, and to others liberal donations. If in the last instance his bounty exceeded the former measure, the reason was, that, being reduced in his circumstances, and pressed by his debts, he was afraid that his will would be declared void in favour of his creditors. With regard to his table, it was well known that his style of living had ever been elegant, and even profuse, to a degree that drew upon him the censure of rigid moralists. To the preparation of bandages and styptics he was an utter stranger. None were made by his order. The whole was the invention of a vile informer, who found himself destitute of proof, and, to prop his infamous calumny, dared to fabricate a new charge, at once the author and the witness of a lie." This defence was uttered by Scevinus in a tone of firmness, and the intrepidity of his manner gave it strength and credit. He pronounced the informer a notorious profligate, and, by consequence, an incompetent witness. This he urged with such an air of confidence, and with so much energy, that the information would have fallen to the ground, if the wife of Milichus had not observed, in the presence of her husband, that a long and secret interview had taken place between the prisoner and Natalis, both connected in the closest friendship with Caius Piso.

LVI. Natalis was cited to appear. Scevinus and he were examined apart, touching their late meeting. What was their business? and what was the conversation that passed between them? Their answers did not agree. Fresh suspicions arose, and both were loaded with irons. At the sight of the rack, their resolution failed. Natalis was the first to confess the guilt. He knew all the particulars of the conspiracy, and was, by consequence, able to support his information. He named Caius Piso, and proceeded next to Seneca. He had, probably, been employed as a messenger between Seneca and Piso; or, knowing the inveterate rancour with which Nero sought the destruction of his tutor, he intended by that charge,

however false, to make terms for himself. Scevinus, as soon as he heard that Natalis had made a discovery, saw the inutility of remaining silent. Thinking the whole conspiracy detected, he yielded to his fears; and, following a mean example of pusillanimity, discovered his accomplices. Three of the number, namely, Lucan, Quinctianus, and Senecio, persisted for some time to deny the whole with undaunted firmness, till induced, at length, by a promise of pardon, they thought they could not do enough to atone for their obstinacy. Lucan did not scruple to impeach his own mother, whose name was Acilia. Quinctianus gave information against Glitius Gallus, his dearest friend; and Senecio, in like manner, betrayed Annius Pollio.

LVII. Nero did not forget that Epicharis was still detained in custody, on the evidence of Volusius Proculus. The weakness of a female frame, he imagined, would not be able to endure the pangs of the rack. He therefore ordered her to be put to the most exquisite torture. But, neither stripes, nor fire, nor the brutal rage of the executioners, who were determined not to be baffled by a woman, could subdue a mind like hers, firm, constant, and undaunted to the last. Not a word was extorted from her. Her misery ended for that day. On the next, the same cruelty was prepared. Epicharis had no strength left. Her limbs were rent and dislocated. The executioners provided a chair to convey her to the place of torture. While they were conducting her, she took from her breast the girdle that braced her garment, and, having fastened one end of it to the top of the chair, made a noose for her neck, and, throwing herself from her seat, hung suspended with the whole weight of her body. In her mangled condition the remains of life were soon extinguished.

Such was the fate of this magnanimous woman. She left behind her a glorious example of truth and constancy, the more striking, as this generous part was acted by an enfranchised slave, to save the lives of men, in no degree related to her, and almost unknown. With heroic fortitude she endured the worst that malice could inflict, at a time when men of illustrious birth, when officers, Roman knights and senators, untried by the pangs of torture, betrayed, with a kind of emulation, their friends, their relations, and all that was dear to them. Quinctianus, Senecio, and even Lucan, continued to give in the names of the conspirators. Every new discovery filled Nero with consternation, though

he had doubled his guard, and taken every precaution to secure his person.

LVIII. Parties of soldiers under arms were stationed in every quarter, on the walls of Rome, on the sea-coast, and along the banks of the Tiber. The city presented the appearance of a garrisoned town. The forum and the open squares were filled with cohorts of horse and foot. The neighbouring villages and the country round were invested. Even private houses were secured. The German soldiers, ordered out on duty, mixed with the rest of the army. Being foreigners, Nero depended on their fidelity. The conspirators were led forth in a long procession to the tribunal of the prince. They stood in crowds at his garden gate, waiting their turn to be summoned before him. In regular succession they were admitted to an audience, and every trifle was magnified into a crime. A smile, a look, a whisper, a casual meeting at a convivial party or a public show, was evidence of treason. Nor was it sufficient that Nero and Tigellinus were keen and vehement in their inquiries: Fenius Rufus took an active part. Having hitherto escaped detection, he thought that violence against his accomplices would be the best way to screen himself. While he was eagerly pressing them with questions, Subrius Flavius, the prætorian tribune, by signs and tokens, signified to him his intention to cut off the tyrant in the midst of the examination. He had his hand on the hilt of his sword, when Rufus checked the brave design.

LIX. On the first detection of the plot, while Milichus was giving his evidence, and Scevinus still wavering and irresolute, some of the conspirators exhorted Piso to show himself in the camp, or to mount the public rostra, in order to gain the affections of the army and the people. "Let your friends," they said, "assemble in a body; let them stand forth in your cause, and they will be joined by numbers. The fame of an impending revolution would excite a general spirit; and fame in great undertakings has been often known to decide the event. Nero will be taken by surprise; on his part no measures are concerted. In sudden commotions the bravest are often struck with terror; and if courage may be thus overpowered, what will be the case of a theatrical emperor, a scenic performer, a vile comedian, assisted by Tigellinus and his band of harlots? In all great enterprises the attempt appears impracticable to little minds; but the brave and valiant

know that to dare is to conquer. In a plot, in which numbers were embarked, the silence of all could not be expected. The mind will waver, and the body will shrink from pain. There is no secret so deeply laid but bribery will draw it forth, or cruelty can extort it. The guards in a short time might seize Piso himself, and drag him to an ignominious death. How much more glorious to fall bravely in the cause of liberty! to die sword in hand, vindicating the rights of freeborn men, and rousing the army and the people to their own just defence! The soldiers may refuse to join, and the people may be guilty of treachery to themselves; but, even in that case, how noble to close the scene with a spirit worthy of your ancestors, blessed with the wishes of the present age and the applause of all posterity!"

These exhortations made no impression on Piso. He retired to his own house, and there fortified his mind against the worst that could happen. A band of soldiers broke in upon him, all selected from the recruits lately raised, undisciplined, and new to the service, but preferred by Nero to the veterans, whom he suspected of disaffection. Piso ordered the veins of both his arms to be opened, and expired: his will was a disgrace to his memory. It was written in a strain of fulsome flattery to the prince. He was betrayed into that act of meanness by his affection for his wife, a woman destitute of merit, who had great elegance of form, and nothing else to recommend her. Her name was Arria Galla. She had been married to Domitius Silius, and from him seduced by Piso. The passive spirit of the injured husband and the wanton character of the wife conspired to fix an indelible stain on the name of Piso.

LX. Plautius Lateranus, consul elect, was the next victim. He was seized, and dragged to instant death; no time allowed to take the last farewell of his children, nor even the usual liberty of choosing his own mode of dying. He was hurried to the place of execution usually allotted to slaves, and there despatched by the hand of Statius, a military tribune. He met his fate with a noble and determined silence, not so much as condescending to tax the executioner with his share in the conspiracy.

The next exploit of Nero was the death of Seneca. Against that eminent man no proof of guilt appeared; but the emperor thirsted for his blood, and what poison had

not accomplished, he was determined to finish by the sword. Natalis was the only person who had mentioned his name. The chief head of his accusation was, "That he himself had been sent on a visit to Seneca, then confined by illness, with instructions to mention to him, that Piso often called at his house, but never could gain admittance, though it was the interest of both to live on terms of mutual friendship." To this Seneca made answer, "That private interviews could be of no service to either; but still his happiness was grafted on the safety of Piso." Granius Silvanus, a tribune of the prætorian guards, was despatched to Seneca, with directions to let him know what was alleged against him, and to inquire whether he admitted the conversation stated by Natalis, with the answers given by himself. Seneca, by design or accident, was that very day on his return from Campania. He stopped at a villa of his own about four miles from Rome. Towards the close of day the tribune arrived, and beset the house with a band of soldiers. Seneca was at supper with his wife Pompeia Paulina, and two of his friends, when Silvanus entered the room, and reported the orders of the emperor.

LXI. Seneca did not hesitate to acknowledge that Natalis had been at his house, with a complaint that Piso's visits were not received. His apology, he said, imported no more than want of health, the love of ease, and the necessity of attending to a weak and crazy constitution. "That he should prefer the interest of a private citizen to his own safety, was too absurd to be believed. He had no motives to induce him to pay such a compliment to any man; adulation was no part of his character. This is a truth well known to Nero himself: he can tell you that, on various occasions, he found in Seneca a man, who spoke his mind with freedom, and disdained the arts of servile flattery." Silvanus returned to Rome. He found the prince in company with Poppæa and Tigellinus, who, as often as cruelty was in agitation, formed the cabinet council. In their presence the messenger reported his answer. Nero asked, "Does Seneca prepare to end his days by a voluntary death?" "He showed," said the tribune, "no symptom of fear, no token of sorrow, no dejected passion: his words and looks bespoke a mind serene, erect, and firm." "Return," said Nero, "and tell him he must resolve to die." Silvanus, according to the account of Fabius Rusticus, chose to go back by a different road.

He went through a private way to Fenius Rufus, to advise with that officer, whether he should execute the emperor's orders. Rufus told him that he must obey. Such was the degenerate spirit of the times. A general panic took possession of every mind. This very Silvanus was one of the conspirators, and yet was base enough to be an instrument of the cruelty which he had combined to revenge. He had, however, the decency to avoid the shock of seeing Seneca, and of delivering in person the fatal message. He sent a centurion to perform that office for him.

LXII. Seneca heard the message with calm composure. He called for his will, and being deprived of that right of a Roman citizen by the centurion, he turned to his friends, and "You see," he said, "that I am not at liberty to requite your services with the last marks of my esteem. One thing, however, still remains. I leave you the example of my life, the best and most precious legacy now in my power. Cherish it in your memory, and you will gain at once the applause due to virtue, and the fame of a sincere and generous friendship." All who were present melted into tears. He endeavoured to assuage their sorrows; he offered his advice with mild persuasion; he used the tone of authority. "Where," he said, "are the precepts of philosophy, and where the words of wisdom, which for years have taught us to meet the calamities of life with firmness and a well prepared spirit? Was the cruelty of Nero unknown to any of us? He murdered his mother; he destroyed his brother; and, after those deeds of horror, what remains to fill the measure of his guilt but the death of his guardian and his tutor?"

LXIII. Having delivered himself in these pathetic terms, he directed his attention to his wife. He clasped her in his arms, and in that fond embrace yielded for a while to the tenderness of his nature. Recovering his resolution, he entreated her to appease her grief, and bear in mind that his life was spent in a constant course of honour and of virtue. That consideration would serve to heal affliction, and sweeten all her sorrows. Paulina was still inconsolable. She was determined to die with her husband; she invoked the aid of the executioners, and begged to end her wretched being. Seneca saw that she was animated by the love of glory, and that generous principle he thought ought not to be restrained. The idea of leaving a beloved object exposed to the insults of the world, and the malice of her

enemies, pierced him to the quick. "It has been my care," he said, "to instruct you in that best philosophy, the art of mitigating the ills of life; but you prefer an honourable death. I will not envy you the vast renown that must attend your fall. Since you will have it so, we will die together. We will leave behind us an example of equal constancy; but the glory will be all your own."

These words were no sooner uttered, than the veins of both their arms were opened. At Seneca's time of life the blood was slow and languid. The decay of nature, and the impoverishing diet to which he had used himself, left him in a feeble condition. He ordered the vessels of his legs and joints to be punctured. After that operation, he began to labour with excruciating pains. Lest his sufferings should overpower the constancy of his wife, or the sight of her afflictions prove too much for his own sensibility, he persuaded her to retire into another room. His eloquence still continued to flow with its usual purity. He called for his secretaries, and dictated, while life was ebbing away, that farewell discourse, which has been published, and is in everybody's hands. I will not injure his last words by giving the substance in another form.

LXIV. Nero had conceived no antipathy to Paulina. If she perished with her husband, he began to dread the public execration. That he might not multiply the horrors of his present cruelty, he sent orders to exempt Paulina from the stroke of death. The slaves and freedmen, by the direction of the soldiers, bound up her arm, and stopped the effusion of blood. This, it is said, was done without her knowledge, as she lay in a state of languor. The fact, however, cannot be known with certainty. Vulgar malignity, which is ever ready to detract from exalted virtue, spread a report, that, as long as she had reason to think that the rage of Nero was implacable, she had the ambition to share the glory of her husband's fate; but a milder prospect being unexpectedly presented, the charms of life gained admission to her heart, and triumphed over her constancy. She lived a few years longer, in fond regret, to the end of her days, revering the memory of her husband. The weakness of her whole frame, and the sickly languor of her countenance, plainly showed that she had been reduced to the last extremity.

Seneca lingered in pain. The approach of death was slow, and he wished for his dissolution. Fatigued with

pain, worn out and exhausted, he requested his friend, Statius Annæus, whose fidelity and medical skill he had often experienced, to administer a draught of that swift-speeding poison, usually given at Athens to the criminals adjudged to death. He swallowed the potion, but without any immediate effect. His limbs were chilled: the vessels of his body were closed, and the ingredients, though keen and subtle, could not arrest the principles of life. He desired to be placed in a warm bath. Being conveyed according to his desire, he sprinkled his slaves with the water, and "Thus," he said, "I MAKE LIBATION TO JUPITER THE DELIVERER." The vapour soon overpowered him, and he breathed his last. His body, without any funeral pomp, was committed to the flames. He had given directions for that purpose in his last will, made at a time when he was in the zenith of power, and even then looked forward to the close of his days.

LXV. A report was at that time current at Rome, that Subrius Flavius and several centurions held a private meeting, with the knowledge and consent of Seneca, and there resolved to open a new and unexpected scene. The blow for liberty was to be struck in the name of Piso, and as soon as the world was freed from the tyranny of Nero, Piso was to be the next victim, in order to make way for Seneca, who for his virtues, was to be raised to the highest elevation, with an air of innocence, and of a man unconscious of the plot. The very words of Flavius were reported among the people. He is supposed to have said, "What good end will it answer to depose a MINSTREL, if we place a TRAGEDIAN in his room?" The fact was, Nero played on his guitar, and Piso trod the stage in the buskin of tragedy.

LXVI. The part which the military men had taken in the conspiracy, did not long remain a secret. The double game played by Fenius Rufus, at first a confederate in the plot, and then a judge pronouncing sentence on his accomplices, provoked the indignation of all. In the examination of Scevinus that officer pressed his interrogatories with overacted zeal, and by menaces endeavoured to extort a confession. Scevinus answered with a smile, "No man knows the particulars better than yourself. You now may show your gratitude to so good a prince." Rufus was covered with confusion. To speak was not in his power, and to remain silent was dangerous. He trembled, faltered, and

hesitated an answer. His embarrassment betrayed his guilt. The rest of the conspirators, with Cervarius Proculus, a Roman knight, at their head, were eager to depose against him. At length a soldier of the name of Cassius, remarkable for his robust stature, and for that reason ordered to attend, laid hold of Rufus by the emperor's order, and loaded him with irons.

LXVII. The same witnesses gave evidence against Subrius Flavius. In answer to the charge, he relied much on his course of life, and the dissimilitude of manners between himself and his accusers. "Was it probable that a soldier, inured to the profession of arms, would associate with an effeminate set of men, strangers to danger and to manly enterprise!" Finding himself pressed by the weight of evidence, he changed his tone, and with heroic fortitude avowed the part he had acted. Being asked by Nero, what could induce him to forget the solemn obligation of his oath? "Because," he said, "I hated, I detested you. There was a time when no soldier in your army was more devoted to your service, and that was as long as you deserved the esteem of mankind. I began to hate you when you were guilty of parricide; when you murdered your mother and destroyed your wife; when you became a coachman, a comedian, and an incendiary." I have given the very words of this intrepid conspirator, because they were not, like those of Seneca, published to the world; and the rough sentiments of a soldier, in his own plain, but vigorous language, merit the attention of posterity.

In the whole discovery of the plot nothing made so deep an impression on the mind of Nero. Though his heart never knew remorse for the worst of crimes, his ear, unaccustomed to the voice of truth, shrunk from the sound of freedom, and startled at reproach. Flavius was ordered for execution. Veianius Niger, one of the tribunes, led him to the next field, and there directed a trench to be opened. The prisoner surveyed the spot, and, finding it neither wide nor deep enough, turned with a smile to the soldiers, and "This," he said, "shows no military skill." Niger desired him to extend his neck with courage: "Strike," said Flavius, "and prove your courage equal to mine." The tribune was seized with a tremor in every joint. He severed the head at two blows, and made a merit of it with Nero, giving the name of cruelty to his want of firmness. He made it his boast, that, by repeating the stroke, he made him die twice.

LXVIII. Sulpicius Asper, the centurion, gave the next example of magnanimity. Being asked by Nero, why he conspired against his life? he answered shortly, "I knew no other relief from your flagitious deeds." He was instantly put to death. The rest of the centurions underwent their fate, and all died worthy of their characters. Fenius Rufus had not equal constancy. He betrayed an abject spirit, and even in his will was weak enough to bewail his unhappy fate. Nero lived in hopes of seeing Vestinus, the consul, charged as a criminal. He knew the character of the man; an intrepid daring spirit, ambitious, and suspected of disaffection. The conspirators, however, had no communication of counsels with that active magistrate. Some declined him on account of former animosities, and others, because they thought him rash and impetuous. Nero's rancour grew out of a close and intimate friendship. In that familiar intercourse Vestinus saw into the very heart of the prince, and despised him for his vices. Nero shrunk from a man, who had the spirit to speak his mind with freedom, and, in his sarcastic vein, had often made the prince the subject of his raillery; and raillery, when seasoned with truth, never fails to leave a sting that festers in the memory. A recent incident gave an edge to Nero's resentment. Vestinus married Statilia Messalina, though he knew that the prince was one of her lovers.

LXIX. No witness appeared against Vestinus; no crime was laid to his charge, and, by consequence, no proceeding could be had in due form of law. But the will of the tyrant still remained. He sent Gerelanus, one of the tribunes, at the head of a cohort, with orders so to take his measures, that the consul might not be able to stand on the defensive, and, for that purpose, to invest his house, which, like a proud citadel, overlooked the forum, and contained a numerous train of young and hardy slaves, in the nature of a garrison. Vestinus had that very day discharged all the functions of his consular office. He was at table with his friends, free from apprehension, or, it may be, affecting an air of gaiety, when the soldiers entered, and informed him that the tribune had important business with him. He rose and left the room. The scene of death was instantly laid. He was shut up in a chamber; a physician attended; his veins were opened; he was conducted to a warm bath, and being put into the water, expired without a complaint, and without a groan. His guests, in the meantime, remained in the banqueting-room,

imprisoned by the guards. It was late at night before they were released. Nero heard the account with pleasure. He saw, in the sport of his imagination, a set of men assembled at a convivial party, and every moment expecting their final doom. He laughed at their distress, and said facetiously, "They have paid for their consular supper."

LXX. Lucan, the famous poet, was the next sacrifice to the vengeance of Nero. His blood flowed freely from him, and being soon well-nigh exhausted, he perceived that the vital heat had left the extremities of his limbs, his hands and feet were chilled, but, the warmth retiring to his heart, he still retained his senses and the vigour of his mind. The lines in his poem, which describe a soldier dying in the same condition, occurred to his memory. He repeated the passage, and expired. His own verses were the last words he uttered. Senecio, Quinctianus, and Scevinus, suffered in a short time after. The dissolute softness of their lives did not disgrace them in their end. They met their fate with resolution. The rest of the conspirators were led to execution. In their deaths there was nothing that merits particular notice.

LXXI. While the city presented a scene of blood, and funerals darkened all the streets, the altars of the capitol smoked with victims slaughtered on the occasion. One had lost a son; another was deprived of his brother, his friend, or his near relation; and yet, stifling every sentiment of the heart, all concurred in offering thanks to the gods; they adorned the prince's house with laurels; they fell at the tyrant's feet; they clasped his knees, and printed kisses on his hand. Nero received this vile adulation as the token of real joy. In order to make sure of the people, he showed his clemency to Antonius Natalis and Cervarius Proculus, whose merit consisted altogether in their treachery to their friends. To Milichus he granted a rich and ample recompense, and moreover added the honourable appellation of a Greek name, importing the CONSERVATOR. Granius Silvanus, one of the tribunes engaged in the conspiracy, received a free pardon; but, disdaining to enjoy it, he died by his own hand. Statius Proximus had the vanity to follow his example. Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepos, and Statius Domitius were all degraded from their tribunitian rank, not as men condemned, but suspected of disaffection. Novius Priscus, Glitius Gallus, and Annius Pollio were ordered into exile; the first on account of his known inti-

macy with Seneca; and the two last, to disgrace them, though not convicted of any crime. Antonia Flaccilla, the wife of Novius Priscus, followed her husband into banishment. Egnatia Maximilla, at that time possessed of great wealth, had the spirit, in like manner, to adhere to Glitius Gallus. Her fortune was soon after taken from her by the hand of power. Her conduct, both in affluence and poverty, did honour to her character.

Rufus Crispinus was likewise banished: the conspiracy furnished a pretext, but his having been married to Poppæa was the crime that brought on his ruin. Virginius[1] and Musonius Rufus[2] owed their banishment to the celebrity of their names: the former trained the Roman youth to eloquence, and the latter formed their minds by his lectures on wisdom and philosophy. At one sweep, Cluvidienus Quietus, Julius Agrippa, Blitius Catulinus, Petronius Priscus, and Julius Altinus, like a colony of criminals, were sent to islands in the Ægean Sea. Cadicia, the wife of Scevinus, and Cæsonius Maximus, were ordered out of Italy, without being heard in their defence. The sentence of condemnation was the first notice of any crime alleged against them. Acilia, the mother of Lucan, was neither pardoned, nor condemned. She was suffered to live in silent obscurity.

LXXII. Having performed these dreadful exploits, Nero called an assembly of the soldiers, and, after a specious harangue, ordered a largess of a thousand sesterces to be paid to each man, and the corn, which they had been used to purchase at the market-price, to be distributed as the bounty of the prince. He then ordered the senate to be convened, with as much importance as if the events of war and splendid victories occasioned the meeting. He granted triumphal ornaments to Petronius Turpilianus, of consular rank, to Cocceius Nerva,[3] prætor elect, and Tigellinus, commander of the prætorian guards. The two last were mentioned by him in strains of the highest commendation. Not content with erecting their statues in the forum, adorned with triumphal decorations, he placed them also in the imperial palace. Nymphidius was honoured with the ensigns of consular dignity. Of this man, who now occurs for the first time, since he is to figure hereafter on the stage of public business, it may be proper in this place to say a few words.

[1] Virginius was a rhetorician.
[2] Musonius Rufus was a teacher of philosophy.
[3] Nerva, afterwards emperor.

He was the son of an enfranchised female slave, distinguished by her beauty, and the ease with which she granted her favours to the slaves as well as the freedmen about the court. Nymphidius, however, pretended to be of higher origin. He called himself the son of Caligula. His large stature, and the stern cast of his countenance, bore some resemblance to that emperor; and, in fact, as Caligula was never delicate in the choice of his mistresses, but was known to share the embraces of common harlots, it is possible that he might, on some occasion, indulge his passion with the mother of Nymphidius.

LXXIII. The senate being assembled, Nero delivered a speech on the subject of the late transactions, and, for the information of the people, issued a proclamation, with a statement of the evidence against the conspirators, and their own confessions. The clamours of the public made this expedient necessary. While the executions were going on, the public voice was loud and violent against Nero, the insatiate tyrant, who was daily sacrificing to his cruelty, or his fears, the lives of innocent and illustrious men. That a plot was actually formed; that it was conducted with resolution, and in the end was totally defeated, no man, who made it his business to investigate the truth, entertained a doubt at the time; and since the death of Nero, the acknowledgment of all, who returned from banishment, established the fact beyond a controversy. Nero was received by the senate with the basest flattery. In that assembly, the men, who had the greatest reason to be overwhelmed with grief, were the most forward to offer incense to the emperor. Junius Gallio, the brother of Seneca, was, by the loss of that excellent man, so struck with terror, that to save his own life he descended to humble supplications. Salienus Clemens rose to oppose him, as a parricide and an enemy to the state. He continued his invectives till the fathers checked his violence. It was not now, they said, a time to gratify personal animosity, under an appearance of zeal for the public good; nor would it become any man to open again the wounds which the clemency of the prince had closed for ever.

LXXIV. Oblations and public thanksgivings were decreed to all the gods, and particularly to the Sun, in whose temple, situated in the forum, the murder was to have been perpetrated, if that god had not dispelled the clouds that hung over the machinations of evil-minded men, and brought their dark proceedings into open daylight. It was further

ordered, that the sports of the circus, in honour of Ceres, should be celebrated with an additional number of chariot races; that the month of April should be styled after the name of Nero; and that, on the spot, where Scevinus furnished himself with a dagger, a temple should be erected to the GODDESS OF SAFETY. The dagger itself was dedicated in the capitol, with an inscription to the avenging god, called JUPITER VINDEX. The inscription at that time, had no equivocal meaning; but soon after, when JULIUS VINDEX excited a revolt in Gaul, it was considered as an omen of impending vengeance.

In the journals of the senate I find an entry, by which it appears, that Cerealis Anicius, consul elect, moved in his place, that a temple should be raised, at the public expense, to the DEIFIED NERO, who, in his opinion, had risen above the condition of human nature, and was, therefore, entitled to religious worship. This motion was afterwards understood to portend nothing less than the death of Nero; since it was a settled rule, that divine honours should never be paid to the emperor, till he ceased to be mortal.[1]

[1] Augustus was deified by the poets, and in the provinces; but no altars were erected to him at Rome during his life.

BOOK XVI

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These transactions passed, partly in the former consulship, and in the following year.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
818	65	Silius Nerva, Atticus Vestrinus.
819	66	Caius Suetonius Paulinus, Caius Lucius Telesinus.

I. NERO, in consequence of his own credulity, became in a short time afterwards the sport of fortune, and a subject

of public derision. He believed the visionary schemes of Cesellius Bassus, a native of Carthage, of a crazed imagination, who relied on whatever occurred to him in his distempered dreams. This man arrived at Rome, and, by the influence of money well applied, gained admission to the presence of the emperor. The secret, which he had to communicate, was, that on his own estate he had found a cavern of astonishing depth, in which were contained immense stores of gold not wrought into the form of coin, but in rude and shapeless ingots, such as were in use in the early ages of the world. In one part of the cave were to be seen vast massy heaps, and in other places columns of gold towering to a prodigious height; the whole an immense treasure, reserved in obscurity to add to the splendour of Nero's reign. To give probability to his story, he pretended, that Dido, the Phœnician, when she fled from Tyre, and founded the city of Carthage, deposited her whole stock in the bowels of the earth, that so much wealth might neither prove the bane of a new colony, nor excite the avarice of the Numidian princes, of themselves already hostile to her infant state.

II. Nero neither weighed the character of the man, nor the circumstances of so wild a report. He had not even the precaution to send commissioners to inform themselves on the spot. He helped to spread the report; he began to count his riches, and despatched his agents to transport the treasure to Rome. The light galleys were equipped with expedition, and a chosen band of mariners sent on board. Rome, in the meantime, was distracted with hope and fear, with doubt and expectation. No other subject was talked of. The common people, with their usual facility, believed everything; while men of reflection argued in a different manner. It happened that the quinquennial games were to close the second lustre of five years. During that festival, the expected treasure was the subject on which the orators expatiated, and the poets exhausted their invention. In their flights of fancy, the earth was no longer content with pouring forth fruit and grain, and producing metals intermixed with veins of precious ore; the present fecundity showed that the gods were working miracles to bless the reign of Nero. These were the bright conceits, which flattery displayed with rapture, and eloquence adorned with her richest colouring. While the passions of Nero stood ready to receive every new device, fiction passed for truth, and nothing was too hyperbolical for the credulity of the prince.

III. With such immoderate riches in view, no wonder that Nero launched out into greater profusion than ever. Deluded by his hopes, and sure of a supply for years to come, he exhausted his treasury, and began to anticipate his imaginary funds. He made assignments on the property, and granted with generosity what was not in his possession. The expectation of enormous wealth made him the bubble of a madman, and impoverished the public. In the meantime Bassus, the grand projector, arrived at Carthage. In the presence of a number of soldiers, and a large body of peasants employed as labourers, he dug up his grounds, and made his experiment in the adjacent fields, disappointed in one place, sure of success in another, still confident, and still miscarrying; till at length, finding no subterraneous cave, and weary of the fruitless search, he abandoned his chimerical hopes, coming gradually to his senses, yet wondering, that, of all his dreams, the last should be the only one that deceived him. Covered with shame, and dreading the resentment of the emperor, he delivered himself from all his troubles by a voluntary death. According to some writers, he was instantly seized, and loaded with irons, till Nero ordered him to be released, but seized his effects, determined to enjoy the fortunes of a wild adventurer, since he could not obtain the wealth of Dido.

IV. The time of contending for the prizes in the quinquennial games being near at hand, the senate, with intent to ward off from the emperor the disgrace of being a candidate, offered to adjudge, in his favour, the victory in song, and the crown of eloquence. The fathers hoped, that honours freely granted would satisfy the prince, and prevent a ridiculous display of theatrical talents. Nero returned for answer, that he stood in no need of favour or protection. He depended on himself alone, and would fairly enter the lists with his competitors. The equity of the judges was to decide, and by that test he was willing to stand or fall. With that spirit he entered the scene, and recited a poem of his own composition. The people, with earnest entreaty, prayed that he would let them taste the supreme delight of hearing and enjoying all his divine accomplishments. Such was the language of the populace. In compliance with their wishes, he mounted the public stage, conforming in all things to the rules of the orchestra, where no performer was to sit down, nor to wipe the sweat from his face with anything but his own garment, and never

to spit or clear his nostrils in sight of the audience. Having exhibited his skill, he went down on his knee, and stretching forth his hands with pretended agitations of hope and fear, waited in that humble posture for the decision of the judges. The populace, accustomed to applaud the notes and gesticulations of the common players, paid their tribute of admiration to the prince, with measured cadence, in one regular chorus of applause. You would have thought their joy sincere, and, perhaps, it was so in fact: the rabble wished to be diverted at any rate, and for the disgrace that befell the state, vulgar minds felt no concern.

V. Thinking men were affected in a very different manner. All who came from the municipal towns, or the more remote parts of Italy, where some tincture of ancient manners still remained; and a considerable number, besides, who arrived from the provinces on public business, or their own private affairs, as yet strangers to vice, and undebauched by luxury, beheld the scene with heaviness of heart. A spectacle, in which the prince exposed his frivolous talents, gave them the highest disgust. They thought the applause dishonest, but they were obliged to concur with the rest. They acted their part with warm, but awkward zeal. Their unpractised hands were easily tired; they were not able to keep time in the grand concert, and, exerting themselves without skill, they disturbed the general harmony. For every blunder they were chastised by the soldiers, who were stationed at their posts, with orders to take care, that the applause should be kept up with spirit, without an interval of rest, or silence. It is a certain fact, that several Roman knights, endeavouring to make their way through the crowd, were crushed to death in the narrow passes; and that others, who kept their seats in the theatre day and night, fell dangerously ill. The dread of being absent from such a performance was more alarming than the worst sickness that could happen. Besides the soldiers stationed in the theatre to superintend the audience, it is well known that a number of spies lay in ambush, to take down the names of the spectators, to watch their countenances, and note every symptom of disgust or pleasure. Offenders of mean condition were punished on the spot. Men of distinction were overlooked with an air of calm neglect, but resentment was only smothered for a time, to break out afterwards with deadly hate. We are told, that Vespasian, for the crime of being ready to fall asleep, was obliged to endure the insulting language of one, Phœbus,

an imperial freedman, and was saved from harsher treatment by the intercession of men of rank and influence. The offence, however, was not entirely forgotten; it remained in store for future vengeance; but Vespasian was reserved, by his superior destiny, for the highest elevation.

VI. The public games were followed by the death of Poppæa.[1] She died of a kick on her womb, which Nero gave her in a sudden passion, though she was then advanced in her pregnancy. Some writers will have it that she was carried off by a dose of poison; but they assert it with more spleen than truth. Nero was desirous of having issue, and he loved his wife with sincere affection. Her body was not, according to the Roman custom,[2] committed to the funeral pile, but after the manner of the eastern kings, embalmed with precious spices, and deposited in the monument of the Julian family. The ceremony was performed with great pomp, and Nero pronounced the funeral oration. He was lavish in praise of her beauty; and the peculiar happiness of being the mother of an infant enrolled among the gods, was a topic on which he dwelt with pleasure. By enlarging on that and other accidental circumstances, he made a panegyric, in which not one virtue could find a place.

VII. The death of Poppæa occasioned a general face of mourning, but no real grief. Men remembered her loose incontinence, and, having felt her cruelty, rejoiced in secret at an event that freed the world from a woman of a detested character. Nero laboured under a load of reproach, and the public resentment rose still higher, when it was known that, by his orders, Cassius did not attend the funeral. That illustrious Roman understood the imperial mandate as the signal of his approaching ruin. In fact, his doom was fixed in a short time after, and Silanus was devoted with him. The crime of Cassius was the splendid fortune which he inherited from his ancestors, and the austerity of his manners. Silanus offended by the nobility of his birth, and his modest merit. Nero sent a letter to the senate, stating in strong terms the necessity of removing them both from all civil offices. To Cassius he objected, that among the images

[1] Suetonius says he married Poppæa twelve days after his divorce from Octavia, and, notwithstanding the vehemence of his love, killed her with a kick when she was big with child, only because she took the liberty to chide him for returning late from the chariot race.

[2] The first Romans did not burn their dead, but interred them, according to the custom of other nations.

of his ancestors, he preserved, with veneration, the picture of the famous Caius Cassius, with this inscription: THE LEADER OF THE PARTY. That circumstance plainly showed the sullen spirit of a man brooding mischief; a fierce republican, who meditated another civil war, and a revolt from the house of Cæsar. But to revive the name of a daring factious chief was not sufficient for the purposes of a turbulent incendiary: he was charged with seducing Lucius Silanus, a youth descended from an illustrious line, bold, ambitious, enterprising, and, in the hands of ill-designing men, a fit tool to spread the flame of rebellion.

VIII. Silanus[1] was no less an object of Nero's hatred. It was urged against him, as had been formerly done in the case of his uncle Torquatus, that he affected the style of imperial dignity, and had in his household train his mock-treasurers, his auditors of accounts, and his secretaries of state. Nothing could be more destitute of all foundation. Silanus saw the tyranny of those disastrous times, and from the fate of his uncle received a lesson of prudence. Lepida, the wife of Cassius, and aunt of Silanus, was also doomed to fall a sacrifice to the unrelenting fury of the prince. Informers were suborned to accuse her of incest with her nephew; and, to swell the charge, they imputed to her impious sacrifices, magic rites, and horrible incantations. Vulcatius Tullinus, and Marcellus Cornelius, of senatorian rank, with Calpurnius Fabatus, a Roman knight, were involved in the prosecution. They appealed to the tribunal of the emperor, and, by removing the cause, prevented a final sentence. Nero was, at that time, brooding over crimes of the deepest dye, and, having nobler game in view, he disdained to stoop to an inferior quarry. The three last were saved by their want of importance.

IX. Cassius and Silanus were banished by a decree of the senate. The case of Lepida was referred to the prince. Cassius, in a short time after, was transported to the island of Sardinia, where Nero was content to leave him to old age and the decay of nature. Silanus was conveyed to Ostia, there, as was pretended, to embark for the isle of Naxos. He never reached that place. Barium,[2] a municipal city of Apulia, was the last stage of his journey. He there supported life with a temper that gave dignity to undeserved

[1] Lucius Silanus was son to Marcus Junius Silanus, who was great-grandson to Augustus.

[2] Barium, a city in Apulia, now *Bari*.

misfortune, till a centurion, employed to commit the murder, rushed upon him abruptly. That officer advised him to open his veins. "Death," said Silanus, "has been familiar to my thoughts, but the honour of prescribing to me I shall not allow to a ruffian and a murderer." The centurion, seeing that he had to do with a man, unarmed indeed, but robust and vigorous, not a symptom of fear in his countenance, but, on the contrary, an eye that sparkled with indignation, gave orders to his soldiers to seize their prisoner. Silanus stood on the defensive: what man could do without a weapon he bravely dared, struggling, and dealing his blows about him, till he fell by the sword of the centurion, like a gallant officer, receiving honourable wounds, and facing his enemy to the last.

X. Lucius Vetus, and Sextia his mother-in-law, with Pollutia his daughter, died with equal fortitude. Nero thought them a living reproach to himself for the murder of Rubellius Plautus, the son-in-law of Lucius Vetus. The root of bitterness rankled in Nero's heart, till Fortunatus, one of the manumitted slaves of Vetus, gave him an opportunity to wreak his vengeance on the whole family. The freedman had been employed by Vetus in the management of his affairs, and having defrauded his master, he thought it time to add treachery to peculation, and give evidence against his patron. In this black design he associated with himself one Claudius Demianus, a fellow of an abandoned character, who had been charged in Asia, while Vetus was proconsul of the province, with various crimes, and sent to Rome in fetters. To forward the prosecution, Nero set him at liberty.

Vetus heard, with indignation, that the evidence of a freedman was received against the life of his patron, and retired to his country-seat in the neighbourhood of Formiæ. A band of soldiers followed him, and beset his house. His daughter was then with him. A sense of former injuries was still fresh in her mind. She had seen her husband, Rubellius Plautus, massacred by a band of ruffians. Upon that occasion she opposed her person to the assassin's stroke: she clung to her husband's bleeding neck, and preserved the garment stained with his blood. From that time nothing could assuage her sorrows: she remained a widow, a prey to grief, inconsolable, loathing all food, except what was necessary for the support of nature. In the present distress, by her father's advice, she set off for Naples, where

Nero then resided. Not being admitted to his presence, she watched the palace gates, and, as soon as he came forth, she cried aloud, "Hear my father, hear an innocent man; he was your colleague in the consulship; extend your mercy, nor let him fall a sacrifice to the pernicious arts of a vile abandoned slave." She persisted, as often as Nero passed, to renew her application, sometimes in tears and misery of heart; often in a tone of vehemence, roused by her sufferings above the weakness of her sex. But neither tears nor reproaches had any effect on the cruelty of Nero: insensible to both, and heedless of the popular hatred, he remained obdurate and implacable.

XI. Pollutia returned to her father, and, since not a ray of hope was left, exhorted him to meet his fate with a becoming spirit. Intelligence arrived at the same time, that preparations for the trial were going on with rapidity, and that the senate showed a disposition to pronounce the severest sentence. Among the friends of Cassius some were of opinion, that the surest way to secure part of his fortune for his grandchildren, would be by making the emperor heir in chief. He rejected that advice as unworthy of his character. Having lived his days with a spirit of independence, he resolved to die with honour. He distributed the money then in his possession among his slaves, and ordered them to remove for their own use all the effects that could be carried off, with an exception of three couches, to serve as funeral beds for himself and his family.

They retired to die together. In the same chamber, and with the same instrument, the father, the mother-in-law, and the daughter, opened their veins, and, without any other covering than such as decency required, were conducted to a warm bath; the father with his eyes fixed upon his daughter; the grandmother gazing on the same object; and she, in return, looking with tender affection on both her parents; each of them wishing to avoid the pain of seeing the others in the pangs of death, and praying to be released. Nature pursued her own course. They died in the order of their respective ages, the oldest first. After their decease, a prosecution was carried on in due form of law, and all three were adjudged to capital punishment. Nero so far opposed the sentence, as to give them the liberty of choosing their mode of dying. When the tragedy was already performed, such was the farce that followed.

XII. Publius Gallus, a Roman knight, for no other

crime than his intimacy with Fenius Rufus, and some connection with Vetus, was interdicted from fire and water. The freedman of Vetus, who betrayed his master, and the accuser, who undertook the conduct of the prosecution, obtained, to reward their villainy, a seat in the theatre among the officers who follow in the train of the tribunes. The month of April was already styled by the name of Nero, and, in like manner, May was changed to that of Claudius, and June to Germanicus. Cornelius Orfitus was the author of this innovation. His reason for the last was, because the two Torquati suffered in the month of June, and that inauspicious name ought, therefore, to be abolished from the calendar.

XIII. To the blood and horror, that made this year for ever memorable, we may add the vengeance of Heaven, declared in storms and tempests, and epidemic disorders. A violent hurricane made the country of Campania a scene of desolation; whole villages were overthrown; plantations were torn up by the roots, and the hopes of the year destroyed. The fury of the storm was felt in the neighbourhood of Rome, where, without any apparent cause in the atmosphere, a contagious distemper broke out, and swept away a vast number of the inhabitants. The houses were filled with dead bodies, and the streets with funeral processions. Neither sex nor age escaped. Slaves and men of ingenuous birth were carried off, without distinction, amidst the shrieks and lamentations of their wives and children. Numbers, while they assisted their expiring friends, or bewailed their loss, were suddenly seized, and burnt on the same funeral pile. The Roman knights and senators suffered the common lot of mortality; but death delivered them from the power of the tyrant, and, for that reason, they were not regretted.

In the course of the year new levies were made in Narbon Gaul, and likewise in Asia and Africa, in order to recruit the legions in Illyricum, at that time much reduced by the discharge of such as by age or infirmity were rendered unfit for service. The city of Lyons having before this time suffered a dreadful disaster,[1] Nero, to relieve the inhabitants, ordered a remittance of forty thousand sesterces, being the amount of what that city granted to the treasury of Rome in a period of distraction and public distress.

[1] This was a dreadful fire, by which in one night Lugdunum (now the city of Lyons) was reduced to ashes.

XIV. Caius Suetonius and Lucius Telesinus entered on the consulship [A.U.C. 819, A.D. 66]. During their administration, Antistius Sosianus, formerly banished, as has been mentioned, for a satirical poem against Nero, began to think of regaining his liberty. He heard of the high estimation in which the informers were held at Rome, and the bias of Nero's nature to acts of cruelty. A bold and restless spirit like his was ready for any project, and he possessed a promptitude of mind that quickly saw how to seize his opportunity. There was, at that time, an exile in the same place, famous for his skill in the arts of Chaldean astrology, and, on that account, intimate with several families. His name was Pammenes. Antistius entered into a league of friendship with him. Their mutual sufferings endeared them to each other. The astrologer had frequent consultations, and messengers were every day crowding to his house. Antistius judged that such a concourse could not be without reasons of important consequence. He found that Pammenes received an annual pension from Anteius; a man, on account of his attachment to Agrippina, obnoxious to the emperor, and by his riches likely to tempt the avarice of a prince, who had already cut off some of the most opulent and illustrious men in Rome.

Antistius kept a watchful eye upon his new friend. He intercepted letters from Anteius, and gained access to other secret papers, in which was contained a calculation of the nativity of Anteius, with many particulars relating to the birth and future fortune of Ostorius Scapula. Armed with these materials, he represented, by letters to Nero, that he had discoveries of the first importance, involving even the safety of the prince, and, if he might revisit Rome for a few days, the whole should be brought to light, with all the machinations of Anteius and Ostorius Scapula, who, beyond all doubt, were engaged in a treasonable design, and had been prying into their own destiny, and that of the imperial house. In consequence of these letters, a light galley was despatched, and Antistius was conveyed to Rome. His arrival, and the business on which he came, were no sooner known, than Anteius and Ostorius were considered as devoted victims, insomuch that the former could not find a friend bold enough to be a witness to his will,[1] till Tigellinus advised him to settle his affairs without loss of time. Anteius swallowed a dose of poison;

[1] To give validity to a will, seven witnesses were necessary.

but finding the operation slow and tedious, he opened his veins, and put a period to his existence.

XV. Ostorius, at this time, was at a distance from Rome, amusing himself on his own estate near the confines of Liguria. A centurion was sent with orders to despatch him. Nero had his reasons for desiring this business to be done with expedition. He knew the military character of Ostorius, and the high reputation with which he had gained the civic crown in Britain. He dreaded a man renowned in arms, remarkable for his bodily vigour, and a thorough master of the art of war. From a general of his experience, he lived in fear of a sudden attack, and the late conspiracy kept him in a constant alarm. The centurion obeyed his orders, and having first secured all the avenues round the house, communicated the emperor's orders. Ostorius turned against himself that courage which had often made the enemy fly before him. He opened his veins, but, though the incision was large, the blood flowed with languor. He called a slave to his assistance, and having directed him to hold a poniard with a firm and steady hand, he laid hold of the man's arm, and applying his throat to the point, rushed on certain death.

XVI. If the narrative, in which I am engaged, presented a detail of foreign wars, and a register of men, who died with honour in the service of their country, even in that case, a continued train of disasters, crowding fast upon one another, would fatigue the writer, and make the reader turn, with disgust, from so many tragic issues, honourable indeed, but dark, melancholy, and too much of a colour. How much more must the uniformity of the present subject be found irksome, and even repulsive. We have nothing before us but tame servility, and a deluge of blood spilt by a tyrant in the hour of peace. The heart recoils from the dismal story. But let it be remembered by those, who may hereafter think these events worthy of their notice, that I have discharged the duty of an historian, and if, in relating the fate of so many eminent citizens, who resigned their lives to the will of one man, I mingle tears with indignation, let me be allowed to feel for the unhappy. The truth is, the wrath of Heaven was bent against the Roman state. The calamities that followed cannot, like the slaughter of an army, or the sacking of a city, be painted forth in one general draught. Repeated murders must be given in succession; and, if the remains of illustrious men are distinguished by their funeral obsequies from the mass of the

people, may it not be considered as a tribute due to their memory, that, in like manner, their deaths should be snatched from oblivion, and that history, in describing the last act of their lives, should give to each his distinct and proper character, for the information of posterity?

XVII. I proceed to add to the list of murdered citizens, Annæus Mela, Cerealis Anicius, Rufius Crispinus, and Petronius. In the compass of a few days they were all cut off, as it were at one blow. Mela and Crispinus were no higher than Roman knights; but in fame and dignity of character equal to the most distinguished senators. Crispinus, at one time, commanded the prætorian bands; he was afterwards invested with the consular ornaments, but lately charged as an accomplice in the conspiracy, and banished to the island of Sardinia. At that place he received the emperor's mandate, and died by his own hand. Mela was brother to Seneca and Gallio. He abstained through life from the pursuit of civil honours, vainly flattering himself, that a simple knight could rise to the highest splendour, and tower above the consular dignity. By remaining in his rank, he was qualified to act in the administration of the imperial revenue, and that employment he thought the shortest road to immoderate riches. He was the father of Lucan, the poet, and from such a son derived additional lustre. When Lucan was no more, Mela endeavoured to recover the whole of his property; but proceeding with too much eagerness, he provoked the enmity of Fabius Romanus, one of the poet's intimate friends. This man framed a charge against the father. He accused him of being engaged with his son in the late conspiracy, and, for that purpose, forged several letters in the name of Lucan.

Nero was eager to seize his prey: he panted for his riches, and with that view sent the letters as evidence of his guilt. Mela had recourse to the mode of death, at that time deemed the easiest, and, for that reason, most in vogue. He opened his veins, and expired. By his will he bequeathed a large sum to Tigellinus, and to his son-in-law, Cossutianus Capito, hoping by that bequest to secure the remainder for his family. A clause, it has been said, was added to the will, asserting the innocence of the deceased, and the flagrant injustice of cutting him off, while such men as Rufius Crispinus and Anicius Cerealis were suffered to live in security, though they were both envenomed enemies of the prince. The clause, however, was thought to be fabricated, with a view to justify the murder of Crispinus, which was already perpetrated, and

to hasten the sentence then in agitation against Cerealis, who, in a few days afterwards, despatched himself. He fell unlamented. The public remembered that he formerly discovered a conspiracy to Caligula, and, for that reason, no man regretted him in his end.

XVIII. With regard to Caius Petronius,[1] his character, his course of life, and the singularity of his manners, seem to merit particular attention. He passed his days in sleep, and his nights in business, or in joy and revelry. Indolence was at once his passion, and his road to fame. What others did by vigour and industry, he accomplished by his love of pleasure and luxurious ease. Unlike the men who profess to understand social enjoyment, and ruin their fortunes, he led a life of expense, without profusion; an epicure, yet not a prodigal; addicted to his appetites, but with taste and judgment; a refined and elegant voluptuary. Gay and airy in his conversation, he charmed by a certain graceful negligence, the more engaging as it flowed from the natural frankness of his disposition. With all this delicacy, and careless ease, he showed, when he was governor of Bithynia, and, afterwards, in the year of his consulship, that vigour of mind and softness of manners may well unite in the same person. With his love of sensuality he possessed talents for business. From his public station he returned to his usual gratifications, fond of vice, or of pleasures that bordered upon it. His gaiety recommended him to the notice of the prince. Being in favour at court, and cherished as the companion of Nero in all his select parties, he was allowed to be the arbiter of taste and elegance. Without the sanction of Petronius nothing was exquisite, nothing rare or delicious.

Hence the jealousy of Tigellinus, who dreaded a rival in the good graces of the emperor almost his equal; in the science of luxury his superior. Tigellinus determined to work his downfall; and, accordingly, addressed himself to the cruelty of the prince; that master-passion, to which all other affections and every motive were sure to give way. He charged Petronius with having lived in close intimacy with Scevinus,[2] the conspirator; and, to give colour to that assertion, he bribed a slave to turn informer against

[1] This is the writer whom Pope has celebrated in the "Essay on Criticism":

> "Fancy and art in gay Petronius please,
> The scholar's learning, with the courtier's ease."

[2] The conspirator, see *infr. Annals*, xv. 49, 54, and 56.

his master. The rest of the domestics were loaded with irons. Nor was Petronius suffered to make his defence.

XIX. Nero, at that time, happened to be on one of his excursions into Campania. Petronius had followed him as far as Cuma, but was not allowed to proceed further than that place. He scorned to linger in doubt and fear, and yet was not in a hurry to leave a world which he loved. He opened his veins, and closed them again, at intervals losing a small quantity of blood, then binding up the orifice as his own inclination prompted. He conversed during the whole time with his usual gaiety, never changing his habitual manners, nor talking sentences to show his contempt of death. He listened to his friends, who endeavoured to entertain him, not with grave discourses on the immortality of the soul, or the moral wisdom of philosophers, but with strains of poetry, and verses of a gay and natural turn. He distributed presents to some of his servants, and ordered others to be chastised. He walked out for his amusement, and even lay down to sleep. In this last scene of his life he acted with such calm tranquillity, that his death, though an act of necessity, seemed no more than the decline of nature. In his will he scorned to follow the example of others, who, like himself, died under the tyrant's stroke; he neither flattered the emperor, nor Tigellinus, nor any of the creatures of the court; but having written, under the fictitious names of profligate men and women, a narrative of Nero's debauchery, and his new modes of vice, he had the spirit to send to the emperor that satirical romance, sealed with his own seal, which he took care to break, that, after his death, it might not be used for the destruction of any person whatever.

XX. Nero saw, with surprise, his clandestine passions, and the secrets of his midnight revels, laid open to the world. To whom the discovery was to be imputed still remained a doubt. Amidst his conjectures, Silia, who by her marriage with a senator had risen into notice, occurred to his memory. This woman had often procured for the libidinous pleasures of the prince, and lived, besides, in close intimacy with Petronius. Nero concluded that she had betrayed him, and for that offence ordered her into banishment. Having made that sacrifice to his own resentment, he gave another victim to glut the rage of Tigellinus, namely, Numicius Thermus, a man of prætorian rank. An accusation preferred against the favourite, by a slave enfranchised by

Thermus, was the cause that provoked the vengeance of Tigellinus. For that daring attempt against a man in power, the informer suffered on the rack, and his patron, who had no concern in the business, was put to death.

XXI. Nero had not yet satiated his vindictive fury. He had spilt the best blood in Rome, and now, in the persons of Pætus Thrasea and Bareas Soranus, he hoped to destroy virtue itself. His rancour to those two illustrious citizens had been long working in his heart. Thrasea, in particular, was the devoted object, and various motives conspired against him. When the business of Agrippina was brought before the senate, it will be in the memory of the reader, that Thrasea withdrew from the debate. Afterwards, in the youthful sports, called JUVENALES, he seldom attended, and never with the alacrity which was expected. This cold indifference was the more grating to the prince, as Thrasea, at Padua, his native city, not only assisted at the games of the CESTUS, originally instituted by Antenor, the fugitive from Troy, but also performed in the habit of a tragedian. It was further remembered, that, when Antistius, the prætor, was in danger of being capitally condemned for his verses levelled at Nero, Thrasea was the author of a milder sentence. There was still another circumstance; when divine honours were decreed to Poppæa, he wilfully absented himself, nor did he afterwards attend her funeral. These offences were not suffered to sink into oblivion. The whole was treasured up by Cossutianus Capito, a man who, to a bad heart and talents for every species of iniquity, united motives of personal ill-will to Thrasea, which he nourished in secret, ever since the victory obtained over him in a charge of extortion conducted by the deputies from Cilicia, and supported with all the credit and eloquence of Thrasea.

XXII. The fertile genius of the prosecutor was not at a loss for new allegations. The heads of his charge were, "that Thrasea made it a point to avoid renewing the oath of fidelity usual at the beginning of the year, and, though a member of the quindecemviral college, he never assisted at the ceremony of offering vows for the safety of the prince, and the preservation of that melodious voice. A magistrate formerly of unremitting assiduity, he took a part in every debate, supporting or opposing the most trifling motions; and now what is his conduct? For three years together he has not so much as entered the senate. Even on a late

occasion, when the business relating to Silanus and Vetus drew the fathers to a crowded meeting, Thrasea was not at leisure; the affairs of his clients engrossed his attention, and the patriot was detained from the senate by his own petty concerns. What is this but a public secession? He is at the head of a faction, and if his partisans take fire from his example, a civil war must be the consequence. Cæsar and Cato were the names that formerly kept the world awake; at present, in a city ever rent by discord, Nero and Thrasea engage the public mind.

"The popular demagogue has his sectaries and his followers; a set of men not yet, like their master, ambitiously sententious, but, in imitation of his mien and manners, sullen, gloomy, and discontented. By the formalities of their rigid discipline they hope to throw disgrace on the gay and elegant manners of their sovereign. Your preservation, Nero, is of no moment to Thrasea: he disregards your safety: he despises your accomplishments. Are your affairs in a train of prosperity, he is still dejected. Has any untoward event disturbed your peace of mind, he enjoys your distress, and in secret pampers himself with your affliction. The same spirit that refused to swear on the acts of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, denies the divinity of Poppæa. He turns religion to a jest, and sets the laws at defiance. The journals of the Roman people[1] were never read by the provinces and the armies with so much avidity, as in the present juncture; and the reason is, the history of the times is the history of Thrasea's contumacy.

"If the system of this wise philosopher and profound politician merits attention, let us at once embrace his doctrine; if otherwise, let us take from the friends of innovation their leader and their oracle. The sect whose precepts he affects to admire, has ever been proud and dogmatical, busy, bold, and turbulent. It was that stoic school that formed the Tuberos[2] and the Favonii; names detested even by the old republic. And what is now the principle of the whole faction? To subvert the fabric of a great empire, they hold forth the name of liberty; if they succeed, they will destroy even liberty itself. Of what use can it be to Nero, that he has banished a Cassius,

[1] The Journals of the Roman people, called in the original *Diurna Populi Romani*. These were the Roman newspapers.

[2] Cicero, in the Oration for Muræna, gives a sketch of Tubero's character: "He was a man of illustrious birth, a scholar, and a professor of the stoic philosophy."

if the followers of Brutus are still allowed to flourish, and multiply their numbers? Upon the whole, you have no occasion, Cæsar, to write to the senate; you need not mention Thrasea to that assembly: leave him to our management, and the judgment of the fathers." Nero praised the zeal of Cossutianus, and added fury to a mind already bent on mischief. To forward his villainy, he gave him for a coadjutor Eprius Marcellus, an orator of a turbulent spirit and overbearing eloquence.

XXIII. The prosecution against Bareas Soranus was already in the hands of Ostorius Sabinus, a Roman knight. Soranus was returned from his proconsular government of Asia. His conduct in the province stood distinguished by justice and the rectitude of his measures; but by the jealousy of Nero the virtues of the minister were converted into crimes. He had opened the port of Ephesus, and left unpunished the obstinate resistance of the people of Pergamus, who refused to let Acratus, one of the emperor's freedmen, carry off the statues and pictures that adorned their city. This meritorious conduct was an offence not to be forgiven; but constructive crimes were to be held forth to the public. The heads of the accusation were, that Soranus had contracted a close and intimate friendship with Plautus, and had endeavoured by popular arts to incite the eastern provinces to a revolt. To decide the fate of two upright citizens, Nero chose a juncture favourable to his dark design. Tiridates was on his way to Rome, to receive the diadem of Armenia from the hands of the emperor. He thought it probable, that, in the splendour of that magnificent scene, the horrors of domestic cruelty would be lost; perhaps, it seemed a fair opportunity to display to a foreign prince the grandeur of a Roman emperor, and convince him, by the murder of two eminent citizens, that the imperial power was nothing short of oriental despotism.

XXIV. The city went forth in crowds to meet the emperor,[1] and gaze at the eastern monarch. Thrasea received orders not to appear on the occasion. A mind like his was not to be disconcerted. With his usual fortitude he sent a memorial to the prince, requesting to know by what act of his life he had deserved such a mark of displeasure. He pledged himself, if a fair hearing were granted, to confute his enemies, and place his innocence in the

[1] Nero was on his return from Campania.

clearest light. Nero received the memorial with eager curiosity, expecting to find that Thrasea, under the operation of fear, had descended to the language of flattery, and tarnished his own honour by magnifying the glory of the prince. Stung by disappointment, he refused to grant an audience. The sight of that illustrious citizen, the countenance, the spirit, and virtue of the man, were too much to encounter. He ordered the senate to be convened. Thrasea, in the meantime, consulted with his friends, which would be most advisable, to enter at large into his defence, or to behave with silent indignation. They were divided in their opinions.

XXV. Some advised him to enter the senate, and confront his enemies in the presence of that assembly. "Of his constancy no doubt could be entertained; they knew that nothing could fall from him unworthy of himself. Every word from his lips would tend to augment his glory. When danger threatened, to take shelter in the shade of obscurity, were the act of a degenerate spirit. For him, he ought to have the people round him to behold the scene; a great man advancing bravely to meet his fate, would be a spectacle worthy of their applause. The senate would hear with astonishment the energy of truth, and the sublime of virtue. Every sentiment from the mouth of Thrasea would rise superior to humanity, and sound to the fathers as if some god addressed them. Even the heart of Nero might for once relent. Should it happen otherwise; should his obdurate nature still persist; posterity would crown with immortal glory the undaunted citizen, who distinguished himself from those unhappy victims, who bowed their necks to the tyrant's stroke, and crept in silence to their graves."

XXVI. Others were of a different opinion, convinced that his best plan would be to wait the issue at his own house. They spoke of Thrasea himself and the dignity of his character in the highest terms, but they dreaded that his adversaries would pour forth a torrent of insolence and opprobrious language. "They desired that he would not suffer his ear to be wounded with scurrility and vile abuse. Cossutianus and Eprius Marcellus were not the only enemies of virtue: there were others, whose brutal rage might incite them to outrage, and even violence to his person. The cruelty of Nero left none at liberty. In a general panic, good men might follow the worst example. It would become the character of Thrasea, to rescue from infamy that august

assembly, which his presence had so long adorned. If he did not attend the meeting, the part, which, after hearing Thrasea in his own defence, the fathers might have acted, will remain problematical; and by that uncertainty the honour of the senate may be saved. To hope that Nero would blush for his crimes, were to misunderstand his character. His unrelenting cruelty would most probably fall on Thrasea's wife, on his whole family, and all that were dear to him. For these reasons, an eminent citizen, who had ever supported the honour of his name, and still flourished with unblemished integrity, would do well to remember who were the teachers of wisdom, that furnished the principles and the model of his conduct. Since he had crowded into his life all their virtues, it would become him to emulate their glory in his fall."

Arulenus Rusticus assisted at this consultation. He was, at that time, a tribune of the people; a young man of sentiment, eager to be in action, and warm with the love of glory. He offered to interpose, by his tribunitian authority, to prevent a decree of the senate. "Forbear," said Thrasea; "and learn, young man, to restrain this impetuous ardour. By a rash opposition you cannot save your friend, and you may bring down ruin on yourself. For me, I have my days; my course is well-nigh finished; it now remains, that I reach the goal with undiminished honour. As to you, my friend, you have but lately entered the career of civil dignities. Life is before you, and you have not as yet pledged yourself to the public. Ere you take a decided part, it will behove you to consider well the times upon which you are fallen, and the principles which you mean to avow." Having thus declared his sentiments, he gave no opinion concerning the propriety of appearing in the senate, but reserved the question for his own private meditation.

XXVII. On the following day two prætorian cohorts, under arms, surrounded the temple of Venus. A body of citizens, with swords ill concealed beneath their gowns, invested all the avenues. In the forum, the open squares, and round the adjoining temples, bands of soldiers took their station, and through that military array the senators were obliged to pass, surrounded by soldiers and prætorian guards. The assembly was opened by Nero's quæstor, with a speech in the name of the prince, complaining, "that the fathers" (no particular name was mentioned) "deserted the public interest, and by their example taught the Roman knights to loiter

away their time in sloth, and inattention to the welfare of the state. Nor could it be matter of wonder, that the senators from the distant provinces no longer attended their duty, when men of consular rank, and even of sacerdotal dignity, thought of nothing but the embellishment of their villas, and the beauty of their gardens and pleasure-grounds." This message was intended to be a weapon in the hands of the accusers, and their malice knew how to use it.

XXVIII. Cossutianus took the lead. Eprius Marcellus followed him, with more force than acrimony. "The commonwealth," he said, "is on the brink of ruin. Certain turbulent spirits rear their crest so high that no room is left for the milder virtues of the prince. The senate for some time past has been negligent, tame, and passive. Your lenity, conscript fathers, your lenity has given encouragement to sedition. It is in consequence of your indulgence that Thrasea presumes to trample on the laws; that his son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus,[1] adopts the same pernicious principles; that Paconius Agrippinus, with the inveterate hatred towards the house of Cæsar, which he inherits from his father, declares open hostility; and that Curtius Montanus in seditious verses spreads abroad the venom of his pen. Where is Thrasea now? I want to see the man of consular rank in his place; I want to see the sacerdotal dignitary offering up vows for the emperor; I want to see the citizen taking the oaths of fidelity. Perhaps that haughty spirit towers above the laws and the religion of our ancestors; perhaps he means to throw off the mask, and own himself a traitor and an enemy to his country. Let him appear in this assembly; let the patriot come; let the leader of faction show himself; the man who so often played the orator in this assembly, and took under his patronage the inveterate enemies of the prince. Let us hear his plan of government. What does he wish to change? What abuse does he mean to reform? If he came every day with objections, the cavilling spirit of the man might tease, perplex, and embarrass us; but now his sullen silence is worse; it condemns everything in the gross. And why all this discontent? A settled peace prevails in every quarter of the empire: does that afflict him? Our armies, without the effusion of Roman blood, have been victorious: is that the cause of his disaffection? He sickens in the midst of prosperity; he repines at the

[1] For more of Helvidius Priscus, see *History*, iv. 5.

flourishing state of his country: he deserts the forum; he avoids the theatre, and the temples of the city; he threatens to abjure his country, and retire into voluntary banishment; he acknowledges none of your laws; your decrees are to him no better than mockery; he owns no magistrates, and Rome to him is no longer Rome. Let him therefore be cut off at once from a city, where he has long lived an alien; the love of his country banished from his heart, and the people odious to his sight."

XXIX. Marcellus delivered this invective in a strain of vehemence, that gave additional terror to the natural ferocity of a stern and savage countenance. His voice grew louder, his features more enlarged, and his eyes flashed with fire. The senate heard him, but with emotions unfelt before: the settled melancholy, which that black period made habitual, gave way to stronger feelings. They saw a band of soldiers round them, and they debated in the midst of swords and javelins. Thrasea was absent, but the venerable figure of the man presented itself to every imagination. They felt for Helvidius Priscus, who was doomed to suffer, not for imputed guilt, but because he was allied to an innocent and virtuous citizen. What was the crime of Agrippinus? The misfortunes of his father, cut off by the cruelty of Tiberius, rose in judgment against the son. The case of Montanus was thought hard and oppressive. His poetry was a proof of genius, not of malice; and yet, for a pretended libel on the prince, a youth of expectation was to be driven from his country.

XXX. Amidst the tumult and distraction which this business excited, Ostorius Sabinus, the accuser of Bareas Soranus, entered the senate. He opened at once, and charged as a crime, the friendship that subsisted between Soranus and Rubellius Plautus. He added, that the whole tenor of his administration in Asia was directed, not for the public good, but to promote his own popularity, and to spread a spirit of sedition through the provinces. These accusations had been long since fabricated, and were then grown threadbare; but the prosecutor was ready with a new allegation, which involved Servilia, the daughter of Soranus, in her father's danger. The charge against her was, that she had distributed sums of money among men skilled in judicial astrology. The fact was, Servilia, with no other motives than those of filial piety, had the imprudence, natural at her time of life, to apply to a set of fortune-tellers in order to satisfy her mind about the fate of her family, and to learn whether Nero's resentment was by any

possibility to be appeased, and what would be the issue of the business in the senate.

She was cited to appear in the senate before the tribunal of the consuls. On one side stood the aged father; on the other his daughter, in the bloom of life, not having yet completed her twentieth year, but even then in a state of destitution, still lamenting the fate of her husband, Annius Pollio, lately torn from her, and condemned to banishment. She stood in silent sorrow, not daring to lift her eyes to her father, whom by her imprudent zeal she had involved in new misfortunes.

XXXI. The accuser pressed her with questions. He desired to know, whether she had not sold her bridal ornaments, her jewels and her necklace, to supply herself with money for magic sacrifices? She fell prostrate on the ground, and wept in bitterness of heart. Her sorrows were too big for utterance. She embraced the altars, and, rising suddenly, exclaimed with vehemence, "I have invoked no infernal gods; I have used no unhallowed rites, no magic, no incantations. My unhappy prayers asked no more than that you, Cæsar, and you, conscript fathers, would extend your protection to this best of men, this most affectionate parent. For him I sold my jewels; for him I disposed of my bridal ornaments, and for him I gave up the garments suited to my rank. In the same cause I was willing to sacrifice my life: the blood in my veins was at his service. The men whom I consulted were all strangers to me; I had no knowledge of them. They best can tell who they are, and what they profess. The name of the prince was never mentioned by me but with that respect, which I pay to the gods. What I did was my own act: that miserable man, my unhappy father, knew nothing of it. If any crime has been committed, he is innocent: I, and I alone, am guilty."

XXXII. Soranus could no longer restrain himself. He interrupted his daughter, crying aloud. "She was not with me in Asia; she is too young to have any knowledge of Rubellius Plautus. In the accusation against her husband she was not involved; her filial piety is her only crime. Distinguish her case from mine; respect the cause of innocence, and on my head let your worst vengeance fall. I am ready to meet my fate." With these words, he rushed to embrace his child: she advanced to meet him, but the lictors interposed to prevent the pathetic scene. The witnesses were called in. The fathers had hitherto listened to all that passed, with emotions of pity; but pity was soon converted into a stronger passion. The appearance of Publius Egnatius, the client of Soranus, hired

to give evidence against his patron and his friend, kindled a general indignation. This man professed himself a follower of the stoic sect. He had learned in that school to retail the maxims of virtue, and could teach his features to assume an air of simplicity, while fraud, and perfidy, and avarice, lay lurking at his heart. The temptation of money drew forth his hidden character, and the hypocrite stood detected. His treachery gave a standing lesson to mankind, that, in the commerce of the world, it is not sufficient to guard against open and avowed iniquity, since the professors of friendship can, under a counterfeit resemblance of virtue, nourish the worst of vices, and prove in the end, the most pernicious enemies.

XXXIII. The same day produced a splendid example of truth and honour in the person of Cassius Asclepiodotus; a man distinguished by his wealth, and ranked with the most eminent inhabitants of Bithynia. Having loved and followed Soranus in his prosperity, he did not desert him in the hour of distress. He still adhered to him with unaltered friendship, and for his constancy was deprived of his all, and sent into banishment; the gods, in their just dispensations, permitting an example of virtue, even in ruin, to stand in contrast to successful villainy. Thrasea, Soranus, and Servilia, were allowed to choose their mode of dying. Helvidius Priscus and Agrippinus were banished out of Italy. Montanus owed his pardon to the influence of his father, but was declared incapable of holding any public office. The prosecutors were amply rewarded. Eprius Marcellus and Cossutianus received each of them fifty thousand sesterces. Ostorius Sabinus obtained a grant of twelve thousand, with the ornaments of the quæstorship.

XXXIV. Towards the close of the day the consular quæstor was sent to Thrasea, who was then amusing himself in his garden, attended by a number of friends, the most illustrious of both sexes. Demetrius, a philosopher of the cynic school, was the person who chiefly engaged his attention. Their conversation, as was inferred from looks of earnest meaning, and from some expressions distinctly heard, turned upon the immortality of the soul, and its separation from the body. Thrasea had not heard of the decree that passed the senate, when his intimate friend, Domitius Cæcilianus, arrived with the unhappy tidings. The company melted into tears. Thrasea saw their generous sympathy; he heard their lamentations: but fearing that the interest, which they took in the lot of a

man doomed to destruction, might involve them in future danger, he conjured them to retire. Arria,[1] his wife, inspired by the memorable example of her mother, resolved to share her husband's fate. Thrasea entreated her to continue longer in life, and not deprive their daughter of the only comfort and support of her tender years.

XXXV. He then walked his portico, and there received the consular quæstor. An air of satisfaction was visible in his countenance. He had been informed that Helvidius, his son-in-law, had met with nothing harsher than a sentence of banishment out of Italy. The decree of the senate, drawn up in form, being delivered to him, he withdrew to his chamber, attended by Helvidius and Demetrius. He there presented both his arms; and the veins being opened, as soon as the blood began to flow, he desired the quæstor to draw nearer, and sprinkling the floor with his vital drops, "Thus," he said, "let us make libation to JUPITER THE DELIVERER! Behold, young man, a mind undaunted and resigned; and may the gods avert from you so severe a trial of your virtue! But you are fallen on evil times, in which you will find it expedient to fortify your soul by examples of unshaken constancy." The approach of death was slow and lingering. As his pains increased, he raised his eyes, and turning to Demetrius . . .

At this point the "Annals" are broken off.

[1] Arria, his wife, was the daughter of the celebrated Arria, who, in the reign of Claudius, plunged a dagger in her own breast, to give her husband Cæcina Pætus an example of undaunted courage.

END OF VOL. I.

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